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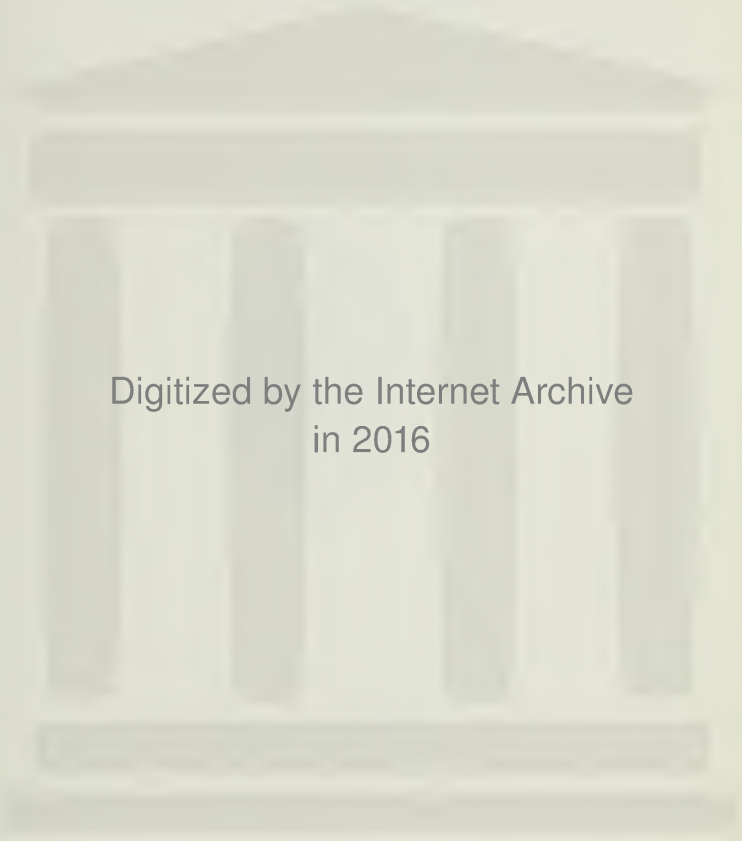
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MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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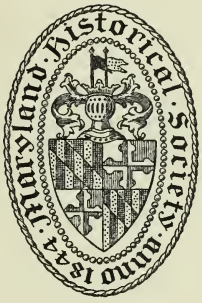

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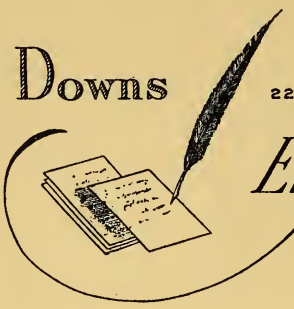

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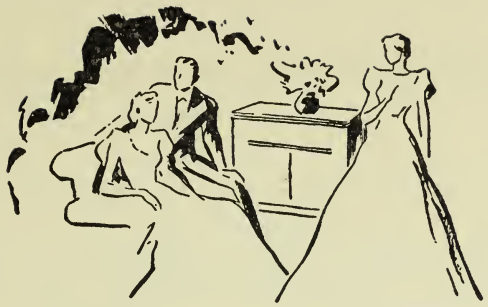

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The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1843, has been engaged in collecting, preserving and disseminating information relating to the history of the State. Through its services to scholars and others in making available collections of research materials, and through its publications, the Society has occupied and always should occupy an important place in the cultural life of Maryland.

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The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

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THE SUSQUEHANNOCK FORT ON PISCATAWAY CREEK

By ALICE L. L. FERGUSON

The siege of the Susquehannock Fort on Piscataway Creek in Maryland was of real importance in the early history of the United States. The siege led directly to Bacon's Rebellion which was the first rebellion by the colonists against England and preceded the revolution by a hundred years. It was one of the last chapters in the history of the Susquehannock Indians and was one of the most elaborate military adventures undertaken by Maryland in the seventeenth century. It was also of interest on account of the part played there by Colonel John Washington, the grandfather of George Washington. Professor Wertenbaker of Princeton in his recent book, *Torchbearer of the Revolution,*[1] gives the history of the siege and Dr. Cadzow in his *Safe Harbor Report No. 2* also gives an excellent account of the affair.[2]

None of the Indian tribes came as near being legendary heroes as the Susquehannocks. The early discoverers were so impressed with them that their descriptions sound like pages from fairy tales. Captain John Smith described them as a race of giants with voices that sounded as though they came from vaults.[3] While they were not supermen and their reputed great height is not supported by the evidence, they were a powerful and warlike tribe. After years of fighting, the Iroquois succeeded in conquering them and in February, 1674, a refugee band of Susquehannocks came down

[1] Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *Torchbearer of the Revolution: The Story of Bacon's Rebellion and Its Leader.* (Princeton, 1940).

[2] Donald A. Cadzow, *Safe Harbor Report No. 2* (Archaeological Studies of the Susquehannock Indians of Pennsylvania) (Harrisburg, 1936).

[3] John Smith, *Travels and Works,* ed. by Arber, (Edinburgh, 1910) I : 54.

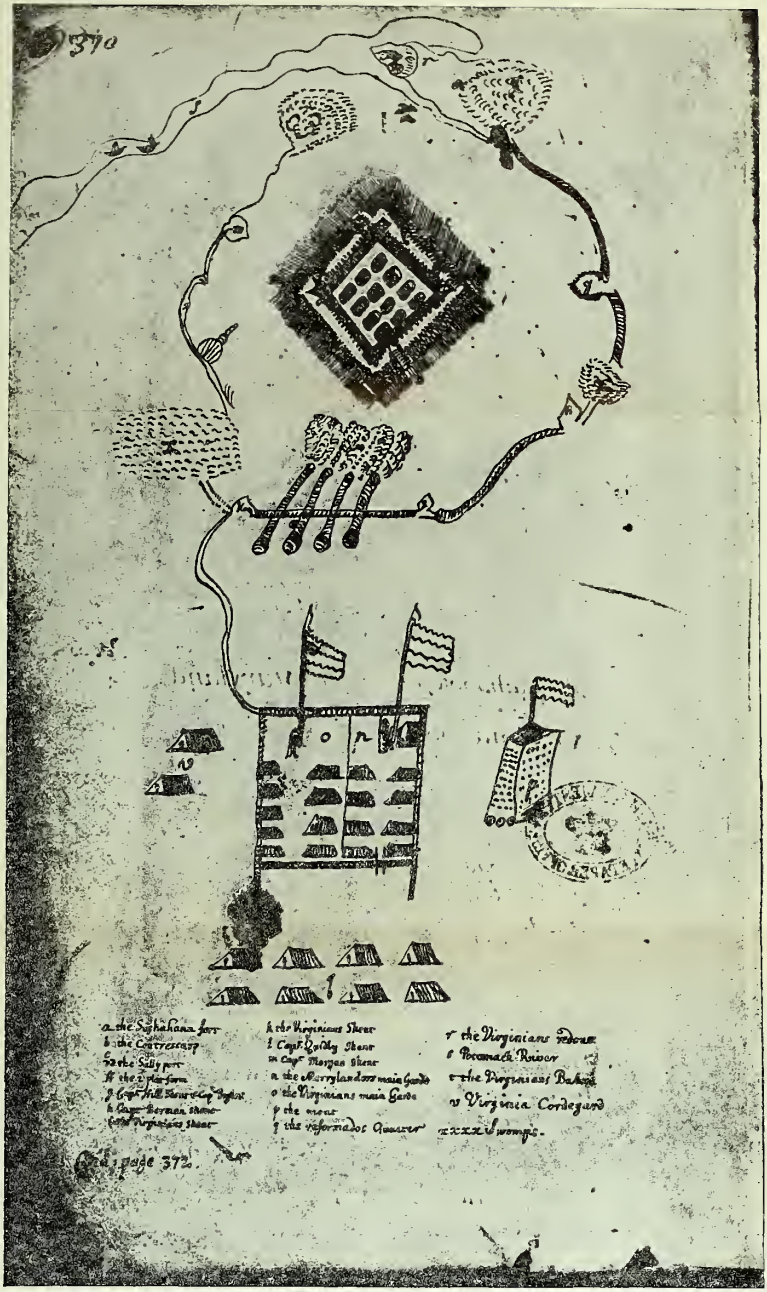

Fig. 1. Diagram of the Susquehannock Fort, 1675, at the Mouth of Piscataway Creek, Md.

Found in the Public Record Office, London (C. O. 5-1371), by Dr. T. J. Wertenbaker, by whose courtesy it is here reproduced.

At top the Indian fort with countersarp, sallyports and platforms (*a, b, c, d, f*—designations not all recognizable). Forming a ring around the fort are the breastworks of the besieging colonists in which four pieces of artillery (greatly magnified) are placed. In lower center is the stockaded fort in which the main body of Maryland and Virginia troops were cantoned (*n, o*); below it (*q*), "the reformadoes Quarter" (meaning the camp of the volunteers, probably the Indian allies). Both Marylanders and Virginians display their colors before the respective headquarters, while the third flag (*p*) marks the "mont" (mount, of mediæval origin), a wooden tower apparently on wheels, which may have served as a position for sharpshooters. At upper left, the Potomac (*s*). At extreme top, *r* marks the redoubt occupied by some of the Virginia troops on what is now the site of Fort Washington. Swamps are indicated by *x x*; Virginia corps de garde by *v*. The letter *t* is lacking but possibly was intended to indicate the Virginians' "Batrie" (*t*) of guns.

g, h, i, k and—according to the key—*l* and *m* which are not apparent, are designated "Skents," an obsolete word without military significance so far as can be learned. It will be noted that *g, h, i, k* indicate subcents in the English works.—Editor.

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[3] John Smith, *Travels and Works,* ed. by Arber, (Edinburgh, 1910) I : 54.

into Maryland and camped on Piscataway Creek near the fort [4] occupied by the Piscataway Indians. The great men went to see the governor and asked that land be set aside for their use and that they be allowed to settle in Maryland. The Susquehannocks, fighting off the Iroquois on the remote boundaries of Maryland were one thing, but the Susquehannocks, with their reputation of being a turbulent, bloody minded people,[5] living down near the plantations were something quite different. Maryland had a treaty of peace and friendship with them and she was afraid to antagonize them, but she was even more afraid to let them stay. Maryland was especially worried lest the Susquehannocks cause trouble with the friendly Piscataways and it was thought best that the two tribes should be kept as far apart as possible. After considerable debate the Susquehannocks were offered land above Great Falls on the Potomac. It was quite obvious that they did not want to go so far from the settlements but they finally agreed. For a year nothing more was heard from the Susquehannocks. Apparently the Susquehannocks made no effort to move to Great Falls but continued to stay where they were on Piscataway Creek near Piscataway Fort and exactly where Maryland did not want them to settle.

In July, 1675, trouble began. There were murders and robberies in both Virginia and Maryland which were attributed to the Susquehannocks. In September the Maryland Council received a letter from Col. John Washington asking for permission to follow the enemy into Maryland with a force of men and asking cooperation from Maryland. Maryland raised five hundred men, including two hundred and fifty horse, and put them under the command of Thomas Truman. Virginia sent an equal force under the command of Col. John Washington but as the operations were to be in Maryland, Major Truman was made commander in chief. The Maryland forces were ordered to proceed to the north side of Piscataway Creek where Fort Washington is now and wait there for the Virginians to join them. Truman's orders read that the Susquehannocks " be forthwith forced off from the place they now are and remove themselves to the place they assured the last Assembly they would goe and seate themselves." [6] There was no question of annihilating them; Maryland simply wanted them to move. Apparently the Susquehannocks were not wanted as neigh-

[4] Alice L. L. Ferguson, " Ossuary near Piscataway Creek," *American Antiquity,* published by the Society for American Archaeology, July, 1940.
[5] *Archives of Maryland,* XV : 239. [6] *Ibid.,* 49.

bors even by the Indians themselves. The king of the Mattawomans voluntarily offered all his men to Truman, and the Piscataways, Chopticos, Pomonkeys and Nanjemoys also joined the Maryland forces.

Truman did not wait for Washington and on Sunday, September 25 or 26, he arrived at the Susquehannock Fort and asked for a parley. The Susquehannocks were accused of the murders on both sides of the Potomac but they denied them and accused the Senecas. The next morning the Virginians arrived and there was another parley. This time the Susquehannocks brought with them a silver medal on a black and gold ribbon that a Maryland governor had given them as a pledge of eternal friendship. There is a great deal of conflicting testimony as to what happened. Apparently Truman ordered the great men of the Susquehannocks bound and murdered and Washington did nothing to prevent it. The siege of the fort began immediately. The Susquehannocks had only about a hundred fighting men but all accounts agree that they put up a magnificent resistance. The siege lasted for six weeks, the Colonists lost between fifty and a hundred men and the fort was never taken. During the siege the Susquehannocks made frequent sallies and captured some of the colonists' horses to replenish their food supply. At the end of the six weeks the Susquehannocks escaped through the colonists' lines with their women and children and crossed over into Virginia. They raided the heads (falls) of the Rappahannock and York rivers, killing as they went. When they came to the head of the James they killed Bacon's overseer. This led direcly to Bacon's Rebellion.

Bacon's Rebellion was primarily a rebellion against an indolent and inept royal govenor but it was also a rebellion against the Crown and in 1677 there was a Royal Commission of Investigation. In 1910 Professor Wertenbaker found a map of the Susquehannock Fort (Fig. 1) in the British Public Record Office. This map was probably made for the investigation and many of the accounts of the siege were written for the same purpose.

Among the contemporary accounts is that by Thomas Mathew who says " The walls of this fort were high banks of earth, with flankers having many loop holes, and a ditch round all, and without this a row of tall trees fastened three foot deep in the earth, their bodies from five to eight inches in diameter, watled 6 inches apart to shoot through with the tops twisted together, and

also artifically wrought as our men coud make no breach to storm it, nor (being low land) coud they undermine it by reason of water—neither had they cannon to batter itt, so that twas not taken, untill famine drove the Indians out of it." [7] Mathew says there was a ditch round all and without this a row of tall trees. If the word " without " were changed to " within " the description would agree with the Wertenbaker map but as it stands it is a contradiction. The map shows the rampart or stockade inside and the earthworks with frisées surrounding it according to the usual military custom.

The cannon offer another example of how the accounts contradict each other. Mathew clearly says that the besiegers had no cannon but the map pictures four cannon merrily blazing away and another account refers to " Gov[r] Baltemore's hyred ships sloups and planted great gunns." [8] The presence of the cannon are extremely doubtful for it is difficult to understand how even a badly managed expedition could have failed to take a stockaded fort if the besiegers had a cannon.

The story of the Susquehannock Fort had interested us for some time. We went over to Fort Washington several times and tried to find a place where the fort could have been. The Mathew account says clearly that the fort was on low ground but the only low ground on the point on the north shore is at the very tip where the wharf is now. The rest of the point is a promontory rising sharply from Piscataway Creek without enough low ground for a village and certainly no space for corn fields.

In the spring of 1938, with his map in his hand, Professor Wertenbaker went " to the site of the fort at Mockley Point where Piscataway Creek joins the Potomac (Fig. 2) opposite Mount Vernon as directly as though it had been set down on a road map." [9] The map shows the fort on the south bank of Piscataway Creek and it also shows several little patches of swamp. When Professor Wertenbaker stood on our hill and looked down on the

[7] Thomas Mathew, " Beginning, Progress and Conclusion of Bacon's Rebellion, 1675-1676," in *Narratives of the Insurrections,* ed. by Charles M. Andrews (New York, 1915) 15-41. Other contemporary accounts of this adventure, not specifically cited herein, will be found in Volume II, *Archives of Maryland;* " History of Bacon's and Ingram's Rebellion, 1676," in Andrews' *Narratives,* 47, 48; Charles A. Hoppin, *Washington Ancestry,* (Greenfield, O., 1932) 189 *et. seq.;* while secondary accounts appear in Raphael Semmes, *Captains and Mariners of Early Maryland,* (Baltimore, 1937) 521-531; and S. F. Streeter, " Fall of the Susquehannocks," *Historical Magazine,* (Boston, 1857), 1st ser., I : 65-73.

[8] *Archives,* V : 135.

[9] Wertenbaker, 222.

low flat fields with little patches of swamp here and there he was convinced that the site of the fort was either on our farm or the farm adjoining.

For several years we had been excavating the large stockaded Indian village of Moyaone on the Potomac and were busy at that time exploring the ground outside the stockade and excavating a large ossuary outside the village proper. We did not stop our own work but we were interested in the fort and whenever we had time we explored and trenched trying to find it. At Mockley Point was a mound that had interested us for some time. The next season, 1939, we excavated a burial area there and began to look

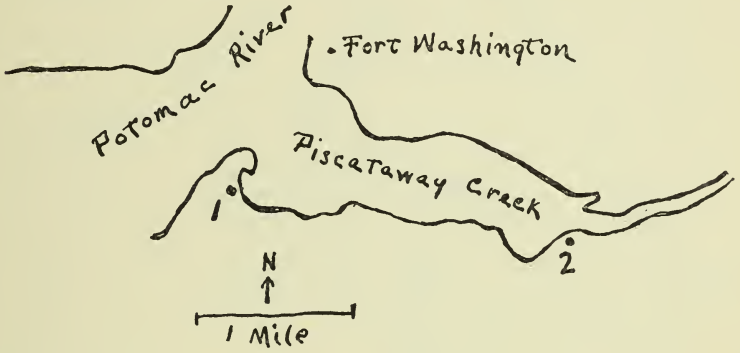

Fig. 2. Mouth of Piscataway Creek.

1. Site of the Susquehannock Fort. 2. Site of Piscataway Indian Fort.

for the fort seriously. Over in a corner by the creek the air photographs showed a dark semicircle and in that semicircle we found large numbers of arrow heads, many scattered charcoal fragments and a small ossuary containing eleven skulls and a great deal of trade material but nothing that could be called a fort. In the spring of 1940 we were still curious to know why that dark semicircle showed so cleary on the air photographs and when Mr. Henry Claggett kindly consented to let us dig there we started a serious investigation. Charcoal, arrow heads and a little pottery were about all we found but just as we were ready to abandon the search and say there was nothing there, we found the post moulds of a stockade. The Algonkin stockades that we knew were all circular but this one had straight sides that turned at right angles with bastions at the corners like the ones shown on the Wertenbaker map. There is a possibility that the Susquehannocks moved into

an abandoned fort that Maryland had built in 1642 for the protection of the frontier.[10] During the years when the Susquehannocks were holding off the Iroquois on the northern boundary Maryland had carefully taught them how to build strong forts

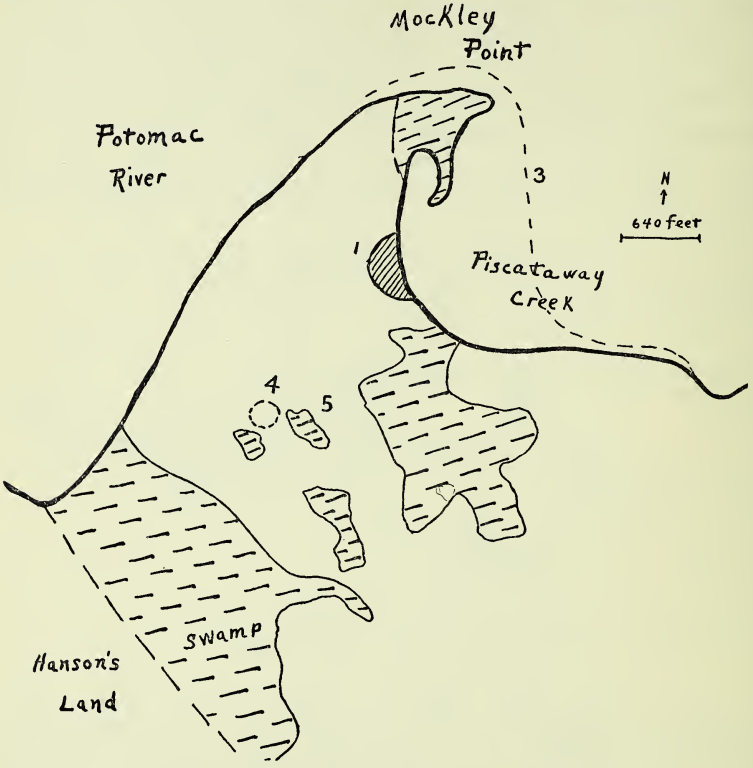

Fig. 3. Vicinity of the Susquehannock Fort.

Taken from air photograph A H V-3-111 of U. S. Agricultural Adjustment Administration. 1. Site of Susquehannock Fort. 3. Line of shoal. 4. Probable colonial horse corral. 5. Possible site of colonial camp. (As late as 1840 the effective range of a musket was only 450 feet.)

patterned on the ones used by white men and this knowledge was used when they built this fort on Piscataway Creek.

The shore lines of both the Potomac and Piscataway Creek have changed greatly and are still changing. On Piscataway Creek the bank by the site of the fort is steadily being eaten away and big trees are being undermined and falling in the creek. The air photograph shows a shoal (broken line in Fig. 3) extending from

[10] *Narratives,* 18; footnote from *William and Mary Quarterly,* 1st ser., II : 38.

Mockley Point down past the fort and this line of shoal is probably much more like the old shore line than the existing shore. The top soil on that part of the Claggett farm is very thin and between

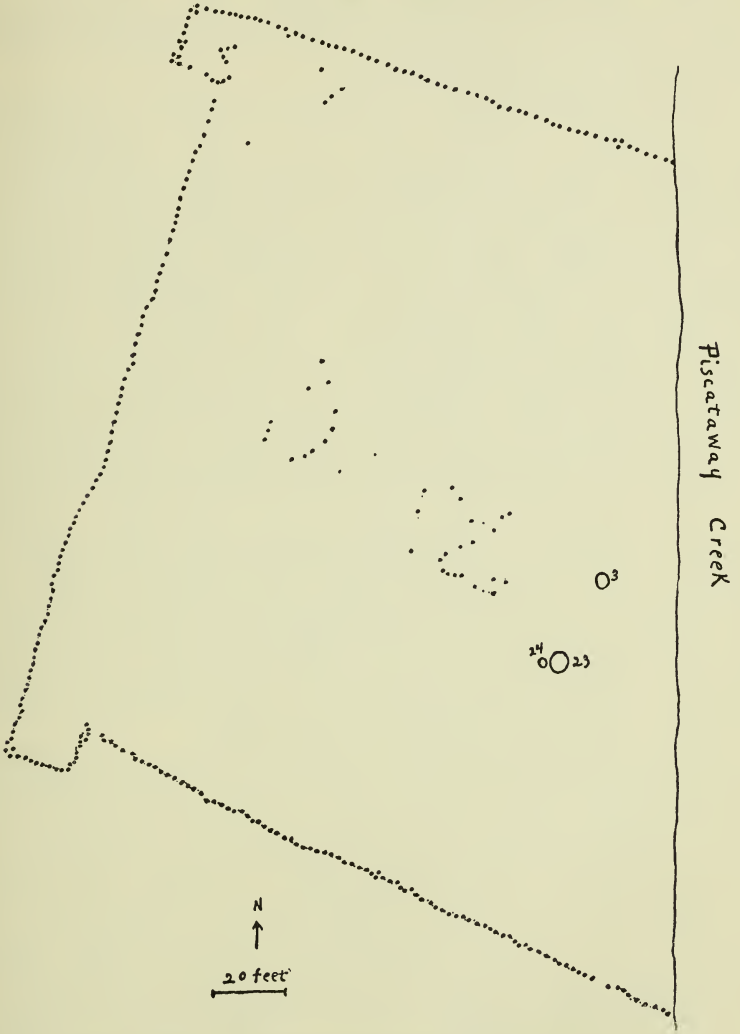

Fig. 4. Map of the Susquehannock Fort on Piscataway Creek.

Dots indicate post moulds. 3. Burials. 23. The ossuary. 24. Treasure pit.

repeated plowing and the steady erosion, all that remained of the fort were the deep post moulds and a few pits. The post moulds showing the lines of the fort stockade were not complete. The west side of the stockade was all there and almost all of the south side

but the east side was completely lost in the creek and if the fort had been a perfect square about seventy feet had been lost from the north side (Fig. 4). Unfortunately, finding half a village lost in the river has happened before. If the shoal line is regarded as a possible line of the old shore there would have been more than enough land to hold the entire fort.

The post moulds indicated a very strong stockade. The smallest were five inches in diameter and most of them were seven and eight inches. Where the stockade turned the right angles into the bastions the corner post moulds were even larger, some of them ten inches in diameter. The entire stockade had been burned. On the west side the charcoal was nearly three inches deep and paralleled the stockade in a band ten feet wide inside the fort. Here and there inside the stockade were thin areas of massed charcoal suggesting structures that had been burned. It was the diffusion of the charcoal from the burned stockade and buildings that caused the darkening of the soil shown in the air photographs.

The shores on both sides of Mockley Point have been occupied by Indians ever since there were Indians in Maryland. Pits and artifacts belonging to dim cultures and to the long period of Algonkin occupation were found inside the enclosure of the fort. The Susquehannocks only lived there for eighteen months and they left very little that could be definitely be attributed to them. Almost an entire pot was found, a few fragments of pipes and pottery and post moulds that seemed to outline a building but there were large areas where nothing was discovered.

The most important find was a small ossuary or common burial pit containing forty-two burials, four of which showed advanced cases of syphilis. There were also seven young children. Ossuaries usually have more skulls than long bones but in this ossuary the skulls and bones checked very closely. The burials at the top of the pit were complete skeletons doubled up into separate heaps. At the bottoms of the ossuary were two nearly perfect pipes, one of them a white clay trade pipe and the other an Iroquoian pipe like the ones Dr. Cadzow found in Susquehannock burials in Pennsylvania.[11] There were also three Jew's harps, seven copper hawk bells, eight iron brackets, an iron hoe, a copper finger ring set with glass, a snuff box, fragments of a pair of scissors and a flattened lead musket ball. Most of these things are similar to ones Dr. Cadzow has described and illustrated from

[11] Cadzow, plate 30, page 78.

his Susquehannock excavations.[12] If there were a hundred fighting men, as the contemporary records estimate, the population of the fort with the women, children and old people would have been about five hundred. Hŕdlička estimates the death rate among Indians to be twenty-five per thousand per year which makes the number of forty-two burials seem an extremely high rate for a year and a half even including the deaths during the seven weeks of the siege.

Only about a foot from the ossuary was a small shallow pit containing two iron hoes, an upright Dutch gin bottle, two small iron pots and a mass of almost completely disintegrated stuff that looked as though it might have been textile. This pit could have contained offerings to the dead in the nearby ossuary or it could have been a treasure pit. At the close of the siege when the Susquehannocks knew they were about to abandon the fort it would have been a very natural thing to have made a proper disposal of their dead before they fled. The digging of this ossuary and the accompanying little pit may have been the last acts of the Susquehannocks before they escaped through the colonists' lines.

In the summer of 1938 while finishing up the excavations outside of Moyaone we found a large circular stockade some distance back and enclosing about two acres. In relation to the Wertenbaker map it would probably be to the left of the camp of the besieging forces. As we worked on the stockade we became convinced that it had nothing to do with the old village of Moyaone, Indian stockades for defence have protected gates two and a half feet wide in strategic places. This stockade had only one gate five feet wide with an apron running out which formed a sort of chute. The south side showed signs in several places of having been repaired. A great many fragments of white clay trade pipes, the firing pan of a flint-lock and parts of old bottles were found but there were no indications that the area inside the stockade had ever been lived in. During the siege the Maryland troops had two hundred and fifty horses and the Virginia forces probably had about an equal number. The records say that the Susquehannocks stole some of the horses and ate them and so many horses were allowed to stray that after the siege thirty men were ordered to range the woods around the Susquehannock and Piscataway Forts to try to recover the lost horses.[13] It is possible that this big circular stockade was the besiegers' horse corral.

[12] *Ibid.*, plates 42, 43, 44, pages 88, 89. [13] *Archives*, XV : 56.

ELIZA GODEFROY: DESTINY'S FOOTBALL

By William D. Hoyt, Jr.

Maximilian and Eliza Godefroy left the United States in the summer of 1819 disillusioned and heartbroken. The architect's work had not received the recognition it deserved and the struggle to make a living became very difficult after estrangement from the old friend, Benjamin Latrobe. Even the departure was marked by the tragic death from yellow fever of the young daughter to whom both mother and step-father were deeply attached. Then came the tempestuous voyage which ended in the loss of Godefroy's library, engravings, and the studies of his entire career.[1]

Small wonder, then, that Eliza Godefroy's letters written from England in 1820 (Letters I and II below) were filled with bitter hopelessness and harsh criticism of the American people who were held responsible for the desperate situation in which she found herself. Her correspondence with David Baillie Warden, the Irish-born American citizen who had served as United States consul in Paris and who lived in the French metropolis as one of the prominent figures of literary and scientific circles, is most revealing and extremely interesting.[2] The letters, which are among the Warden Papers, owned by the Maryland Historical Society, show better than any previous sources the depths of despair and anguish to which the cultivated and able Baltimorean was reduced.

The first letter reflected the influence of " the frightful and cureless calamity," the loss of the beloved child, and the writer's one desire was to go to some obscure and quiet nook where tranquillity might be found. Three months later the pinch of poverty had become apparent, and Eliza Godefroy compared her situation to " the ancient manner of dying by opening a vein & letting Life ooze away drop by drop." She was inexpressibly weary of " this perpetual struggling with the stars for ignoble mutton chops and plebeian potatoes," and she devoutly wished that her husband's artistry might turn trees, rivers, valleys, and mountains into bread and wine. She had recovered sufficiently from her personal grief to express the strongest denunciation of the American people,

[1] Carolina V. Davison, " Maximilian and Eliza Godefroy," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXIX (1934), 1-20, discusses the Godefroys' experiences in America.

[2] Warden's " Journal of a Voyage from Annapolis to Cherbourg " in 1811 was published in Volume XI (1916) of this Magazine.

who were outstanding for perfidy, vulgarity, ignorance, vanity, and " the low impertinence of upstart pride." She wrote a scathing blast against the haughtiness of the merchants of the American ports, and she commented vigorously on the kindness and sympathy of the English who did not look for " the tinsel needful to awaken *american hospitality.*"

The experience in England was not successful, however, and the Godefroys moved to France in 1827. Two years later the architect received the minor and ill paid post of architect to the Department of Mayenne, and it was from Laval in that region that Eliza Godefroy next wrote to Warden in 1830 and 1831 (Letters III, IV, V). A decade had passed and her feelings towards the United States were somewhat changed. She now spoke of it as " emphatically *my home,*" though it still rankled that her husband had been remunerated at the same rate as the day laborer who carried the hod. She wanted to obtain for Godefroy the appointment as French Consul General to the United States, and she spoke of his knowledge of the country and the language as a real advantage. She made one significant comment regarding the presence of good literature, which she had found " at the poorest inn, in the poorest village, in the public houses on the road side beyond the Alleghany mountains in the upper parts of Virginia," but could never get in the taverns of Liverpool, in London, or in any part of France.

The last two letters are lighter in tone than any of the others, and from their lines one gets a glimpse of the gayer, less pensive Eliza Godefroy. She was still trying to procure for her husband work worthy of his talents, but she went about it with zest and hope, and the cleverly turned phrases of the epistles were indicative of revival of the old spirit. It is true that she said " I try to sing that I may not weep," but the fact that she did not " treat you to the lacrymals " showed that she no longer regarded herself gloomily as a " football of fortune " seeking shelter from the tempests of the world.

I

I know not my dear Mr Warden whether or not you ever received the expression of my unfeigned gratitude for the kind attention with which you sent me two French novels. they were neither of them suited to the meridian of literary taste in Baltimore, but your friendly remembrance awakened all the gratitude it deserved.

I do extremely regret that since destiny has brought us back to the Old World, she should have placed us where we can have no personal intercourse with you. the happy combination of a good heart with fine talents, finely cultivated is too rare in every country not to make it greatly desireable to be near those so highly gifted with whom we have the happiness of being acquainted. I have nothing to do with hope. I have almost forgotten what it means, of I should perhaps think since the Ocean no longer divides us, the gratification of seeing you once more might be still in store for us.

Even yet I sometimes doubt that I am in Europe, Fate appeared to have fixed us so irrevocably in America; and at times the frightful and cureless calamity that marked our parting footsteps from its shores appears to me like a terrific dream! but a dream, from which alas! too truly, I never, never can awake! mais brisons sur ce triste & désespérante chapître.

It is a source of infinite gratification to me that my Husband is so much pleased with this Country. unfortunately to make one's way as an Artist must be the work of time, though I doubt not he will ultimately succeed because I believe real talent will find its level in England. If you have any acquaintance amongst Men of Science & Art here my dear Sir, might I ask that you would add to the kindness you have already shown me, that of giving Mr G an introduction to such Persons. my taste if I could indulge it would lead me to some obscure & quiet nook where tranquility all of happiness I can now know on earth might be mine—but alas! in the solitary retreat as well as amongst the busy hum of Men one must eat, & the more one is known the better is the chance of providing wherewithal to perform that indispensable operation—I trust you are one of the favourites of Fortune. I well know your worth, & believe me it would give me the truest heartfelt pleasure to hear of your health & prosperity.

The Messenger waits to take this to M Ducatel—I beseech you to write to us—would that I were or could hope to become a more agreeable correspondent—if there were any thing in the world I could do for you here, I trust you believe what gratification it would afford me

I am,
My dear Sir,
Most gratefully & sincerely yrs,
Eliza H M Godefroy

July 28th 1820
No 12 Charles Street
Clarendon Square Somerstown

II

Liverpool Octr 12th 1820

My dear Sir,

Mr Godefroy and myself had the pleasure of writing to you about the latter end of July by young Ducatel—We had flattered ourselves with the hope of hearing from you before we left London but as we have been here exactly 2 months this very Day, I trust it is beyond a doubt a Letter from you will greet our return—

The vexatious laws of the Custom House have occasioned us vexations and embarrassments beyond what you can conceive—Heaven knows we arrived in this Country with a purse so slenderly provided, that we could not spare a moment of time in setting about a means of replenishing it—but that destiny which I really believe selects peculiar unlucky wights for its favourite foot balls, has thought proper to arrange things otherwise. Whilst all poor Godefroy's works, were locked in the merciless gripe of the custom house officers, they of course could not be exhibited as vouchers of his capacity, & thus the generous interest some kind Friends have manifested in his behalf could not be effectively exerted to procure him employment—God forbid you should ever know the anxieties & vexations incidental to such a situation as ours has been—I can compare it to nothing but the ancient manner of dying by opening a vein & letting Life ooze away drop by drop—to see the few pence one atchieves allways with so much difficulty and often with so much mortification melting away from day to day while one is condemned to sit supine & wait the impending ruin—oh! my dear Mr Warden, old Barsillai was not more deaf to the singing Men & singing Women of Jerusalem,[3] than I since one overwhelming & irretrievable calamity am & ever must remain to all that tempts ambition in this World—but I confess to you I am weary more than I can express of this perpetual struggling with the stars for ignoble mutton chops & plebian potatoes—& I am so out of humour with poverty & its worst hand maid dependance, that I don't know any thing I would not for give a Man for doing, to secure himself from her deadly gripe—however in a few Days now I trust our little Vessel will be launched to the favouring breeze which is promised her—there appears to be but one opinion amongst our Friends in London that Godefroy cannot fail to do well once he had made a beginning—his views of american Scenery are to be immediately put in the hands of an Engraver, & if Trees, rivers, Valleys & Mountains turn into bread & wine for us at his touch, God knows it will be a transmutation most devoutly to be wished. but pardon all this miserable egotism—I speak to you as to a Friend whom I exult in believing takes some little interest in our welfare & thus you see of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.

I see your work[4] is announced & I hope when I get to London that mart of all literary delight, I shall get a peep at it. I don't now if you think & consequently speak of the Americans *con amore*—for my own part, I think them the most inimitable & unanswerable commentary upon the system of the perfectibility of the human species—their system of government is divine, & as the government of a nation is believed to have no small influence upon the people, one would expect that People of all others to approximate most nearly to perfection—now amongst the Americans there are some few here & there who have as they deserve all my

[3] See II Samuel, 19:34, 35.

[4] Presumably the *Statistical, Political, and Historical Account of the United States of North America,* Edinburgh, 1819, 3 volumes, or the French translation, Paris, 1820, 5 volumes.

esteem & admiration; but take them as a people, I think they have all the vices & none of the virtues that ever distinguished Nations Ancient or Modern—they are crafty perfidious, vulgar, ignorant, of bad faith, avaricious, insolent & vain—seek for the low impertinence of upstart pride, where will you find a more plentiful harvest than in Republican America—I defy the congregated Nobles of Europe, to evince more haughtiness than the body of wealthy Merchants of Baltimore New York & Philadelphia & this day as I observed to Mrs Patterson I would rather encounter all the Peers of Great Britain than an American who had ever spoken to a Lord—oh! I do loathe the very name of that People—it is true the cruel injustice & barbarous tyranny with which my Husband was treated amongst them may have infused the gall that mingles with my feelings towards them—but in sober reason, setting all prejudice aside I think them a combination of all the vices which the decrepitude of age has brought on Europe, without the refinements which compensate in some degree for moral evil—I do assure you I would rather live on 300£ a year in England which is just enough to keep life & soul decently together, than on 30,000£ a year in America. I could say a great deal more on this subject, but as you may be one of the enthusiasts who hail regenerated human Nature in America, perhaps I have said much more than you like already, but I know you to have one of those liberal & elevated minds, which quarrels not with those who cannot agree with you on all points.

And now my dear Sir, I come to speak to you of a favour which I confidently ask of your friendship—Mrs Douglas who takes you this Letter is going to France with her Husband & children where she intends residing 3 or 4 years for the education of her Daughters—I became acquainted with her here, & think her a charming as I know her to be a most estimable Woman—your acquaintance I am sure would be invaluable to her—May I then venture to hope, you will pay her those attentions & shew her those kindnesses which are so delightful in a strange country—She is very desirous of being introduced into French Society & I am sure she is the very woman calculated to please in their circles as she attains sufficient command of the language to shew what she is. to render any service to our fellow creatures is so great a pleasure to the heart, & it is alas! so seldom that pleasure can be mine, that I have seized with avidity that of introducing this Lady to your acquaintance, because I am sure in so doing I essentially benefit her—of this Worlds good things she has abundance, but you know mere money though it purchases many is not enough for all the enjoyments of Life—to add to hers I consign her to your friendly offices & can only say that if any Friend of yours comes to London, what a gratification it would be to me to do all I could to make it agreeable to them. Is there no hope my dear Sir that we may have the pleasure of seeing you—I assure you this is a delightful Country—& coming as we did broken hearted & destitute of all the tinsel needful to awaken *american hospitality,* we have met with a kindness, sympathy and friendship which reconciles to human Nature.

I heard with the most cordial pleasure from my charming little Friend Mrs Jackson, that you were well & seemed in the enjoyment of all that

makes life a blessing—cherished, esteemed & sought-after by all the world —long & uninterrupted be your course of felicity My dear Sir; it is delightful to hear that any one, much more a valued Friend is in possession of happiness, that most rare of all earthly treasures—

If step Dame fortune should at last relent towards us, the first use I make of her smiles will be to take a trip to Paris—my Husband has vowed never to set foot on his n[ative] soil, but as his dearest enjoyment is to procure me pleasure he says [the] moment we are able I shall visit France —I am grown indifferent to all that once excited my curiosity & awakened my interest—the truth is if we had an income to secure us from want, I believe I should set down in calm indifference waiting the sleep of peace— but if any thing could arouse me from apathy, it would be to see that Country which has made such a figure in the records of the World.

Mr Godefroy offers you the assurance of his warmest esteem—I, my dear Mr Warden entreat you to accept my heartfelt wishes that health & all the blessings of Life may be yours—

Believe me most faithfully & cordially yours,
Eliza H M Godefroy

III

Rue du pont neuf—Laval, département de la Mayenne Decr 12th 1830

My dear Sir,

It was with no small satisfaction that I learned from my Husband that he had the pleasure of seeing you, and if it were possible to envy one so dear, I should have envied him that pleasure— It is so delightful to meet in a foreign land with one whom one has known *at home*, and I went so young, and lived so long in America that for many years, and even now, I considered & still consider it as emphatically *my home*. Yet, in the years that have elapsed, dear Mr Warden, since I last had the happiness of seeing you, how hand in hand has misfortune gone with time over my head, how many holy and tender ties have been burst asunder, how completely, but for one attachment in which is concentrated my heart, my soul, my very existence, should I be " a blasted branch upon creation's tree." and the truth is, that all countries are alike, when you have with you the only being to whom your affections are bound. and now, four long mortal months have revolved, since I have been separated from that being; since the stagnation of my existence has been unbroken, except by the pain of that separation and the anxieties that corrode me for our future fate. ah! dear Mr Warden, if poor Husband had but had the advantage of having been long enough, and intimately enough known to you, for you to have discerned half his worth, half the noble and diversified talents and qualities with which nature has endowed him, I am sure you would feel towards him what I have so often felt & which is entirely apart from the love I bear him as his wife—how often in contemplating the various productions of his genius & in musing over his destiny, have I compared him to a corinthian capital, torn from its supporting column, and trodden

under every careless foot—I am afraid you will think me guilty of indelicacy in speaking in such terms of him whose name I bear—and if the picture I so strongly appreciate were set in a golden frame, I should be the last to point out its beauties—but all who have intimately known Husband, and who had souls to comprehend him, have participated in my enthusiasm—My dear Father whom you honoured with your esteem and friendship, and who, lived for more than ten years, and always with us, after our marriage, conceived for Godefroy, an ardour of esteem and affection which knew no bounds. the thoughts of leaving the happiness of his only child in such hands, soothed his last hours, and in the delirium that preceded his release from this world of care, Husband's name, broken epithets of love and tenderness for him, were the only articulate sounds he uttered. and faithfully have the hopes of that dear Father been realized—for four & twenty years that I have been Maxime's wife, no tear has ever filled my eyes, no pang has ever wrung my heart, which he occasioned or which he could avert—sorrows, and bitter cares often pressed heavily upon me, but amidst them all, I have blessed that which I should otherwise have deprecated, the hour that gave me life, since I felt that all was redeemed by the consciousness of belonging to such a Being. Godefroy has doubtless told you the reasons that determined our return to Europe— You will agree with me that the American Government, realizes the *beau idéal* of liberty, but I doubt whether you are so enthusiastic an Admirer of the People, as to think that they realize the *beau idéal* of human nature—If they have dashed from their Altars many of the Idols of old Europe, there is one they have preserved, and whom they worship with an intensity of adoration not surpassed by that which is offered him in any quarter of the habitable Globe—Mammon has superceded, there, all other divinities, and the flame which burns upon his altars, is universal and perennial— If Mr Godefroy had been compensated with common decency for the immense works he executed in that country, instead of being adrift on the ocean of life as we now are, we should be in possession of honourable and even affluent independance—but availing themselves of Husband's situation, they placed him under the necessity of erecting edifices for them which are the acknowledged pride of the country, & remunerated his talents and his labour, at the same rate that they paid the day labourer that carried the hod! returned to his native land, where the honourable career he had pursued, where the noble sacrifices he had made to principle were known and attested by not a few, one would have supposed that the rigour of his destiny would have been mitigated—that in the diversity of talents and the variety of knowledge he possesses, he would have found means of obtaining all to which our chastened wants and ambition aspired—but, the shrinking delicacy of his character, the elevation of mind which render impossible to him any thing which approaches importunity or intrigue have been invincible obstacles in his way—personally known to that arch idiot Polignac,[5]

[5] Prince Polignac, premier and foreign minister of France 1829-1830, a reactionary at whose door was laid much of the blame for the Revolution of July, 1830, when Louis Philippe came to the throne.

all idiot as he was, he well knew Godefroy would never be a tool for dirty work; and therefore although in many respects he might have been useful to him, he knew his lofty spirit would never stoop to become the instrument of what his honour and conscience forbade—thus, was poor Husband left to languish in a sphere every way unworthy of him, until this magnificent revolution burst upon the world and amidst its benefits to humanity, it whispered to suffering merit, that it might yet find its level. Ah! dear Mr Warden, let me adjure you by your own kind and generous heart, by the regard with which I am sure you still cherish my Father's memory, to use your influence to obtain some amelioration of our fate. Husband, as you know, no doubt, is most solicitous to be appointed Consul General to the U. S. surely, his knowledge of the country and the language, must be at least *some* advantage in such a post—his tried and scrupulous, his tenacious, even chivalrous notions of probity and honour fit him for it still more; and although certainly it is less material in a Consul than an Ambassador, yet it competes with the dignity of a great nation, that whichever of its branches is represented, its representative should be a Man of education and polished manners. merit alas! I know weighs seldom in the balance, as almost all appointments are obtained through favour, and that is the reason, that as I am persuaded you can do it conscientiously, I would so earnestly solicit you to exert your influence in my Husband's behalf—pardon dear Mr Warden the liberty I have ventured to take—I have long known your heart, and the happiness of two footballs of fortune, so wrecked, so shattered by many a tempest is at stake! will not this suffice for my apology.

But, I cannot close my letter, after all this volume of egotism, without saying a word or two, upon that, which but for my personal & overwhelming anxieties, would absorb all my thoughts. I mean the marvellous revolution of July—it stands alone in the annals of mankind—an overthrow of a throne, of a government, so spontaneous, so rapid, and not one single useless crime committed. It was as if the ocean stirred up by the tempest, had heard amidst the roar of the winds and water, " thus far, shalt thou go, and no farther "—and the calm adhesion, that the Revolution has found all over France is scarcely less wonderful— For a time I was afraid that the young hot headed republicans would have carried the day—a Republic in any of the old nations of Europe, how impossible—or at least a republic to last more than a day and quickly become a despotism—mislead by the example of the U. S. these Quixotes of liberty, never pause for a moment to ponder upon the difference between the elements which composed the American Republic, and those of a Kingdom governed by a throne for 1400 centuries—the American nation sprung into being like Minerva leaping full armed from the forehead of Jupiter—in Europe, light has been won, civilization has been conquered step by step, century by century—and all the inventions of the barbarous ages, the feudal system, & that worst canker of a state, a *state* religion and above all that religion *the catholic* have left insurmountable obstacles in the way of the establishment of such a plenitude of liberty as that which the U. S. possesses—again, knowledge in America is like wealth—there are very few colossal fortunes; there are

very few Men of profound erudition—but almost all have the means of existence, almost all have more or less cultivation— I know nothing that struck me more than one difference I remarked in travelling in America & Europe—in the former country, I never stopped at the poorest inn, in the poorest village, in the public houses on the road side beyond the Alleghany mountains in the upper parts of virginia, where not a meal was to be had that one would have offered to pigs accustomed to a certain degree of *swinish* elegance, that I did not find Byron, Scott, &c in short a good selection of lighter literature—In the Inns at Liverpool, on the high oxford road, in London, even, I never could get a book, unless it were the bible, bestowed by the bible society, or some of the tracts so diffusely disseminated by the society for that purpose—in France the same thing occurs every where—a catholic prayer book, or some legends of the saints, are all, upon which you may starve if you dont take a provision of books with you— you have no idea of the barbarous ignorance in which the *people* here & in Britany are plunged; hence, I conclude that the same government which is admirable for America, would be good for nothing in France two more objections last, though not least to a Republic such as that of the U S for this country arise from the geographical position and the difference of population of the two nations—certainly Maryland and Virginia have more superficial acres than all the Kingdom of France—yet France has 32 millions of Inhabitants, & the whole U. S. but twelve—America has nothing to fear, nothing to *menager* with her neighbours—dear Sir, my paper is at an end for which I am sure you will not be sorry—I don't know which you will think most tiresome—the first or the last of my letter—be generous, and forgive both, and crown your generosity by writing to cheer the solicitude of her who is your faithful and affectionate

Friend and Servant,

E H M Godefroy

IV

Laval, Janry 17th 1831

My dear Mr Warden,

Here cometh an Epistle, not wet with tears, but fraught with ire—why, whip me such an uncourteous Knight about the world. How many autumnal Suns have risen and set, how many keen winter blasts have blown, since I brandished my goose quill in your honour, and verily with as little affect as if that same goose quill had winged a shaft through the empty air. Yes, indeed had I thought you would at least have sent me some good wishes, according to the fashion in France for new year's day—but not a word—well, as Mr Shandy asks, what is the life of Man? (and of woman too) Is it not to shift from sorrow to sorrow? to button up one cause of vexation, and unbutton another? so, I must e'en put the vexation of your silence into the bag with my other grievances against my stars, and taken one with another, great and small, I assure you they make a load heavy enough to weary the back of a stout London Porter.

I should have been content however, my dear Sir, to have " nursed my wrath to keep it warm " for I can't say how long a time, if I had not had a favour to beg of you—this proves that however amenable I may think you before the high court of chivalry, I am persuaded you will never be brought in as a culprit before that of kindness and friendship—and now to business; lest peradventure you should conclude, that in true feminine style, I mean to defer the material point and purpose of my letter to its post cript.

Some two or three weeks ago, I ventured upon the strength of very, very old acquaintance to write to General Devereux, and with an aching, and a beating heart, & just as much hope as a drowning Man has, when he catches at a straw, to ask him to do me a service which would be my earthly salvation—far be it from me, to translate a benefit refused into an injury inflicted—I have no possible claim upon General Devereux, and therefore my feelings towards him now, stand precisely as they did before I made my application, which I felt at the moment to be a forlorn hope. but the truth is, he has never answered me at all, one way or another, yet I cannot doubt of his having received my letters, because long since, Husband has incidentally mentioned his being in Paris— In order to spare myself the task of entering into much painful detail, I enclosed to him two letters that I had written to that heartless Polignac & one to a Gentleman here, since Mr G went to Paris—I really want them for I have no other copies; but, if I write to ask for them simply by the post, it is probable that poor missive may be thrown aside with the other two, & I hear no more of my request—I believe dear Mr Warden, you are on a footing of acquaintance with the General, might I then ask of you to send him the enclosed by the petite poste, and afterwards when you happen to see him, ask if he has received it. by this means I shall be sure of its not having miscarried—I send my letter to you open; that you may see it contains nothing which your pride or your delicacy might make you averse from interfering in—and now for an explanation of what may appear mysterious (a word that I abhor) in the request I make you. You will not be at a loss to divine that it was a pecuniary service I asked of Devereux—poor Husband's noble spirit, has so many blows and bruises to sink under, that a Mother is not more anxious to avert from her first born, every blast that may blow upon it too roughly, than I am to spare him every mortification from which I can save him. I judged it therefore perfectly unnecessary, with the faint glimmer of hope with which I preferred my prayer, to tell poor Maxime I had made it—if it had succeeded the sense of humiliation, would have been so soothed, by the benefit which would have resulted from it—Husband therefore does not know I ever wrote to the General at all; but he knows graceless Cavalier, that I have written to you, and therefore will not be surprised that I send him this for you. Do me the favour then dear Sir, of managing this little transaction for me, and I cannot speak how great will be my obligation.

Well, what say you to the state of public affairs here and elsewhere? I still continue to deserve the civic crown, because Je ne veux pas douter de la patrie—petty politicians on both sides, with their twopenny causes &

their three farthing arguments make me sick—they will not or cannot see that two mighty giants are en champ clos; and as nothing is *immuable,* but a fool in his folly, it is inevitable that the one which has been paramount for hundreds of ages, should in his turn, give way. I said to one of these political moles the other day, who was pouring into my ear, against the stomach of my sense a long kyrielle about his Voltaire & Rousseau & the comité directeur, that he was seeking the source of the river at its mouth. The Mayenne was just then sparkling in the beam of a winter sun, under my window—& I added that river will return to its source before your Bordeaux, or your despotic powers will be seated on a stable throne—and in truth; I do not know what may enter into the designs of the Creator; France and England & all civilized Europe may become as Tyre & Sidon; as Babylon & Nineveh—but never again will lawless tyranny resume its sway over the civilized nations of the Earth—pardon this hors d'oeuvre of politics—but alas! I may say with poor Rosalind I try to sing that I may not weep—it is no use to treat you to the lacrymals —Jeremiah's lamentations if you have a taste for the penseroso, are much more eloquent than mine, and hardly more mournful—

Yours dear Sir, most truly

E H M Godefroy

V

My dear Sir,

I owe you many thanks for your kind letter, I am grieved to find that you too have found "this working day world so full of briars." To be compelled to battle with fortune, after the vigour of youth and health have fled, is indeed to draw a sad blank in the lottery of life. For my part, I have long been aweary of the world, and but for one bright gem that sparkles amids the crown of thorns which has so long bound my brows, I should deprecate the hour that gave me birth. I presume in some future state of existence we shall know; how partial evil, works for universal good, but if to all the evils with which this life teems, I could be converted to the belief, (which I *believe* to be impossible) that eternal pains might be added hereafter to nine tenths of the human race, I should cease to think it possible that we had been created by a beneficent God. As it is I submit, and hope at least for peace and rest beyond the grave—

I am grieved to ask you to put yourself to any trouble for me, when I know how precious time is to you, but I have a favour to beg which I can ask of nobody but you, or else believe me, I would not importune you—

Would you believe that Devereux has never granted my request, even that of enclosing the copies of Letters I had sent him, in a blank cover and despatching them to me by the post—That he should have turned a deaf ear to the service I begged of him is most natural—I pretend to have no earthly claim to his beneficence, and there never was a Man grown rich yet, who had not plenty of *claims* from those who have or fancy they have a right to prefer them—but I confess that I cannot but think it unkind and even *ungtlemanly,* for so very old on acquaintance not to have complied

with the request contained in my last letter, which you had the goodness to send him—now, less than ever can I tell poor Husband of the application I had made to General Devereux, and desire him to ask him for the letters in question—may I then once more invoke your kindness, that you would write him a line & a half by the twopenny post, and ask him to send them to you by the same channel, and then without taking the trouble to add a word, except to tell me of your health, and that it is better if you can, forward them to me through the post Office—Husband leaves Paris for Laval on Sunday, but there is no chance of your having them in time to send them by him, & they are really of too much consequence to me for the postage to be taken into consideration.

Pardon me I beseech you dear Mr Warden for the liberty I have taken in thus troubling you with my concerns and accept the sincerest & most earnest wishes for your health and comfort of her who is very faithfully

Yours,

E. H. M. Godefroy

Tuesday febr 8th 1831
Laval, département de la Mayenne—

I had expected that General Devereux might have left Paris but I now know *de Science certaine* that he is still in that City.

BLUE AND GRAY

I

A BALTIMORE VOLUNTEER OF 1864

By William H. James[1]

Monday May 23rd [1864]. Signed my name on the list at the City Guard Armory to go in Capt. Jas. A. Courtney's company, 11th. Regiment, Md. Volunteer Infantry.

Thursday June 2d. Examined and sworn into the U. S. service at Camp Bradford.

Monday June 13th. Having been ordered to report at camp this day, went out in the afternoon and helped to floor the tent that I was to occupy while the regiment remained at Camp Bradford, returned home in the evening.

Tuesday June 14th. Went to camp this morning prepared to stay, and spent my first night in camp. Appointed 4th. Sergeant of Co. G this day by Capt. Courtney.

Wednesday June 15th. Mustered into the United States service for 100 days by Major H. W. Wharton.

Thursday June 16th. Became 3rd Sergeant by the promotion of the 3rd Sergeant to Sergeant Major.

Friday June 17th. Received clothing and equipments.

Saturday June 18th. Regiment left Camp Bradford this afternoon and marched by way of Charles, Madison, Aisquith, Balto. and Fulton Streets to Camp Carroll, where we went into barracks and staid fifteen days.

Tuesday June 21st. Received arms and accoutrements. The 2d. Sergeant of our company having been taken home on Sunday sick I acted as such until the 13th of August.

Tuesday June 28th. Was on duty to day as Sergeant of the Guard for the first time.

Thursday June 30th. Regiment was mustered for pay this morning by Capt. Hennisee.

[1] This account of the wartime experiences of William H. James of Baltimore, one of the 100 days volunteers in 1864, was found among the effects of his late widow, Mrs. Kate Francesca (Harman) James, by her nephew, Mr. William Gray Harman, of Plainfield, New Jersey, who kindly made it available for publication here. Mr. James, a life long resident of Baltimore, was a book-keeper by vocation and a member of the Lutheran Church. His home was on Edmondson Avenue. The MS is a fair copy, bearing evidence of preparation at some date subsequent to the events it records.—Editor.

Friday July 1st. Received the City bounty of $50.00 from John R. Thompson City Register.

Sunday July 3rd. Regiment received marching orders this evening at 6 o'clock, packed up and took the cars near the camp soon after dark[.] Train started about 11 o'clock for the Relay House where we arrived in about a half an hour. Left the cars formed in line and marched up near the barracks where we bivouaced for the night.

Monday July 4th. Shelter tents issued to the regiment, company streets laid out, and tents pitched. About the most miserable 4th. of July that I ever spent, owing chiefly to a fall that I received the night before from the car that I was in, the effects of which did not pass off for several days.

Tuesday July 5th. Received a visit this afternoon from Lottie, Fanny and Freddie, obtained a leave of absence and took supper with them at Mrs. Hanzshe's. Upon return to camp found the regiment packing up, orders having been received to that effect. Hard tack and forty rounds of ammunition issued to each man and peices loaded. Marched down to the station about dark, and went aboard of cars, loaded the stores, and started up the road about eleven o'clock

Wednesday July 6th. About 8 o'clock this morning arrived at Monocacy Bridge, disembarked on the east side of the river, and marched down to a low piece of ground a short distance south of the railroad where we spent the day in the broiling sun.

Thursday July 7th. This morning two or three companies of our regiment sent out on picket duty, rebels reported as being near. About one o'clock regiment ordered out, rebels reported coming. Alarm soon over, regiment ordered back, but kept in line balance of the day. Late in the afternoon heard artillery firing very distinctly. By order of Col. Landstreet took a detail of four men to Genl. Wallace, found the Genl. on a high ridge overlooking the beautiful valley in which Frederick is situated, viewing the artillery firing through a glass, which appeared to me to be five miles distant. Bivouaced on our arms tonight, prepared to move at a moments notice. There was a brisk shower of rain during the night, but being well covered, kept perfectly dry.

Friday July 8th. Soon after breakfast the regiment was ordered to have every thing packed, and about ten o'clock we marched up to the railroad, w[h]ere we took the cars and after some delay,

started for Frederick, where we arrived at twelve o'clock. Disembarked and marched through the town and out the Hagerstown road a short distance beyond Frederick, where we came up to a number of troops, and saw evidences of the rebels having been near. Marched into a stubble field and drawn up in line, when we were immediately marched back t[h]rough the town by the left flank, and out the Balto. pike to the stone bridge over the Monocacy, about two and a half miles east of Frederick. This was the most exhausting march that I had yet taken, the sun was very powerful, the roads dusty and our knapsacks very heavy. A short distance east of Fred[erick] we were granted a rest of about half an hour and were directed to pile up our knapsacks by companies, and place a guard over them, and they would be forwarded to us by wagons, but that was the last we ever saw of them, as the rebels came into town that night, and the guards fled, and they were either destroyed by our cavalry, or captured by the rebels. Thus refreshed by a rest, and lightened of the heaviest part of our loads, we marched the balance of the way comparatively easy. After a short halt a little distance east of the bridge, we were marched a little farther and into a nice clover field, where we stacked arms and broke ranks. Took a bath in a small stream near by, and rested myself until I was very much refreshed. I had to beg my supper this evening, as my haversack had been left behind with the knapsacks by one of my tent mates, and as it contained all of my provis[i]ons, besides some other useful articles I regreted its loss very much. About eight o'clock when we were preparing to spend a comfortable night, orders came to get ready immediately and march down to the railroad bridge, this was not very comforting as we were so much wearied by the march of the day. However, there was only one thing for us to do and that was to *obey*[.] Our march was over a very crooked, hilly, stony and dark road, and the only thing pleasant about it was, the fact that we were not subjected to the fierce rays of the sun. The distance was called about five miles, but from the rapid pace, and the length of time it took us to make the march, I think seven or eight miles would be nearer to the correct distance we traveled. About twelve o'clock we arrived at our destination, and were marched just south of the railroad where an attempt was made to have the regiment file off into company streets, and bivouac in the order prescribed in the Army Regulations but the men were too tired, and the night being

very dark and the ground also having been previously occupied by a portion of the Sixth Corps who had come up from the Army of the Potomac during our absence, the attempt was abandoned and the men stretched themselves out on the ground as suited them best. During our night march we had to wade through a small stream, by which I got my feet wet, but when we laid down to rest, I took my stockings off and hung them on a twig to dry; sometime during the night, however, it commenced raining right briskly, and continued for sometime so that my stockings where prevented from drying which was the cause of much subsequent suffering to my feet on the march of the next two days, besides as our shelter was not very good we got considerably wet during the night.

Saturday July 9th. The clouds dispersed early this morning and the sun came out warm and beautiful. I had to run around this morning and beg for my breakfast, but did not succeed in getting much until Lieut. Rutherford obtained a box of " hard tack " from one of the quartermasters, which with some fresh butter bought by one of our company, I made a capital meal. Since leaving this place the day before, quite a change had taken place, a large portion of the Sixth Corps had come up from the Army of the Potomac, and were all scattered round in what appeared to me to be great confusion. Quartermasters were busily engaged in unloading a large amount of supplies, and three rebel prisoners had been brought in and were confined in a warehouse.

About eight o'clock in the morning our company was ordered to fall in, we soon thereafter started off in charge of our captain and two lieutenants, we were marched over the railroad bridge and up the Georgetown pike in the direction of Frederick, one of the aids of Genl. Wallace—who had command of all the troops—directing our captain where to post our company. After we had crossed the bridge, I could see that to the south on a high ridge and on the east side of the river, the Sixth Corps was forming a line of battle, little did I think then that so soon after that a heavy battle would be fought on the very ground that we were marching over. We were marched up the road about a mile, when we came to a pretty strong picket force of cavalry and infantry posted just behind a rise in the ground sufficient to hide them from the view of the rebels as they came down the road.

When we came up near to the pickets, our company was halted for a few minutes, while the officer who had brought us from the

regiment went forward and consulted with the officer who had charge of the picket force, upon his return we were ordered to "fall in" again—the ranks having been broken by the men to seek the shade of some trees near by—and were marched over to the Frederick branch railroad, and down that road to the railroad bridge, over which we crossed, and were then marched up around the blockhouse, and up the road running along the east side of the Monocacy, down which we had come the night before. We had not proceeded far up this road before we heard the report of a musket, coming, as we supposed, from the picket force that we had left on the opposite side of the river, and where it was intended, I believe, to have posted us. It was not long before another, and another report reached our ears showing that our advanced line had engaged the enemy. We were marched up the road at a very fast gait, too fast indeed for comfort, as the weather was intensely hot, though thanks to the high ridge and the trees on our right, we were protected from the scorching rays of the sun. After we had gone about a mile and a half up the river, we were marched across a field and down to what appeared to be an old mill-race, though it was much wider and was evidently a natural formation. Into this old race our company was posted in groups of from four to six, and were commanded to keep perfectly quiet and a sharp lookout for rebels, as the position our company occupied gave them complete command of a ford which it was thought the rebels would be likely to avail themselves of, in order to turn the right of our army which occupied the position around the railroad bridge and where it was determined to give the rebels battle. Upon the right of our company was Company A of our regiment, and one company of a Ohio regiment, I did not know this at the time, but supposed that when we were placed there that company G was the only one that guarded the ford. We had not been posted long before cannonading commenced and the battle opened in good earnest. The report of the guns and the hissing of the shells as they passed through the air and then their bursting could be very distinctly heard by us. The position that we occupied gave us very excellent protection, as we had a natural breastwork about five feet high, besides a number of large trees. The men on the extreme right and left of our company told me afterwards that they could see the rebels—down towards the junction where the battle was progressing—very plainly. I regret that I did not change

my position—which was very much obscured by bushes and trees on the opposite side of the river—so that I could have had a veiw also. During the time that we held the position near the ford, we were not disturbed by the rebels, though some of the men on our right thought that they had seen them, and bang, bang, went about a dozen guns, but if they did see them, I think they must have been at too long range to have done them any harm, as they made no reply. I have often thought it singular that I had not the least fear during the battle, and afterwards on our retreat. I can only account for it by the belief that I entertained then that the battle was only a feint—an artillery duel beween the forces—brought on by the rebels to hide some movement of theirs upon some other point. Little did I then think that the enemy numbered from fifteen to twenty thousand, with about twenty pieces of artillery, while our army numbered about seven thousand with six rifled field pieces, and one brass howitzer, the latter being posted in the block-house and did good execution among the rebels. I was also very much concerned about my own comfort, as the weather was very hot and we could not get any drinking water, and having been very much exhausted by the previous day and night's march I think it had a tendency to divert my mind from the danger which surrounded us. After we had spent about three hours in the ditch, we were ordered out on the road again, but as we proceeded up the hill and across the field previously mentioned, we were observed by the rebels who threw one or two shells after us, but they burst before reaching us and no harm resulted. Upon reaching the road the company was immediately marched on after the Ohio company and company A of our regiment. Our route was along the road that we came down the previous night, and I have always supposed that it was intended that our three companies were ordered to reinforce the troops that were holding the stone bridge over the Monocacy at the Baltimore pike, where quite a brisk engagement occur[r]ed between the Ohio men and the rebels with varying results. If that was the intention, it was never realized, as the captain of the Ohio company—who had command of the battalion—permitted the men to rest too often and too long on the route, and we never approached nearer than within about a half a mile of the bridge, neither did we join the forces that were holding the ridge. This was an exceedingly unpleasant march, as the day was an intensely hot one, and the road was stony and

dusty. We were halted a number of times to let the men fill their canteens, and to rest them a little. While on this march small squads of cavalry passed us occasion[al]ly, from whom we would obtain tidings of how the battle was progressing, the first accounts they gave were favorable, that our men were fighting bravely and repulsing every charge of the enemy, then we heard that our men were being forced back by the overpowering numbers of the rebels, but were still contesting their ground manfully and last came the news that our army was compelled to give way before the superior numbers of the rebels, after having bravely fought them for five or six hours. When we arrived within about a quarter of a mile of the pike, we were halted to give the men rest, and also to give them an opportunity of getting some water. These were the only two things that I cared for—water, and a shady place [to] lie down in—I had lost pretty much all my accustomed energy from the intense heat, and exhausting marches and moved along more like an old machine, than a human being. At this place we halted about a half an hour, when we were ordered to fall in again, when instead of marching out to the pike as I supposed we would, we were ordered back the same way that we came, this was anything but pleasant, to be marching up and down this rough and dusty road, under such a hot sun with apparently no object in view. I have sometimes thought that the captain who had command of us was bewildered, as he appeared at times to act as if he did not know what to do. After we had retraced our steps about a half a mile, we met the advance of our army on the retreat, though I did not know at the time that it was a retreat, but supposed that we were going around to the stone bridge on the pike to take up a new position, being unable to hold the position where the battle was fought, but as after events proved, I was mistaken, and it was a retreat in earnest. I suppose that what tended most to make me believe that it was only a change of position, was the orderly manner in which the retreat was conducted. I always supposed that when an army was defeated in battle, and a retreat ensued, that there was great disorder, the men running off as fast as they could, but in this case it was not so, as far as my observation extended. Our regiment, or rather the eight companies that remained—where the battle was fought—occupied the extreme right of our line, to the north of the railroad, and just behind the brow of a hill upon which was stationed Alexander's Baltimore battery

and which they had orders to support, but were compelled to lie down out of sight of the rebels. From the position that our regiment held it was necessarily the first one to leave the field of battle in order to take the road up the river along which we had come during the morning and which led out to the Balto. and Frederick pike.

As the head of our regiment came along, company A which had been with us on picket duty, took its proper position in line while company G waited until company K had passed when it was ordered into line. As the head of the column reached the pike, it filed to the left in the direction of Frederick, for the purpose of supporting the Ohio troops who had been holding the stone bridge previously mentioned. This had been the order previously given to our colonel by Major Genl. Wallace who was in command, that our regiment with the Ohio troops should hold the bridge to secure the retreat of the army, and as the regiment proceeded to obey orders the charge that we run from the field made by persons who were fifty miles off is absurd, because if we had run from the battle field, we could not have come off in the order above mentioned, and the General would not have had confidence enough in us to have assigned us to such a critical position in case the enemy had have attempted the passage of the bridge, and the harrassing of our retreat. As our regiment was proceeding up the road, Genl. Wallace ordered Colonel Landstreet to march them down the road in the direction of Balto and then I began to realize that our army was on retreat. Why Genl. Wallace changed the order to our colonel, I have never learned, but suppose that he deemed unnecessary to send any more troops up to the bridge.

Our march down the pike was a very tiresome one, our regiment had been on the march until twelve o'clock the previous night, and our company had been on the go most of this day. We had not gone many miles down the road before I commenced to lag behind, this was owing to my feet having become very sore from the loss of my stockings, the army shoes which I was wearing at the time being much larger than I had been accustomed to, in the absence of any stockings chafed my feet a great deal, so that I could not do as well as many of our company who were not near as strong as I was.

Our retreat continued on down the road through the town of New Market, which place I reached about six o'clock in the

evening. At this place some of the citizens kindly set out buckets and pans of fresh water for our wearied men as we passed through which was very acceptable indeed. I rested at New Market twenty minutes, and then pushed on and overtook our company a short distance east of the town, where the whole command had been halted a short time, to allow the stragglers to come up. Soon after reaching our company, the command was given to move forward, and I kept up until about dark, when I fell behind again, this time I stopped with one of the other sergeants of our company to bathe our feet in a small stream, hoping thereby to ease the soreness of my feet, but it was only a temporary relief, as the skin had rubbed off of some parts of my feet, and was not to be healed with cold water. Upon starting on again, I walked right briskly to pass the cavalry and artillery which had overtaken me, and which it was unpleasant for one on foot to be among. About nine o'clock I again overtook our company, or what was left of it, as at least half of the men had become seperated by straggling. The whole command had been halted when the head of the column had reached the point where the railroad crosses the pike, where a train was in waiting to take the sick and wounded to Balto. After resting here about twenty or thirty minutes, the order was again given to fall in and move forward, but there was not much order in our movements, as the different commands had become very much mixed up in the darkness, and a portion of our company had mistook an order and gone forward with Lieut. Rutherford while the remainder were with Captain Courtney who started soon after but did not overtake the Lieut's. party.

Our march was continued on in the darkness over a stony road and at a very brisk pace, and in the condition in which my feet were it was very difficult for me to keep up, but I struggled on until about eleven o'clock, when in company with two comrades, I turned over into a large field and taking shelter under a tree, we laid down and I slept as well as if I had been at home in bed. After sleeping for some three or four hours, we again started on, and after having gone about three miles we were hailed by one of the members of our company, who heard us talking and recognized our voices, he told us that they had been halted there for the night. We found them lying on sheaves of wheat, which they had got from an a[d]joining field. As the ground was so thickly covered by our men, we climbed over the fence, and each taking two sheaves

of wheat, we were soon as sound asleep as if in a bed, and quite as comfortable.

About four o'clock on Sunday morning, we were wakened up and ordered forward, but I had not gone a great distance before I found that I would not be able to keep up on account of the soreness of my feet, besides I felt very wearied, the few hours rest that I had had, not having refreshed me much. I soon lagged behind the company, and stopped a number of times to rest on the road, but was urged forward by a cavalry guard whose duty it was to drive forward the stragglers, but I circumvented them a couple of times by walking ahead at a brisk pace until I got out of sight, and then hid, one time among some bushes, and the other time in a old log house which I judged from the strong smell about it, to have been used for keeping hogs in. In this way I was enabled to pursue my journey more leisurely, as in the last instance I remained in my hiding place until the guard had passed on ahead. I stopped at a couple of houses on the road, where I obtained breakfast and dinner, and rested during the heat of the day, and started again about five o'clock in the evening, and after resting a number of times, reached Ellicott's Mills about nine o'clock in the evening, just about twelve hours behind the advance of our company, or rather those who had kept up, the most of the members being stragglers like myself, and arrived there at all hours during the day. On my arrival at Ellicott's Mills I found that our regiment had been sent to Balto. in a train of cars, where they arrived about sundown. As there was no means of following them that night, I rolled myself up in my rubber blanket and lying down on a porch, slept until next morning.

Monday July 11th. About half-past eight o'clock this morning, I took the cars for Balto. and proceeded home, not having been able to ascertain where our regiment had been sent to. I have the satisfaction of knowing that I brought every thing that I had with me from the battlefield—musket, accoutrements, rubber blanket and all the cartridges dealt out to me, except a few that had been fired off, this is more than many of my comrades who had not sore feet to content with did, as many of them had thrown away all their ammunition, and some few their accoutrements and arms. Upon my arrival at home I shaved, took a bath and put on clean clothes and after a few hours rest was all most myself again. In the afternoon I ascertained that the regiment were encamped at Green-

wood out Gay st. and joined them that evening, where I was gladly welcomed back by Capt. Courtney and my comrades who had feared that I had been gobbled up by the rebels.

Saturday July 16th. Camp removed from Greenwood to near Fort Worthington about half a mile farther east.

Friday July 22d. Regiment left Camp Worthington this afternoon and proceeded to Camden Station, where they took the cars about eleven o'clock for the Relay House, with the exception of companies E and H who had been detailed for duty in the city.

Sunday July 24th. Regiment inspected this morning by Capt. Webb, after which orders were received to pack up, and take the cars for points higher up the road. Our company, with companies B and I were ordered to Monrovia, eight miles east of Monocacy, Capt. Courtney to be commandant of the post, with head-quarters of the regiment at Monrovia. Three companies were ordered to Monocacy, and the remaining two to Mount Airy, eight miles east of Monrovia. Left the Relay House about two o'clock and arrived at Monrovia half an hour before dark, when a camp ground was selected and we proceeded at once to pitch our tents.

Most of my duties for the first three weeks after our arrival at Monrovia was Sergeant of a picket guard, most of the time about a mile south of camp on the Edward's Ferry road, and once on the road leading to Liberty, about a mile north of the camp and in the village of New Market.

Friday Aug. 12th. Companies E and H joined our battalion today, having been ordered up from Balto. I was relieved from picket duty at New Market today, to enable me to go to head-quarters to receive sixteen days pay from the time we were mustered in until the 31st of June. I received $10.65, the first money that I had ever received from the U. S., but it did not do me much good, as ten dollars of it was stolen from a comrade to whose care I had entrusted it to bring to Balto. for me.

Saturday Aug 13th. This evening at dress parade, my promotion to Sergeant Major was read, but I was not aware of it until about dark on the next evening, as I had, in company with two comrades when relieved from picket duty this morning, taken a stroll through the country as far as the town of Liberty and did not return to camp until Sunday evening.

Monday Aug. 15th. Entered upon my duties as S. M. of the regt.

Saturday Sept. 3rd. The remaining five companies of the regiment joined us this morning.

Friday Sept. 23rd. Our time of enlistment being out today, we struck our tents early this morning, and left in a train of cars about ten o'clock this morning for Balto. where we arrived at three o'clock, having been absent just nine weeks.

Tuesday Oct. 4th. Was mustered out of service today to date from the 1st inst.

Thursday Oct. 6th. Our company was paid off today, and we separated, many of us never to meet again in this life. The accounts of the Non Commissioned Staff not being properly adjusted, I did not receive my pay until Friday the 7th. When there was paid me as private for 13 days $6.90. $1\frac{12}{30}$ Mo. as Sergt. $28. and $1\frac{18}{30}$ Mo. as S. M. $41.60 making with $50. City bounty and the amount paid on the 12th of Aug. $140.15 for my 100 days service in the Eleventh Regiment Md. Volunteers Infantry.

II

THE CONFEDERATE RAID ON CUMBERLAND IN 1865

By Basil William Spalding,[1] a participant

On the evening of February 20, 1865, McNeill's Rangers, about one hundred and eighty men, were encamped on the South Branch of the Potomac, about seven miles west of Moorefield, the county town of Hardy, West Virginia, and just opposite the little town of Petersburg.

The Rangers were under the command of Lieutenant Jesse McNeill, his father, Captain John Hanson McNeill, having been killed in September, 1864, in a night charge on the camp of Pennsylvania infantry, supposing them to be a company of cavalry. This happened near Mt. Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley. We

[1] Born in Charles County, Maryland, December 11, 1845, died at Green Park, that county, May 29, 1929. For this narrative the Society is indebted to a member, Dr. John Donaldson Murray, of Baltimore, at whose instance Mr. Spalding committed it to writing two years before his death. Numerous documents concerning the raid may be found in the *Official Records,* Series I, Vol. XLVI. The story has appeared in Lowdermilk's *History of Cumberland* (1878), pp. 420-422, Scharf's *History of Western Maryland* (1882), I: 296-297 (*verbatim* from Lowdermilk), and Thomas and Williams' *History of Allegany County* (1923), pp. 389-398, where the roster of McNeill's command is given. Mr. Spalding's story, by reason of its variations in particulars from other accounts and its straightforward sincerity, is a welcome contribution to the literature of the War.—Editor.

were encamped in a gorge of the foot hills of the Alleganies. It was bitter cold, the ground was covered with a frozen slush, and in many places, [with] smooth, solid ice, caused by a sudden fall in temperature on a melting snow. The sun was nearly hidden behind the tops of the Alleganies, some of the men had already begun to prepare their evening meal when Lieutenant McNeill rode into camp and told Sergeant Taylor to go through the camp and order all men with rough-shod horses to saddle up and fall into line. The camp was now in a flurry; from every side came the question, "What's up? Where are we going?" Many made a guess where, but none knew. We were told when in line to count whole numbers, the last man called out "sixty" (showing that there were sixty men in ranks). Then, "Count four." Then the order, "By fours, forward!"

We file out to the banks of the South Branch, then take the road paralleling it. We leave Petersburg some distance in our rear, then to the left, cross the South Branch and plunge into the heart of the Alleganies. Sometimes a wagon road, sometimes a cattle trail and often no trail at all visible. Over rocks and boulders, across gullies and ravines, our horses often chest deep in frozen snow; up almost perpendicular ascents, then down equally steep descents. Sometimes we were forced to ride single file, as the brush and undergrowth was so dense.

About midnight we rode into a gorge in the mountains, with high walls of rock on both sides. A small fire was burning. We came to a halt; [were] ordered to dismount, and each man [was] given a feed of corn for his horse. Some of the men say they got a bite to eat, but if the writer got anything it must have been very little, as I don't recollect getting anything at all. After about thirty minutes, "Mount your horses."

We traverse about the same rough ground as before. Between 1 and 2 o'clock A. M. we come out of the wilderness on a broad road, which I found out to be the old National Pike, leading from Cumberland west. After we had travelled a short distance, the orderly sergeant, who was riding close to my right, asked if I knew where we were. I answered that I did not, that it was a strange country to me. He said, "I know where we are, this is the old National Pike and we are not over three miles from Cumberland; surely McNeill is not going into Cumberland, for there are 8000 infantry, 2 batteries of artillery, and 150 cavalry,"

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and he added, "We can't go far now before we strike the outpost pickets." Scarcely had he finished speaking, when a voice out of the darkness in front of us called out, "Halt! Who's there?" We answer, "Friends." The picket calls back, "One man dismount, advance, and give the countersign." Well we just could not do that. A few moments' hesitation; an officer rode to front and in a low voice ordered the first set of fours to rush and capture the picket. The first fours dashed forward. The picket hearing the onrush fired his carbine and made for the reserve, but was soon overtaken and brought back to the command. When asked to reveal the countersign he replied he did not know it. When we insisted on [it] he said he had forgotten what it was. Some one said, "Bring a rope, we will refresh his memory." A rope was brought, one end looped about his neck, the other thrown over a limb of a tree and he was quickly raised from the ground. He signalled to be let down, and as soon as he could recover his breath, said the countersign was "Bull's Gap." He was mounted and placed between two men with orders to shoot him if he attempted to escape. Well, we have choked the countersign from the outpost picket. Forward! Now to look after the reserve, which we fear have already been alarmed by the report of the picket's carbine.

We move in a swift trot. Soon we come to what was a large log house, but now without any roof. A big fire is burning in the center of the room on a dirt floor, 5 infantrymen are busy playing cards in one corner, their guns stacked in another corner. So interested are they in the game of cards, that they had not heard the warning shot of their outpost or the tramp of our horses' feet on the frozen snow and hard road.

They surrendered without an effort to get their guns. We broke up their guns and told them we were the advance guard of Rosser's brigade and that Generals Rosser and Fitzhugh Lee with a large force of infantry and cavalry would occupy Cumberland by 9 A. M. that day, and that if they did not wish to be taken as prisoners they had better not go into Cumberland, but hide. I suppose they must have believed all we said, for they gave us no trouble. It was a big risk to run, as it was certain now that Cumberland with its over 8,000 troops was our destination. We arrive at the bridge which we must cross to get into Cumberland. The guard halts us and demands the countersign. We give "Bull's

Gap." The sentinel asks, "What command is that?" Answer: "A detachment of the 22d Pennsylvania Cavalry." "What's your business in Cumberland?" Answer: "Important despatches for Generals Crook and Kelley." Sentinel tells us to pass over. We cross the bridge into Cumberland, many men whistling "Yankee Doodle" (lovely).

Cumberland is under strict martial law, the streets are patrolled by small squads of infantry instead of police. Once or twice one out of a squad would leave the pavement, hail us and ask "What command is that?" The same answer as at the bridge. It is about 2 A. M., the city is in darkness, except for a very dim light here and there. The streets deserted except a few soldiers standing around small fires burning in some streets. We come to a halt and are drawn up in a double line at the curb, fronting a large building, said to be a hotel, the Revere House, then General Kelley's headquarters. Six men from the command are sent into the hotel. After some time they came out with a tall, large man in their midst, covered from chin to feet with a large black cloak. That was General Kelley. They entered our ranks and were lost in the darkness. Now we go to General Crook's headquarters, the United States Hotel. The same men enter the hotel, and in time come out with General Crook. He is taken into the ranks and mounted in the darkness, as was Gen. Kelley.

Whilst the men were in the hotel getting Gen. Crook out, a B. and O. passenger train came into the station, just across the street from the hotel. A railroad official came out the station with a bright lantern on his way home. Seeing the squad of cavalry drawn up at the hotel, he came up, holding the lantern high above his head and enquired what command that was, etc. [We] did not want any light just then. For an answer to his questions an officer quickly drew his sabre, gave the lantern a glancing blow and sent it flying out in the street. The owner made a hasty exit. After leaving the U. S. Hotel with Gen. Crook, three men are sent to a certain place, to cut telegraph wire running from Cumberland to New Creek Station, on the B. and O. Railroad, 9 miles below Cumberland, for there's where the real 22d Pennsylvania Cavalry was stationed. By a telegram they could have cut us off on our direct route to Hardy County via Romney. Whilst the wires are being cut the company goes to a livery stable and get out 8 government horses belonging to army offi-

cers. Among them is a beautiful black stallion owned by Gen. Kelley, given to him by friends in New York, said to have cost $2500. Well, so far we have done fine, all has worked well; the city still unaware of what has taken place. We have gotten into Cumberland and succeeded in all we came to do. Can we get out?

[I] was told that the old Capt. John H. McNeill was urged a year back to make that raid by the same men who planned and carried out this one. They explained to him how he could get into Cumberland, etc. The old Captain listened attentively and then said, "You have told me how I am to get into Cumberland and I admit it looks possible to do so, but you have given me no idea at all how I am to get out. I have made it a point not to take the Company into any place that I cannot see at least a loophole to get out." Had it not been for an old veteran of the whole war in the person of Lieut. Vandiver of the 7th Virginia Cavalry, General Rosser's Brigade, who accompanied the expedition, [I] think we would have had trouble, just as we were leaving for our home camp.

After leaving the livery stable our work was done, and we are leaving for Romney. We got in a street running parallel with the C. and O. Canal. Just across the canal were encamped 2 brigades of Ohio infantry, commanded respectively by Generals McKinley and Hayes, both of whom afterwards became presidents of the United States. Many men of the brigades were lined along the canal, calling to us, "What's up—what command?" Right almost in front of the troops we had to pass under the B. and O. R. R. bridge. There was a sentinel on this bridge who halted our command and demanded the countersign. Of course our "Bull's Gap" would not answer for this road. We were at a complete standstill. It seems the getting out part was not on the program. Finally Lieutenant Vandiver, a cool and brave soldier, rode to the front, rebuked the guard for stopping the command, and gave the order, "Forward," the guard of course taking us for Federal cavalry and the officer his superior, lowered his gun and let us pass on.

From there to Romney (16 miles), we kept our horses to a full gallop. We stopped a short time near Romney, to procure saddles for the two generals, as they had nothing more than a blanket.

We were a tired, jaded set, men and horses. As we rode along we were congratulating ourselves on our good luck and success.

When in about eleven miles of Moorefield, our camping ground, our rear guard came in and reported 300 Federal cavalry in our rear. Finally they came in sight; we looked like a spot on the road compared with that long line of blue coats. To run we can't for but few horses in the command can raise a trot. To fight was madness, five to one.

A short conference was held by the officers. [The] order was given to form a double line right across the road, on an eminence fronting the advancing column. They come in about 400 yards, fire a few carbine shots at us and come to a halt. To our great surprise and delight, they hold a short conference, right about, and move off in the direction they came. We heard afterwards that they were sure we had a large force behind us and that we were trying to draw them into an ambush.

We went into camp near Moorefield, about 5.30 P. M., making just about 24 hours we were in the saddle.

Next morning the two Generals were started for Richmond, via the Shenandoah Valley and Staunton, where they arrived safely.

General Kelley was exchanged in about 30 days and Gen. Lee returned him his beautiful horse Philippi.

Gen. Lee sent congratulations to the command and said it was the most daring raid carried out by a small body of men during the whole war.

The war was ended in less than two months after the raid. The Federal Government kept it out of print, and little was known of it except in the immediate neighborhood where it happened or by those who were in it.

THE *NARRATIVE* OF COLONEL JAMES RIGBIE

By Henry Chandlee Forman

For all their worldly wealth and success, the most noted of the Rigbies, from the first who settled in Maryland on the banks of the Severn River in 1659 to the last who died in Harford County in 1790, possessed a strong streak of conscientious scrupulousness. This Puritanical trait cropped out in the family every so often, if the records may be believed, and caused certain members of the clan many a trial and tribulation. The climax of conscience is revealed in the *Narrative,* which was written one hundred and eighty years ago.

The early Rigbies lived the life of the country gentry of the times in Maryland. Of English descent, they were spoken of as "Mr" and "Mrs," titles which carried a different significance than those of today. Their plantations covered thousands of acres. They were vestrymen of the Anglican Church and overseers and ministers of Friends' Meeting. They were burgesses of the General Assembly, colonels of the Light Horse and high sheriffs. They drank from silver tankards and were interested in owning libraries. In fact they had everything to live for; but notwithstanding all these good things they were sometimes troubled by what one of them described as "the subtle whispers of the enemy."

The first Rigbie, James (I), is believed to have come out of England as an Indian agent, and for his services to the government of Maryland was awarded the plantation "Rigby" along Broad Creek, a branch of the Severn River, in Anne Arundel County. Here he settled with his wife Katherine and lived a comfortable life. But in 1660 he scrupulously refused to take the oath of constable. When called into court, he still "denyed to take his Oath to serve as Constable," and consequently the "Board" voted to instruct the sheriff to keep James Rigbie prisoner for six months.[1] In his will,[2] proved in 1681, he was again nicely conscientious, for he stated that he was determined that his sons should have their freedom "to work for their living" when eighteen years of age, and should not have their

[1] *Archives of Maryland,* XLI, 418.

[2] Annapolis, Wills, Liber 2, folio 140.

inheritances until they were one-and-twenty. His daughters, moreover, were not to receive their "estates" until their day of marriage.

James Rigbie (II), second of the name in Maryland, married the step-daughter of Thomas Tench, Esquire, acting governor of Maryland from 1702 to 1704, and had a son Nathaniel Rigbie. Now Nathaniel, or "Colonel Nathan" as he was called, cut a courtly figure in colonial Maryland. He inherited from his step-grandfather Tench a two-thousand-acre tract named "Phillip's Purchase" and built a house upon it overlooking the broad, purple reaches of the Susquehanna River. There he settled with his wife, Cassandra Coale, granddaughter of a Skipwith, and there he became high sheriff of Baltimore County and the wealthiest of the Rigbies. "That one possessed as he was of a fair share of this world's goods should seek a new home which at first must have partaken much of the nature of frontier life indicates that he was a courageous and enterprising individual. In his new home, he continued the life of a planter; but in addition he established a store and trading post, thereby supplying the needs of the settlement which quickly sprang up around him, forming the nucleus of Darlington." [3]

Colonel Nathan is said to have possessed ships upon which his tobacco was carried to England from his warehouse at "Harris Landing," now Lapidum, Harford County. His inventory reveals that he was a gentleman of the old school, who generally appeared in broadcloth, silk stockings, silver knee- and shoe-buckles and gold sleeve buttons. His home on "Phillip's Purchase," now known as the "Rigbie House," [4] was furnished as

[3] From an account of Colonel Nathan Rigbie written in 1895 by Albert Silver, Esq., of Darlington, Md. See also *Historical Sketches of Harford County, Maryland* (1940), by Samuel Mason, Jr., whose home, "Little Pines Farm," is part of "Phillip's Purchase."

[4] The "Rigbie House" comprises two parts, the earlier of which is a square stone building with a great stone fireplace, seven and a half feet in span, and a small winding stairway to the attic. It is said that the stone part was an early outpost of the colonial ranger system, the base of which was at Fort Garrison. If this is so, the stone part antedates the arrival of the Rigbies from Anne Arundel County in 1732. About 1750, Nathan Rigbie is believed to have erected the later frame part with panelled rooms and elaborate stairway. The window frames are of walnut and the panelling of dining room and guest room is of poplar. See the author's *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland* (1934), 121-124; C. D. Holland, *Some Landmarks of Colonial History in Harford County, Maryland* (1933), 9, 12.

When Colonel James Rigbie lived in the house, there were the following interesting articles: an escritoire, an oval walnut table, a "High" bedstead with curtain

elegantly as his habit. Large and small paintings adorned the panelled walls, and there was a backgammon set to amuse the guests. In one room were kept the books of his library. For tableware he had an abundant display of tankards, porringers and varieties of glass and china.

There is little doubt that Colonel Nathan Rigbie was the most worldly of the Rigbies, but he too had his moments of doubt when listening to the still small voice. His son, Colonel James Rigbie, of the fourth generation in Maryland, tells in his *Narrative* how enraged his father Nathan became when he, James, would not join the troop of light horse, and how afterwards, on the way home, his father wept for conscience sake.

Colonel James Rigbie, like his father, became high sheriff of Baltimore County. Furthermore, he had the honor of entertaining the Marquis of Lafayette and his officers, on their way with an army to Yorktown, Virginia, in the American Revolutionary War. It was while Lafayette was guest of the Rigbies at "Phillip's Purchase" on the night of April 13, 1781, that a mutiny broke out among the troops. In the conference of officers which took place in the panelled "greate room," it was decided that the mutineers should be hanged. Some believe that had not this mutiny been successfully quelled at "Phillip's Purchase," Lafayette might not have been able to reach Yorktown, and the battle there, marking the end of the war, might never have occurred.[5]

The military life was but one of the matters which troubled Colonel James Rigbie. Of himself he wrote for the Quaker records: "I was led to give way to much weakness to the subtle whispers of the enemy." When he died in 1790, his will was found to terminate with the words: "I join in Hallaluyahs to the Son and Holy Spiritt. Amen, Amen saith my soul from your beloved Father. James Rigbie." After his death his friends of the Deer Creek Meeting wrote that he had been recommended in 1749 as a Friends' minister, but that "after this for want of more humble watchfulness the enemy of souls was suffered to prevail over the weakness of his Nature."[6]

rods, a "Suit of Blow curtains," a Japan sugar box, two heckles (angling flies), two Japan salvers, a quilting frame, a spice mortar, an alembic (distilling apparatus), a copper sampan, "Sewels Historey," etc.

[5] W. W. Preston, *History of Harford County, Maryland* (1901), 140; J. A. Shriver, *Lafayette in Harford County* (1931), 26.

[6] "Some Account of Our Esteemed Friend James Rigbie, late of Deer Creek in Harford County, Maryland," *MS* dated 1791, at Park Avenue Friends' Meeting.

But James Rigbie himself tells us in his own words the story of his tribulations of the spirit, and at times the tale reads like *Pilgrim's Progress.* His autobiography was written in 1760, when he was forty years of age, and was printed [7] by the Friends before 1870. Small in size and only fourteen pages long, it is entitled, *Narrative of James Rigbie,* and is here reproduced word for word, with explanatory footnotes:

I, JAMES RIGBIE, of Maryland, having had to pass through divers tribulations, am disposed to leave some hints concerning a part of my life from my infantile state, my convincement, &c.

This was begun the 9th. of the 7th. month in the year 1760.

My soul being bowed in contemplation early this morning, I breathed as follows: From living experience, and a grateful remembrance of the tender dealings of the Lord, I might declare among the people, that he is infinitely gracious and merciful, slow to anger, forgiving transgressions from age to age, and from one generation to another; Who can forbear to sing praises, and to celebrate His holy Name, for He is everlastingly worthy. But alas for the rebellious, and those who are sitting down at ease, having neither anchor to their souls, nor oil in their lamps. My spirit breathes at times that those may be aroused, that the Lord in his infinite kindness may be pleased to lengthen out their day of visitation, and that His glorious presence may overshadow the nations even from sea to sea, and from one part of the earth to another. I was the more free to give way to writing these memoirs of the early part of my life, since kind Providence was pleased to direct my heart to seek after the best things.

In the year of our Lord 1720, it appears I was born at West River, in the province of Maryland. The names of my parents were Nathan and Cassandra Rigbie; she was the daughter of Phillip and Cassandra Coale. In my infancy they were in membership with the people called Quakers, and in the year 1732, removed from West River into Baltimore county, and from that time my father did not strictly profess the principles held by that people. He being not in low circumstances of life and favoured with good natural abilities, became acquainted with fellow men who thirsted more after titles of wordly honour and the grandeur of their life, than the treasures of eternal felicity, obtained through bearing the cross of Christ in self-denial. For want of attending to this Christian duty, my father's mind was caught to join on the side of the world, and some of its titles were conferred upon him, to his injury in the best sense, proving also hurtful to his outward estate, as well as a snare to his children. He being one possessing a generous public spirit, and retaining a love to the people with

[7] The brochure has no printer's mark or other identification upon it. A copy of it was very kindly given to the writer by Mrs. Eugene Merryman, of Baltimore, also a descendant of Colonel James Rigbie. See also *The Friend,* Vol. 43, p. 146. Rigbie's original *MS* cannot be located in the vaults of Park Avenue Friends' Meeting or of Homewood Meeting.

whom he had heretofore professed. Through the extension of Divine love, I believe I was visited when about twelve or thirteen years of age, when a pretty clear sense was afforded to me concerning the real beauty of a christian life, and was also favored under the living testimonies of some friends as public ministers, who at times came to visit their brethren in this part of the country,[8] and my heart's desire often was, that I might become like one of them; sometimes a desire of this kind seemed to be growing, also some of my companions became more thoughtful. I had a near affection towards one negro lad; on first days,[9] he and I would collect the boys and girls, white and black, into an outhouse, there to keep meeting (my father having a large family). After a time of silent sitting, this lad and I would sometimes speak in a way of exhorting the others, quite unknown to any of the family grown up to years of maturity. At length I became more capable to act in business under my father; alas, this drew me out, so as to be often from home, and company coming frequently to our house, it was so that I gradually lost that state of tender solid thoughtfulness which I had been favoured with for a while, and a growing thirst took place in my mind for wordly-pleasure and the gratification of my corrupt passions in gradual advances, so that I became almost a proficient in wickedness, even to an astonishing degree. Yet, glory be given to the heavenly Father, when I was abstr[a]cted from the company of wanton associates, I felt his reproofs in tenderness, and could not easily rest alone, but ende[a]voured for opportunities of mirth and folly again in company with male and female of a similar turn, and when gotten together, we were fond of diverting ourselves with music, dancing and gaming, whereby the tender reproofs for these practices which I had felt, seemed to become less and less until they were almost totally extinguished. At length it was so that I scarcely stopped at anything which a mind given up to slight the Lord's loving kindness was capable of; the particulars wherof modesty and shame do now forbid me to mention.

After this I was visited with a spell of sickness; then was astonishment and horror awakened in me on beholding what a condition I had come to: my former state of tenderness was presented before me, wherein I could in some degree implore for Divine help; but now, alas, I could only see darkness, death and despair, if at this time I should be called away to give an account. I fain would endeavor to breathe in prayer to the Lord, who I believed could only help me in present distress, but I was restrained. I seemed willing to renew my covenant to conduct otherwise in future, but I saw I could not be accepted in this condition. It was said in my heart, What do thy covenants avail? thou makest and breakest them. If thou shouldst be pardoned now, it is likely thou wilt transgress again. Therefore it seemed as though I was to be cut of [f] in a gainsaying condition. The anguish that attended at this time was indeed inexpressible, but my sorrowing was only known to Him who seeth in secret; and he was pleased to restore me again to a state of bodily health, and for a time I endeavored

[8] Such a visitor, for instance, as George Fox, in 1672.
[9] Sundays.

to be more thoughtful and careful in my conduct; yet this, alas, was of short duration, for I soon embarked again in the course of my sensual gratifications, for want of a humble watchful state of mind, yet at some seasons I did not wholly forget the late wo[e]ful condition I had in my experience.

My Father being in commission, held several offices in the county, one of which was a Colonel in the militia. Under him I also had a commission to command a company of foot. I had exerted myself in this exercise for a while and became equipped in a soldier[l]y way. In the year 1740, it was so that I was chosen to succeed my father in the office of High Sheriff of Baltimore county, and I was active in executing several Criminals, white and black; some of whom had been charged with murder, and some with house breaking; this part of the business was by no means pleasant to me.

In the year 1741, I entered into a marriage state with Elizabeth, the daughter of Samuel and Sarah Harrison, of Calvert County. It was about this time that a certain George Whitefield,[10] a minister from England, (said to be of the established church) whereof by profession I was then a member. Finding he bore a great character, my curiosity led me to go to hear his preaching, and I thought in some degree to me it was a profitable season, helping me to refrain more from open impiety, yet I still chose to indulge in inclinations to what some call lawful pleasures. It was also at or near this time that some devout persons, who had the name of New Light Presbyterians, travelled in our parts. They manifested zeal in the cause of Religion, and I believe they were instrumental in arousing some of the people to thoughtfulness. With these people I joined myself in membership for a time, and was then constrained to abstain from the pleasures of a vain world more than I had done. I am free in this place to mention, that having been fond of gaming, I sometimes inclined to play in games of a pretty high kind, and at one time was instrumental in prevailing with a young man to play in a game that was called booby; he did so, and in that way I obtained a part of his money; with this unrighteous gain my mind seemed to rest easy for a time; but that which had often been my tender reprover in an inward way appeared again, and broke my peace, nor could I be satisfied with the injustice wherein I had acted, until I returned to the person unto whom it belonged, the property which I had thus obtained. I also gave him to understand how basely I thought I had gained it. He seemed unwilling to have believed that either myself or my companion in the game would have done as we did; and I do not remember that after this instance I was ever active in gaming. He that was my companion at that time, refrained from the folly of gaming also, after some time.

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[10] Reverend George Whitfield, a travelling minister who preached affecting sermons, was one of the great founders of Methodism in Virginia. William Parks, a Williamsburg printer, annnounced in 1739 the printing of a sermon preached by Whitfield at the Parish Church of Boxley in Kent. *William and Mary Quarterly,* 1st ser., XII, 8; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* XVIII, 143.

I believe it was of service that I openly confessed the fault at the time I did so. I might have restored to the man his money in a way not to discover my business in the action. But I saw this would not do for me, unless I likewise confessed the reason why I restored it, as this alone would properly acquit me from the guilt. For a while I manifested some zeal for religion, and my heart inclined in a good degree to become prepared for my future state; after joining with the Presbyterian society, I had with my wife submitted to be baptized or sprinkled in their way; my mother also with most of my brothers and sisters were sprinkled; perhaps in this they might be influenced by me, as I was grown seemingly zealous. For a time I rested easy, for I thought I had gained by a submission to that ceremony, but this did not continue long, before I came to see that not any thing short of purity of life would be acceptable to a God infinitely pure, and the inward tastes and feeling of his divine presence where with at times I was favoured, created a strong desire for more constant feeding on the bread or substance which outward shadows or signs thereof are not sufficient to satisfy the hungring soul. At length I discontinued my attendance at the Presbyterian assemblies, yet for many of the people I had a near esteem.

I could not approve of the ministers demanding an outward reward for what was called preaching the gospel. I had to believe none was truly qualified except such as were impressed with a sense of duty in the weighty service of preaching the gospel of Christ, and that those who were rightly commissioned to preach would be preserved from coveting any man's silver or gold, for so doing consistent with the apostle's declaration. For a considerable space of time I thought but little of the people called Quakers, and did not unite in religious profession with any sect of professors. As I was once riding out I met with one of my acquaintance, a former companion in the Presbyterian society; although he requested me to stop with him, I did not incline to converse much then; indeed as my spirit was much in poverty and inward travail, I was unable to say much to him; he asked me in a pleasant way what was the matter with me, and why I had separated myself from their meetings? saying what did I want or for what was I seeking? Did I expect to find more pure doctrine and practices in any other church than in theirs? with like discourse. I did not answer quickly, he then asked, Did I look for perfection? If I did he said it would be a vain pursuit. I then gave him to understand, that I wanted to feel that power which could and would purify the heart, as I found my heart was very corrupt, and short of that I could not rest satisfied, but I could not certainly tell where, or among what society of people this was witnessed. He then said, If nothing short of perfection will satisfy, you must go and join with the Quakers; and I think our discourse ended here.

Attending our Court as Sheriff about the year 1742, I heard a famous Quaker Preacher who came from England, was likely to be at a certain meeting the next day, his name was Edmund Peehover [Peckover]; a desire quickly came in my heart to go to that meeting and hear him, if it might be so. My uncle Shipworth Coale,[11] being a magistrate sitting in the

[11] Skipwith Coale, grandson of George Skipwith.

court, who, although he was educated amongst Friend[s], he then had been joined with the Presbyterians whom I had lately left. On telling him what I had heard of an English Preacher, he readily consented to go with me, and we getting excused by the court, rode on together and went near 20 miles that morning to reach the meeting where the preacher was expected to attend. The meeting had been sitting for some time and the house crowded so I had to sit on the threshold of the door, which for a while I thought was rather beneath my dignity as then Sheriff of the County. But after the Friend arose to speak, his testimony so well suited my condition that I believed the seat where I sat was good enough for such a wretch as then I concluded myself to be. In his preaching he declared that in the openings of truth it seemed to him there was one in that meeting, who, if he kept his place would receive a gift in the ministry. This sentence struck me, and a voice seemed to run through me, thus: Perhaps thou mayst be the person; which was an humbling consideration. I did not return to the Court, neither did I after this act in the Sheriff's office. For the remainder of the time that I might have acted my father and brother [12] supplied my place. Near the same time I attended several other meetings where the same minister had service, which were reaching effectual seasons to me; and on my returning home, what fear and dread covered my mind lest I might lose the good which I now had seemed to have gained. Many days and nights passed over with earnest breathing and strong desires that He who had thus begun the work of conversion would not leave me, but supply my inward hunger for the bread of life which I had been longing after. As my mind was kept in an inward wrestling state, I was led by degrees to discern the things which hindered a spiritual progress. I had for some time broken off from music, dancing, singing vain songs, &c., as unsuitable to sobriety, and now I began to see clearly that all swearing and taking of oaths was inconsistent with christianity, as also bearing arms and fighting. Holding up my testimony in the latter case, brought on me a close trial through my father. I had informed him a while before, I did not purpose to perform military exercise any more with the company that had been under me as their officer, believing it my duty to forbear; therefore I had requested of my father that by a recommendation to the Governor,[13] another person might be commisioned; but he had desired me not to affront the Governor by giving up my commission as he had taken pains to introduce the matter, supposing we might hold offices, some for profit as well as some for honor. But I was now so favoured as not to be easily caught with baits of that kind, a desire had then prevailed in my heart that I might come to possess an inheritance more honorable and lasting.

At a certain time my father came to see me, as I had been indisposed in my health for a few days. He told me that my taking a ride out might be serviceable to me. My horse therefore was ordered to be brought out, and I rode, my father being with me; as we rode along he informed me

[12] Nathan Rigbie, Jr. (1723-1784).
[13] Thomas Bladen was Governor of Maryland from 1742 to 1746.

this was the muster day, and would have me ride with him to the field. To this I had not any inclination, yet at that time I did not refuse. After we came to the place the drummer beat to arms; all the officers, except myself then moved to their posts, but I sat down at a distance; quickly after this my father asked, why I did not head my company. I gave him briefly my reason, as I had before informed him fully, that I had designed never more to call men together in that way. This did not by any means satisfy him then, for with a stern countenance he ordered me to my post. Here I was brought under a weighty exercise and breathed to kind Providence for inward help, as a trial now was come whether my earthly parent or my heavenly Father must be obeyed. At length I reminded my father, I had always stricly rega[r]ded his common commands, and now it seemed to be right to tell him that I must obey my God rather than him. He then threatened with military severity, and I did not expect anything else than to partake thereof, still refusing. I told him as he had me in his power he might do with me as he pleased, for in this instance, I could not obey him. He seemed to be enraged much at my refusal and the disappointment it occasioned, but at length he did not insist and being the colonel he left me and attended to the exercise of the day. After this I rode homeward with my father, and reasoned with him on the way in as weighty a manner as I was capable of; this had a reach over him, and he wept and did not afterwards endeavor to distress me in that way, but was tender of obstructing me in any thing I considered as my duty to do or to leave undone; a nearer affection towards me increasing until the time of his death, and except in that of my declining military service, he was an affectionate tender parent.

Being thus convinced of the recitude of Friend's principles, I attended their meetings with diligence, although few of the members at Deer Creek where I dwelt, were so careful as they ought to be to adorn the profession by an agreable conduct, which was cause of stumbling to me and kept me back for some time from joining in nearer union with the society. In other places where I have been since that time a like discouragement has occur[r]ed which has been [a] matter of humiliation to me, and earnest desires have prevailed in my mind that friends might be animated to live up consistently with their high profession, that all may be preserved from becoming stumbling blocks in the way of sober inquirers. I believe my delay, or not soon joining in society with Friends, was of no disadvantage either to them or to me. To prevent instability and wavering, I have had to believe it is right to observe what the apostle recommended, to try, and prove, and to hold fast that which is good. In or near the year 1744, I, with my dear wife, made application and were received into membership with the society of Friends at Nottingham monthly meeting in Pennsylvania, where unto the particular meeting belonged which was held at Deer Creek. From this time my dear mother, who had with me joined profession with the Presbyterians as aforesaid, came again more near into unity with friends. I may testify that she was near and dear to me as a mother, and as she did not long survive my reception, and her death was a close exercise to me. She departed this life in the year 1745.

It was about this time I was concerned at times to speak a few words in the way of public ministry, which was a very humbling exercise, being fearful lest for want of humble watchfullness I might relapse into my former unhappy condition, and by falling back after such a public appearance in behalf of religion, I might perhaps bring a lasting blemish on the way of truth, with trouble on my friends, and sorrow on myself. Yet my friends seemed to be more than usually affectionate towards me, which in some measure awakened a care, rather foreseeing a danger of beginning to overvalue myself or outrun my guide in offering to others what might be only designed for myself. For a considerable time I appeared but seldom in the way of ministry, and briefly; when I did appear, my friends seemed to be more than usual[ly] affectionate towards me; this awakened a care in my mind, as foreseeing a danger, lest I should begin to think something of myself and outrun my guide. I believe that some had been hurt in their beginning by their friends, too early taking notice of them to their disadvantage. Yet in the wisdom of truth, with prudence and caution, taking notice of those who are diffident and fearful, may be truly useful. I might say from experience, a prudent care has at times been helpful to me, when dejected and ashamed after a public appearance, expecting that those in the meeting who were the most sensible of what was right, would know that I was wrong; therefor[e] I have sometimes been ready to resolve that henceforward I would not appear in that way again, yet after such a season of dismay, the person whom I expected would perhaps disapprove of my offering, he as I thought was a father in Israel, would come and take notice of me with affection, as though he had a sense of my sorrow and my fears; when if he had even reproved me, I thought I would have patiently taken his rebuke. At other times when I have gone from a meeting under fear and diffidence, it has caused me to search narrowly after a like appearance, to find out the cause of my being in such heaviness; and when I could humbly appeal to him who knew my heart, that the offering had been tried before I had offered it and had looked upon my compliance as a duty in His sight, whom alone I had desired to serve, an evidence of some comfort would arise in my mind, and with a different feeling, I have been ready to say to the enemy, Satan, thou wast a liar from the beginning, &c.

But I have been given to see at times that a selfish principle might be the cause of my sorrowing, when my public appearance did not answer my expectation, or an unwillingness to become as a fool would enter my mind, or a thirsting to become like an able minister in the eyes of others; but surely a death must come upon such inclinations to crucify such vanity. Soon after my first appearance in the way of the ministry, a man who had been one of my former companions, the son of a man who was in the world's estimation, (J. Holliday).[14] He came many miles on purpose to see me, which fell out to be on a first day of the week, having heard from some others that I had become a fool, and had turned Quaker. I was sitting

[14] Could this have been Colonel James Holliday (1696-1747), of "Readbourne," or his son of the same name, born in 1722?

in meeting in much lowliness of mind, when with an air of gentility he entered the door, (according to the worlds way of accounting,) when I looked up, seeing him there, O! how did my poor heart beg for help from the great helper of those who are humbled in his presence as I dreaded to meet this young man, having heard that he had sworn he would soon beat me out of my folly, and make me to deny Quakerism. When the meeting ended he stood at the door ready to salute me, and with a seeming affectionate air he said, "Your most humble Servant, Sir." O how did my heart then beat, knowing that we many times had exchanged salutations of this kind, and I could only say, "How dost Jemmy," at which he laughed, and said out loud, "Jem, have you turned Quaker?" I was really ashamed and sorry for him, and with soft language I endeavored to get him more from amongst the people, but he still using vile, extravagant expressions cursed me from head to foot, viewing my plain appearance and behaviour; at length from the same meeting he went home with me.

[We regret the loss of the remainder of the narrative, but family tradition informs us that he lived to be an esteemed minister in our society.] [15]

[15] This note in brackets was inserted in Rigbie's original *MS* and printed. All other brackets in the *Narrative* have been supplied by the commentator.

The genealogy of the Rigbie family will appear in a later issue of the *Magazine*.

A WEDDING OF 1841

The letter that follows was written by Mrs. Helen Hamilton (Leiper) Patterson, of Philadelphia, to her son, Thomas Leiper Patterson, living in Cumberland, Maryland. She was the daughter of Thomas Leiper who came from Lanark, Scotland, in 1763 to settle in Philadelphia where he engaged in the tobacco business. Her husband, Robert Maskell Patterson, M. D., son of Robert Patterson. who was director of the Mint under Jefferson and president of the American Philosophical Society, occupied successively the chairs of natural philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania and at the University of Virginia, served as director of the Mint under Jackson and became in turn president of the Philosophical Society. At the date of this letter the Pattersons lived in Chestnut Street, probably at No. 3715.

The Campbells were also a Philadelphia family. Emma died on the second anniversary of her marriage, leaving no children. "John and Elizabeth" Taylor were the son-in-law and daughter of Mrs. Patterson. He was a grandson of John Taylor of Caroline County, Va., "Uncle Janeway" was the writer's brother-in-law, Dr. Jacob Jones Janeway. "Jane Kane" was Mrs. Patterson's sister, wife of Judge John K. Kane, and mother of the Arctic explorer, Elisha Kent Kane. Others mentioned were sons, daughters and cousins. "Leiper," born in 1816, went to Cumberland as a civil engineer for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in 1837 and continued to live there until his death in 1905. He married Louisa, a daughter of Michael Cresap Sprigg.

For this entertaining letter and these notes the Magazine is indebted to Mrs. Robert R. Henderson, of Cumberland, née Louisa Patterson, daughter of the original recipient.

[Philadelphia] January 23, 1841.

My dear Leiper:

I was too much disappointed that you could not be with us in person as you were in heart on Wednesday evening. When I received your letter I took a good cry, for I had hoped until your letter came. John and Elizabeth arrived on Tuesday afternoon. They both look and are extremely well. The wedding is over and the bride and groom sat up for company yesterday for all friends who chose to call. The punch drinking system is out of fashion, the gentleman and wife receive their friends together now and have cake and wine as each friend arrives, handed to them. The

groomsmen and bridesmaids all in attendance and all dressed up in bridal atttire. Well, I suppose you would like to hear about the wedding. I sent out invitations about a week before. We had Mr. Campbell's relations, friends and my relations and friends, also your father's. I invited in all 170. I was afraid to go beyond that number for most folks go to weddings. We had 130 present. About 8 the hour invited they began to flock in and by a quarter past all were assembled. The hair dresser engaged did not make his appearance till after eight so that the ceremony was delayed till nine. It was to have been at half past eight. Miss Ann Leiper, Miss Matilda Campbell and Helen were bridesmaids. Mr. Van Nest, Mr. Justice and Mr. Davis, groomsmen. Robert was invited to stand with E. Leiper but she thought one of a family was enough for bridesmaids. Miss Fassitt a friend of Helen's was then invited but her Mother thought her too young, so that Robert was not groomsman, but flirted generally among the girls which was just as well. The bride looked lovely. She had on a French white muslin of the thinnest and finest texture, with two deep flounces edged like the pocket handkerchief with open work for about an inch and then trimmed at the edge of the flounce with Brussels lace. The neck was also trimmed with wide lace, as also the gloves which were short. White kid gloves reaching half way up to the elbow and trimmed with a quilting of satin ribbon and lace. White silk embroidered stockings and white satin shoes. She had a profusion of curls, the hair plaited behind and a wreath of orange flower blossoms around the pleat of the veil of real Brussels lace fastened also the pleat and hanging in graceful folds on each side of the hair.

Mrs. Baker, Mr. Campbell's sister sent her in the morning a diamond feronia for the hair. (or rather the forehead and chain attached to go around the hair). A feronia is an ornament to place on the forehead just where the hair hegins to be pleated. It had one large diamond in the centre and small ones around it. Mrs. Andre Campbell made her also a beautiful present for the neck of opal and diamonds. John Holmes a breast pin of ditto, Miss Campbell a splendid pocket handkerchief, the cost of which was at least thirty dollars, and Matilda Campbell sent a cameo bracelet. She has received capes, collars, etc. etc. from different members of the family. Her grandmother in the first place gave her 100 dollars, fifty of which she still has. Lizzie gave her twenty and yours the same. I did not buy her anything for you. I thought best to give her the money, as she had so many pretty things given her.

The bridesmaids were dressed in white silk and looked beautiful. The groomsmen were all good looking. In the afternoon they sent me 4 immense bunches of splendid hot house plants for the supper table, the middle one was three feet high and had 15 Japonicas on it, and all sorts of flowers. I have heard since the flowers for the table and the bride's and bridesmaid's bouquets cost 100 dollars. (I don't think it could be so) I think it was well Robert could not get a lady to stand with him, for he would have had to bear his share in these expensive presents which would have been rather rough for a young man (lawyer.) The groom and groomsmen assembled at eight in my room. The bride and bridesmaids in

the 3rd floor, they met the groom at the landing 2nd story at a given signal and walked into the drawing room. They stood in front of the piano, your Uncle Janeway facing them, the bridesmaids on the side of the bride and groomsmen opposite. Mr. Campbell looked very pale, but Emma was self-possessed as I ever saw her, and never changed colour. Your aunt Janeway and Thomas Janeway and wife were present. Thomas now lives in this city and has charge of a congregation on Green Street. William Janeway is to be married next week so the sister and Mr. Janefay had to hurry back. After spending an hour in the drawing room were ushered into supper. We had two tureens, terrapins at each end, chicken salad, oysters, brought up hot, jelly, eight moulds, ice cream, eight moulds, five baskets of oranges and grapes, an immense plum cake at one end and a pound cake at another on stands. Three candy pyramids the center one reaching up to the bottom of the chandalier. We had four waiters, John Irwin, Lewis, old John Antony, George and Henry a boy I now have stood at the door to let the company in. The flowers, ices, jellies, blanc mange, and cake, with three beautiful French secrets made the table, with the addition of the candy pyramids look very handsome. We drank fifty dollars worth of champagne and other wine. After the ceremony they handed lemonade, wine and cake. We had also a table in the drawing room with a large cake which was cut and passed through the ring. Everything passed off to my satisfaction. As I told you the bride and groom sat up for company yesterday and all dined with me afterward. We had about 200 visitors, who stayed only long enough to make their congratulations, take cake and wine and be off.

Now for the parties given for the bride. On Tuesday they go to Archie Campbell's, on Wednesday at Mr. Baker's. On Thursday a small one at your Aunt Harris. Tuesday week a ball at Mrs. Garrison's. On Thursday at Mrs. Doctor Horner's. On Sunday (tomorrow) they talk of going to church. John Taylor and Lizzie cannot stay with us long. They talk of going Thursday next and I am glad all is over. I cannot tell you how fatigued I have been, for your father's Wistar party was this day two weeks and had a Vaughan party on the 17th. Altogether it has been almost more than I could bear. I am thankful I shall now have some little quiet, for I do not think I shall go to the parties. I ate something yesterday which made me sick all night, and this morning I had to go to bed for two or three hours. John T. and Elizabeth, Mr. C. and Helen, Ann L. and Mr. Van Nest, brother George, William and Eliza with Jane Kane, went out to dine with Ann. They took an omnibus, but Emma and Mr. C. preferred a gig to have the pleasure of being alone with each other, I suppose. Mr. Campbell's family seem disposed of making very much of Emma and their presents have been very generous ones. The feronia which Mrs. Baker gave her could not have cost less than 150 dollars, but that was not more to Mrs. Baker, whose husband is very rich, than 50 cts. would be to me. We had all our old friends at the wedding, Dr. Chapman's wife, T. Dunlap's wife, Mr. Thomson Carey's, all the Irvine's but sister Mary whose baby was ill, and she could not come. Stirklands, Wetherills, Mrs. Ewing and so many it is not worth while to

enumerate them. I am very glad to be able to say that I am quite satisfied with Mr. C. I do not think the least fault could be found with him, since he has been visiting for the last six months. He is a pattern of industry and sometimes he does not get home from the store till 8 in the evening and comes straight home. We had Mr. Hart and Mr. Moss, both admirers of Emma's. I was doubtful whether they could come, but as I was asking other young gentlemen I could not help asking them & to be sure to come. They did and seemed to enjoy themselves very much.

I feel quite well again this afternoon. I began this letter this morning and have had many interruptions, so that I hardly think it will be intelligible, but I have so much to do nowadays that I cannot write as good a letter as formerly. Emma thanks you for her present and sends her love as do the whole set. You must write to us all a family letter affair and let us hear what you are about. I wish you could have been with us but father says I am wrong to be so troubled about your not coming. I have had May here for the past five weeks, but she took her departure today, bag and baggage. She would willingly have stayed but she had rendered herself so unpopular in the kitchen cabinet that I did not ask her. She quarreled with Mrs. Lachey and in a fit of ill humour took a room and was sorry afterward. Now my dear, do write soon. I think so long a letter deserves an answer and that immediately. I hope you told Mrs. Lynn the reason I did not go to see her. William Taylor's sickness and death prevented me. Remember me to her and now do not fall in love with any body where you are, for there are many charming girls here, I can tell you.

I am affectionately yours,

H. H. Patterson.

THE LIFE OF RICHARD MALCOLM JOHNSTON IN MARYLAND, 1867-1898

By Francis Taylor Long

(Concluded from Vol. XXXV, page 286)

III. The Closing Years, 1889-1898

Though most of Johnston's activities during the closing years of his life brought him only meager financial returns, yet they were invariably rich in their cultural, social, and religious rewards. Owning little material wealth, not even a competence, he nevertheless possessed other riches, indispensable riches, too, which should accompany old age—honor, love, troops of friends.

One of his principal cultural interests in this period was related to Johns Hopkins University, then as now the leading institution of higher learning in Baltimore. From its founding in 1876 Johnston had felt and manifested a keen interest in the University and its cultural potentialities, and through his membership in the University Club, which had endeavored to embrace members of the chief cultural groups in Baltimore, and in other ways, he had aimed to avail himself of these privileges. Prominent among those in the University community with whom he had formed cordial and friendly relations were Professors Basil L. Gildersleeve, James W. Bright, Ira Remsen, Librarian William Hand Browne, and President Daniel Coit Gilman, the first president of the University.

President Gilman evidently esteemed Johnston so highly that on at least one occasion he depended upon Johnston's acquaintance with the literary men of the nation and his discernment relative to one of the extra-curricular activities of the institution. From preserved and available correspondence it appears that Johnston, after James Russell Lowell had declined, presumably on account of his health, to serve as the initial lecturer, was instrumental in urging and bringing about the tendering of an invitation to his friend, Edmund Clarence Stedman, to deliver these lectures at the University in connection with the establishment of this lecture series by Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence Turnbull, of Baltimore, as a memorial to their son, Percy Graeme Turnbull.

Stedman appears to have been rather persistently, though conscientiously, hesitant about accepting the invitation. In fact, he seems to have delayed his acceptance so long that both Gilman

and Johnston concluded that he, as had Lowell, would also decline. It seemed necessary, therefore, for them to decide tentatively at least upon some other qualified and desirable person. Johnston, who probably extended the invitation to Stedman on behalf of the University, now suggested the name of another of his friends, Charles Dudley Warner. To this suggestion Gilman replied, somewhat dubiously, in a brief note, January 1, 1889:

My dear Sir:

I am very sorry that Stedman declines. I do not know Warner's power of utterance,—but as a writer & as a man he is excellent.

Yours sincerely,

D. C. Gilman

In spite of his misgivings and more or less dubious anticipations relative to the task, Stedman did finally accept the proffered lectureship, chiefly it seems because of his friendship for Johnston and for Mrs. Turnbull, who had been most thoughtful of and helpful to the poet's mother. These points are revealed rather clearly in a letter from Stedman to Johnston, September 26, 1890:

Your delightful note of the 5th has been too long awaiting a reply. I did have a prolonged rheumatic fever, which not only spoiled my first-vacation-in-years at this Harbor of all Delights [Kelp Rock, New Castle, N. H.] but robbed me of nearly two months of time pledged to my lectures & to overdue correspondence. So I have been working vi et jeunis to make up for it—meantime building a beautiful stone well-terrace & curb with a cheque I received for a poem written during my illness.—We have a peculiarly nice set here: Francis Parkman and his artist son-in-law, Mr. Cooledge, at the old Colonial Lord Wentworth mansion, near by,—Professor Wendell of Harvard & Arlo Bates, the novelist, etc., and a number of lesser lights. Dear old Mr. Whittier has stayed a long while close by. You would take to the saintly and prophetic, & purely American bard and balladist, at first sight,—and I should like to be present when you meet. If I live to come here another summer, I wish you to pay us a little visit, & see what this Yankee coast looks like.—There are few men like you, with such hearts as yours. I wish I could have had the privilege of knowing you earlier. Since & when we met, I have been in a peculiarly trying turmoil of work, business troubles, etc., & certainly not the man & associate I once was.—I see that you have bestirred yourself in behalf of our "Library" [Johnston had not only written a hearty letter of commendation but had also given to the salesman the names of numerous friends as prospective purchasers of this extended anthology.], & don't see how in the world we can get even with you. But I know that is the least of your anxieties! I am very proud that you think our work may

prove of service: we have fought it through, I really believe, largely from a feeling of Americanism—& that our children, as you say, may have what *we* couldn't profit by.—And now you have got me into another labor, still more difficult, one which I feel much more dubious, as to performing it even tolerably, than I did with respect to the "Library"! I never have prepared or delivered a lecture in my life—have little of the didactician in me—and know that the very best of the learned & poetic and epigrammatic will be none too good for a Johns Hopkins and Baltimore audience. Only Lowell could "fill the bill," as Prof. Remsen [then acting-president of the University while President Gilman was abroad recuperating from illness] intimated very plainly in his commencement speech, and Mr. Lowell never has permitted himself to write more than two essays or lectures in one year—else even he could not make them so sparkling throughout. And I have to prepare *eight* in six months or less. Well—I throw the responsibility on you & that sweet Mrs. Turnbull, who was an angel of goodness to my dear mother—and whom I have not yet been privileged to meet. I shall do my best for her sake, you may be sure.

But she & you are both, I think, under a misapprehension as to the *date* of the course. I finally agreed to accept the honor of delivering it in *Lent*, 1891: i. e. I *think* in Feb. and early March. I knew that the "Library" would absorb us until July, & that it would be a great feat (with my many other duties) to prepare 8 lectures such as they ought to be, before next Lent. That was my agreement with Prof. Remsen. To revert to the compilation. Both Miss Hutchinson & I felt very sorely our limited space in Vols. 8 & 9. We got down to smaller type, double cols., & more pages, in Vols. 10 & 11. So we were compelled to truncate & abridge the pages that should have been given to you & other authors whom we loved and admired. Miss H. had a great fancy for the "Historic Doubts" of Riley Hood. I preferred another and longer sketch, but she had charge of the *recent fiction*. We could, & did, hand down your features to our "unborn" readers, & are gratified to know they are in the big book.

I shall get back to N. Y. toward the end of October, & don't you "come to town" without bringing your bag to our spare room. I shall probably keep more or less at work, but your visit will do us all good, & never again will a year find me under a *peremptory* writing-contract.

I forgot to tell you that a very bright & sweet Southern girl, Miss Matt Crain, of Atlanta, is here with us—attending to my general correspondence & making the household more cheery. You may have read her "Onfortunit Creetur," &c., &c., in the Century Mag[e].

One may infer that Stedman's reasons for his hesitancy in accepting the lectureship, as these are indicated in the foregoing letter, were at least in some measure unfounded; for his success in this course of lectures resulted in his later published volume, *The Nature and Elements of Poetry,* probably the ripest critical work of his genius.

Another interest, not only cultural but also religious, to which

Johnston devoted himself at this time, was his work as a lecturer on the faculty of the Catholic Summer School of America at Plattsburg, N. Y. He now added these summer duties to what had been for a number of years his main winter occupation, the delivering of a series of lectures at the College of Notre Dame of Maryland in Baltimore. He secured this appointment as a lecturer in English at the Plattsburg school—initially established at New London, Conn., 1892—through the good graces of another friend, George Parsons Lathrop, who had been instrumental in founding the school.

It was a brave thing for Johnston to attempt this summer work; for, since he had already passed the mark of three-score years and ten, it was a rather severe drain upon his energy to lecture with his usual enthusiasm to summer crowds amid summer heat. This work, however, came at such a time as not to interfere with the occasional lecture-readings which he might be called upon to deliver in the South or elsewhere; consequently the opportunity to aid his family in this manner was seized upon and welcomed. Yet the severely hot days of the northern summer, especially when spent in railroad travel, were likely to—and did, at times—tax his failing strength heavily. On his way by train one summer to Plattsburg, he complained in a letter to his wife of the great exhaustion of his vitality by the heat.

In spite of these handicaps of severe heat and advancing age, however, he gave his very best energy and enthusiasm to the lectures at Plattsburg. He experienced the pleasure, too, of knowing that his efforts were appreciated. Of all the lecturers who addressed these summer school audiences he was perhaps the most unique and most popular. From a news report sent out from Plattsburg to the *New York Recorder* and published in its issue for July 23, 1893, one may gain an idea of the friendly reception given to Johnston's effort and of the prominent men of the Catholic church who were his associates during that session of the school:

> The arrival of every train continues to augment the number of visitors. Among other prominent ones expected early this week are Archbishop Corrigan, Archbishop Ryan, Bishop McDonnell, Col. Richard Malcolm Johnston, the author and essayist; George Parsons Lathrop and his wife, Rose Hawthorne Lathrop, the Rev. A. P. Doyle, editor of the Catholic World, and W. J. O'Brien, LL. D, editor of the New York Catholic Union.

The speakers for the week include the Rev. J. H. Mitchell, chancellor of Brooklyn; the Rev. D. J. McMahon, D. D., Brother Azarias, professor of English in the De La Salle Institute, New York, and Col. Richard Malcolm Johnston.

Perhaps his popularity reached its climax during the session of 1894, in which his lectures, as usual, were given during the second week of the session. *The Pilot,* Roman Catholic publication, published a long and highly appreciative news report of him and of his method of lecturing from its staff correspondent at Plattsburg, August 4, 1894:

The second week of this year's session of the Catholic Summer School opened with a considerable increase in students. From the purely literary point of view, it was the most interesting week in the session. The course of literary lectures by Colonel Richard Malcolm Johnston was of itself enough to secure the success of the week.

Col. Johnston won the hearts of Summer School students and professors at the first session in New London, Conn., two years ago, and his reappearance at the two succeeding sessions was earnestly sought and ardently welcomed. He adds to the author's creative and constructive gift, the teacher's imparting gift; and all who had the privilege of hearing him on Dante, Edmund Spenser, Milton, Sir Walter Scott, and Lord Byron, will continue their studies in these great authors with renewed interest and profit, from the valuable insight used and suggestions obtained from Col. Johnston's lectures. He brings out in bold relief the character of the author under consideration, till the hearer gets at the motives and mainsprings of his work.

Perhaps Col. Johnston's method was best exemplified in his treatment of Byron. Sympathetically, but without weak condoning of evil, he traced the story of the life of this marvellously gifted man through its literary achievement, its sorrow, blunder and sin, till its heroic sacrifice for freedom in the war of Greek independence.

Another delightful lecture in Col. Johnston's course was that on Scott. " In all the circle of literary men," said the lecturer, " there was never one who had a better conception of a lovely woman or a manful man than Scott. The descendant of a long line of ancestry, accustomed to see and to practice the deportment of the very best members in society, he was in all his instincts a gentleman, who for this lower world is, next to a Christian, the best thing for a man to be. This fact is indicated in " The Lady of the Lake," as plainly as if we had been accustomed to see him in that high intercourse held by him habitually with the best men and women of his time. Scott was indeed, as he named the first of his poems, The Last Minstrel. Once more for the last—once more for the very last time, the harp of the North was strong, and lords and ladies listened to its enchanting music along with its song, which told of the brave old days of Flodden and other fields, and single loves and adventures along the Teviot, the

Tweed and other vales and hills in that mountain land. They were brave gentlemen and lovely women, and these were made to do and say what served to inspire to great and virtuous endeavor, albeit what we used to name the heroic ages, are no more. The time had not come—alas! that it should ever have come—when generosity and courage in man and beauty and virtue in women are not the best things to be witnessed and celebrated."

Col. Johnston's course was introduced in a brief but felicitous address by Hon. John B. Riley, of Plattsburg, one of the masters of the Summer School. At the conclusion of the Dante lecture, by the request of the Rev. Thomas McMillen, C. S. P., Chairman of the Board of Studies, Col. Johnston gave a beautiful memorial of Brother Azarias.

After his faithful services to the church it was very natural indeed that the Catholics of Baltimore should decide to pay some appropriate tribute of honor to Richard Malcolm Johnston, now that it was becoming evident that his life was drawing to its close. This came to pass very appropriately indeed in 1894, the fiftieth anniversary of his marriage to Frances Mansfield. Under the direction of its president, Richard M. McSherry, the Catholic Association of Baltimore constituted itself as host and assumed charge of the rather elaborate preparations for this golden anniversary of the Johnstons, who were generally recognized as two of the most loyal and distinguished Catholics of that city.

The celebration assumed the form of a reception, at which were present not only a large number of the most distinguished Catholics of Baltimore but also others from various parts of the country. The event was a notable one, both in a religious and in a social sense, in the history of Baltimore Catholicism. Among the numerous invitations issued were those to the leading literary men of the country who had known Johnston. Though many of them were unable to attend, letters or telegrams of congratulation were received from practically every one.

Of the large number of these letters, three will perhaps serve to show the nature of the regard expressed for Johnston by his contemporaries upon the occasion of the celebration of the golden anniversary of his wedding:

From R. W. Gilder, December 10, 1894: I am sincerely sorry not to be able to be with you to mingle my congratulations with yours in honor of Col. Johnston, & the happy event to be celebrated tomorrow. Col. Johnston though one of our younger is one of our brightest and most delightful writers; & it is a pleasure to know that his private life is to be marked by so crowning a circumstance as this Golden Wedding.

From Charles Dudley Warner, December 8, 1894: I greatly regretted

that I did not know of the anniversary of my dear friend Malcomb Johnston, so that I could have joined in the congratulations. Nor will it be possible for me to be present in Baltimore Dec. 11th, for we are to sail for Italy on the 13th. Please thank the Catholic Association for the honor of its invitation.

I love Col. Johnston so deeply that I ought not to be tempted to speak of him as an author, but as I knew him first as an author my opinion may be not so biassed after all. There is a lovely quality in his writing, in his humor, that is *sui generis,* his contribution to our literature is substantial and genuine. In drawing the character and depicting the habits of the plain people of the region he knows so well he has no rival that over tops him. And the pleasure he has given the world is pure and unalloyed.

From Edmund Clarence Stedman, December 9, 1894: The vine of your Association needs no greener "bush" than that from which you are making a wreath for the golden nuptials of Col. Johnston—now the best-beloved of American authors—and of his dear and faithful wife, for half a century his "guide, philosopher and friend." She has borne him many children, yet has viewed without jealousy, and I am sure with proud and maternal affection, all those other children whom he has so delightfully presented to her and to the world;—all those quaint and picturesque Georgia folk, resident largely at Dukesborough, who will be with you & the Johnstons on Tuesday, like so many Mahatmas—though perhaps visible to the mind's eye only.

But your summons is a tantalizing one, for it has reached me too late for any arrangement on my part by which I can share in paying honor with you to the noblest of the men—the mellowest and most poetic and natural of the writers—whom I have had the privilege of calling my friends, among the many gifted sons of the fruitful South. That I love and honor him beyond measure you will readily believe, for who that knows him does not say the same!

Still, when you tell me that this is to be his Golden Wedding, I begin, like his own Mr. Riley Hood, to have "historic doubts." Why, he is one of the youngest of our still rising authors—it is certainly not more than a dozen years since I, then a veteran, began to notice the early and very original tales of this new and, of course, young writer. By all precedent, he must have at least twenty or thirty years before him, ere he enters upon the inactive part of his literary career. Perhaps, then, it is a mistake, & you meant to have said his "crystal wedding" is so near hand? If that is so, then you may count on me for a poem at the silver wedding of the Johnstons, if we are all alive—as may *they* be—at the end of the next decade!

This golden wedding anniversary proved, all in all, a delightful event both for the Johnstons and the members of the Catholic Association of Baltimore. Both Johnston and his wife, especially Johnston himself, must have enjoyed greatly the personal references and cordial good wishes manifested in these messages, and

particularly the genially and benevolently exaggerative humor in such a letter as that from Stedman. These greetings and those from all present at the celebration must surely have afforded—at a time when they sorely needed it—new faith and hope to both husband and wife to encourage them during the remainder of their life's journey, which, contrary to Stedman's wish, was not to be much prolonged for either of them.

Johnston's familiar portrait, in oils, which shows him in profile, seated, holding an unopened book, and in serious mood—the portrait which serves in reproduced form as frontispiece for his *Autobiography*—was painted by Thomas C. Corner, Baltimore artist, and first exhibited by the artist at the University Club, December 13, 1895. A group of Johnston's friends later presented the portrait to the Club, where it now occupies a place among those of other distinguished members and the four presidents of the Club, Basil L. Gildersleeve, Joseph Packard, William H. Welch, and Alfred Jenkins Shriver.

Since by this time the proceeds from such writings of his as were still in print had all but completely ceased, Johnston now decided to seek a position with the Federal Government. With, at first, no idea of calling upon his friends for aid, he sent to President Grover Cleveland an application for a position in the Department of State at Washington. This attempt having failed, he then called upon his friends in Georgia. They, in turn, appealed to Hoke Smith, a native of North Carolina but later a citizen of Georgia and at the time Secretary of the Department of the Interior, who secured a minor appointment for Johnston in the Bureau of Education. Johnston, in his *Autobiography*, gives a more detailed account of this brief period—somewhat more than two-and-a-half years—than of any period of similar length in his life, stressing the pleasant nature of his experiences in Washington:

> In the year 1895 the thought which I had been revolving for a year and more presented itself distinctly to my mind, that I should retire from the sort of work I was doing, and I resolved to do so whenever I could find another occupation . . . In this frame of mind, I sought a position under the United States Government. Having little or no acquaintance with Maryland politicians, after a vain appeal to President Cleveland, who, answering my letters promptly, referred them to the head of the department of the Commissioner of Labor and on the preparation of the *Blue* to a few old friends in Georgia. These promptly wrote to Hon. Hoke Smith, urging him to obtain a place for me. He, whom I had never known

personally nor ever seen, yielded to the petition of those Georgians who were his friends as well as mine, and so, after a brief stay in the employment of the Commissioner of Labor and on the preparation of the *Blue Book,* I was placed in the Bureau of Education, with a salary of twelve hundred dollars. There I have been since the first of January, 1896, going back and forth every week day, from Baltimore to Washington. The diversion I feel to have been a benefit, notwithstanding the very laborious work, which, notwithstanding some very kind admonitions of my chief, Hon. Wm. T. Harris, I somehow could never feel that it would be quite fair to make less. The first ten weeks of my time in the Bureau were given to assisting in editing and indexing the papers of the Commissioner. About the middle of March the latter suggested that I write a paper on early educational life in my native region, middle Georgia, beginning with the rural schools known as "Old Field." I was to tell of the sort of teachers, the schoolhouses, text-books, manner of teaching, the sports and games of school children, of holidays, turnouts, etc. To this end I read quite a number of books of school life, and upon children's sports in England, Japan, etc. This was printed in the Commissioner's report, and was followed by another paper of about equal length in which were told first of boys and girls out of school, the rise of academies, the effort to maintain a manual labor school, ending with a sketch of the State University.

Since the completion of these papers I have been employed in synopsizing educational reports of States and cities, and in translating from the French articles mainly upon educational subjects, from such writings as the Constitution, Lavoisier, and several others. Within the last eighteen months [From this one may infer that this, the last chronological entry in the *Autobiography,* was made about mid-year, 1897.] besides reviewing many books upon the several subjects in hand, I have written for the Bureau near four hundred thousand words. The Commissioner of Education, who, besides being one of the most gifted and cultured of men, is also one of the kindest, and some of his next subordinates have advised me several times against overworking myself. But when I went into the service of the Government I had the natural desire of honorable men to evince that, as old as I was, I could do adequate, satisfactory work. I felt that I owed to the Government six and a half hours of faithful work, which I was in honor bound to bestow. Then somehow I never could work satisfactorily to myself without doing so rapidly. Slow, deliberate work at any business always seemed to fatigue me more than rapid. Not seldom have I begun at nine o'clock and been surprised at the clock's stroke of twelve, when I had not moved the while from my chair. True, I sometimes felt the consequences of such confinement late in the afternoon, but have been able to go back to work next morning feeling refreshed.

The diversion from long-continued habitudes I feel has been beneficial to me. The certainty of fortnightly wages, small as they are, has served to keep my mind comparatively free from anxiety as to income, and the

work I have had to do has been comparatively easy of quick dispatch. Sometimes, but only during the summer months, I have felt right heavily pressing the daily eighty miles travel between Washington and Baltimore, particularly on the return in afternoons. But the Government's liberal allowance of vacation with continuance of pay seem to give nearly all the recreation I have seemed to need.

In some points life in one of the Departments in Washington has been interesting. When I first became engaged on the *Blue Book,* my desk being in the Patent Office, I began a diary, which I kept for about a week, and then stopped, deciding that although several things coming under my observation were interesting to me, they were too inconsiderable in themselves to be favorably written down, to say nothing of the fatigue.

In so far as daily official life is concerned, that in the Bureau of Education, so far as I have seen it, and heard of other Departments, is most exceptional in that particular. Dr. Harris is a noble exemplar of what a high Government officer may be to his subordinates. While he is exacting of faithful work, it is within the limits of reason. He trusts to his employees to do their work well, and privately and kindly chides them when they are remiss. His invariable courtesy has made him not only respected, but to a degree loved. I venture to express the belief that in no other branch of the public service is done more competent and cheerful work.

Since I have been in this employment, I have been reminded several times, and in a rather ludicrous way, that a man, no matter how old he is, will continue in some things to be a boy. While I have been frequently assured that the work I have done has been even more than satisfactory, and been admonished against too constant devotion to it, yet, most unexpectedly, there have been occasions whereon I have had thoughts akin to those I used to feel when a boy at school. Never having been, since my school and college days, under the surveillance of any, I have been occasionally surprised to the degree that has caused me to laugh at myself at my own embarrassment on occasions when the Commissioner coming into the room unexpectedly has found me idle, and perhaps telling my colleagues of some ludicrous story. I suspected from his smiling that he saw and was amused by the quick alteration in my face and voice. Smaller and less human officials would have been pleased with that instance of what is due to official superiority. It reminded me, yet with no pain or sense of abasement, of my young time when, as I easily recalled, I was always the easiest boy in the school to be caught at laughing out or other pranks, from never finding out how to dodge detection.

About the time when Johnston learned of his appointment to a position in Washington, he received an honor which he much appreciated, that of being one of the speakers at the annual dinner of the New England Society of New York City. Ever since the momentous day in December, 1886, when Henry W. Grady had delivered before this organization his notable address on *The New*

South, an invitation to appear before the Society had been coveted by Southerners. It seems clear that Johnston received the invitation at the suggestion of Edmund Clarence Stedman, and it was evidently Stedman's way of " getting even " with Johnston for the latter's aid and encouragement in connection with the Stedman and Hutchinson anthology, *Library of American Literature.* The letters of Stedman relating to this event are replete with insight into his own temperament and revealing in regard to his friendship with Johnston, the first one bearing the date of December 11, 1896:

Nothing warms my heart more than to receive one of your affectionate letters, but I assure you that I have needed warmth throughout the past two years. If I am not mistaken, this is the second time you have sent me good words since I was last able to return them—and a good book besides. For two years I have been in the toils, curiously afflicted and impeded, & really " out of " the world—with all my duties & pleasures foregone, in spite of myself. During these two years I have written no letters to those I most love & respect—only the brief, daily answers to business and ordinary correspondents. All the letters & books of my peers and colleagues piled up for a period of overwork, sickness, & pecuniary hardship. Then it seemed impossible ever to catch up, & I simply collapsed, & now do not know how I stand with friends & even relatives.

Meanwhile, few know that I have not had *one* day's vacation since I last saw you. Always here, & always in trouble, summer and winter. We at last fled the Cities of the Plain & into this mountain [Bronxville, N. Y.] like Lot. I am no longer a New Yorker, except as I wearily come to town daily—like a prisoner on parole—to report myself.

I thought it possible, not only to escape functions and " duties," but to get more time to write, if I went to the country. But I only lose one hour of my usual sleep, by having to rise at 7 A. M. & travel to town. In spite of myself, & after resigning all posts of work or honor, I was made a governor of the N. E. Society, & placed on the Dinner Committee. Our noble friend, Judge Howland, is my chief. The speakers are always few in number. It is the great dinner of the year, you know, and what is said is held to be of significance. Grady & others have made their reputations at the New England Dinner. The Committee needed a Southern guest & speaker, & I instantly thought of you, & am deeply gratified that you have accepted. I told them your expenses ought to be paid, and that will be attended to. Howland and I contrived the toasts sent you by him, from which to choose your topic. Can't you, after selecting one, or giving some other one, send me some quotation to print with it on the Bill of Fare? I hope you will make your speech (if you wish to win all hearts) not more than 10 or 15 minutes long. *It is better for both the Dinner and the newspapers.* Be as racy with humor & tender with emotion as only you can be. Tell all the stories you can. Just such a speech is needed, rather than one

too heavily freighted with history, or what not. I make these hints as *your* confidential friend—just as you would " post " me if I were going to speak under your auspices. Finally, I will be in town on the 22nd, & you will have that luncheon & business talk, *with me,* at one P. M. Come to 16 *Broad St.* (not Broadway) next door to Stock Exchange, & take elevator to my office on the 5th floor.

In the companion letter, Dec. 24, 1896, one finds a very clear reflection of the manner in which Johnston impressed the members of the Society at its annual dinner that year. Though this impression was recorded as it was seen through the friendly eyes of Stedman, yet its personal, intimate and approving comment serves admirably to supplement the more formal report in the *New York Tribune.* Since it appears to have been the final long letter written by Stedman to Johnston, it possesses high merit in revealing the cordial friendship between them:

I felt very guilty that I was obliged to leave the banquet hall before I could see you again, & still worse because I could not call at the Waldorf the next morning. In fact, I got up at a late hour, & then remembered that I had engaged to meet an out-of-town client at 10:30, at my office. Judge Howland has told me that he saw you after midnight, & has given me your message to Mrs. Stedman. He was in the balcony, & heard your beautiful speech, but the R. R. Time-table was inexorable. He stayed until the last train and went off, besides, in a driving snow-storm.

I saw that you rightly judged that Judge Howland's unrivalled jokes were enough to answer for the evening, & so confined yourself to the serious and eloquent portion of your speech. It was the *poetic* incident of the evening, delivered with feeling, and I assure you that it made an effective impression. If you did not draw laughter, you drew tears, and I wish you could have heard the remarks made by the listeners in my vicinity. We are greatly indebted to you for coming. Judge Howland says you will include the omitted passage, about the Northerner & Southerner, in your printed text. [The speech was printed entire in the minutes of the Society.] I suppose you saw the long *Tribune* report of the dinner, the next morning.

Well, I am glad to have seen you once again, & expect you to visit *us* at Bronxville whenever you come on to arrange about your next publisher.

Mrs. Stedman joins with me in wishing you, Mrs. Johnston, & the young ladies, a Merry Christmas, & a Happy New Year. Give Mrs. Johnston my personal thanks for her influence, which did more for us than all the " sweet influences of the Pleiades."

Johnston's interest in and admiration for Shakespeare, which had begun with his collegiate reading and had been manifested in his earlier writings (through quotations at the beginning of stories, at the head of divisions of stories, and through subtler references) found an outlet during his life in Maryland by way of his partici-

pation in the meetings and activities of the Shakespeare Club of Baltimore. As early as 1884, he contributed two essays on Shakespearean topics, "The Delicacy of Shakespeare" and "Shakespeare's Tragic Lovers," doubtless presented originally at the Club, to the *Catholic World.*

Johnston and his wife had long shared together the reading of Shakespeare, Scott, Dickens and other secular writer—not to mention numerous religious authors. One picture of her, presented by a Pen Lucy student in a letter to his parents in Georgia, represented her as, oftener than otherwise, with a baby on her left arm and a book held open in her right hand. She was Johnston's greatest and most constant stimulus in his efforts at portraying the old-time Georgia folk. Whenever the spring of his own inspiration seemed to run dry, his wife would say: "Don't you recall Old Man So-and-So, who lived east of Powelton (Dukesborough) at the bend of the road, and what he did about his law-suit?" Johnston, of course, did recall the incident, which might serve as the starting point for another story.

Though she seldom went abroad—very little, in fact, in comparison with Johnston's daily commuting trips to Washington—yet she shared actively with him in other interests than reading. She was not such a letter-writer as he, but even now—as she had done in the eighties when she and Eugene Field had interchanged letters relative to certain medieval legends which interested them—she maintained a brief correspondence with Celia Thaxter. She was always interested in gardens, particularly in such a one as this New England seashore garden. She wrote a letter to tell the poet-recluse of her appreciation of *My Island Garden.* The poet, from that same garden, Appledore, off Portsmouth, replied, June 30, 1894:

> I thank you so much for your charming letter about my book & am so glad that it pleased you! Had it not been for sickness in my family I should have replied to your kind letter long before this, for it gave me real pleasure. I wish I might welcome you to my little garden some of these lovely summer days, & show you how true are those descriptions you cared about, & how *real* it all is.
>
> I thank you and your husband also for the great pleasure your letter gave me.

The spacious, delightful gardens of Rockby and Pen Lucy were things of the past, but they were pleasant memories which she

could still enjoy in retrospect, or recreate vicariously through the eyes of Celia Thaxter.

Another matter of interest and enjoyment was that of family genealogy. Since it was about the time when Johnston was completing his *Autobiography,* the two doubtless talked such matters over fully on more occasions than one. She wrote at least one letter to relatives in Georgia seeking such data, some of which, in turn, was woven by Johnston into the earlier pages of the narrative of his life.

Still another matter of concern to these two, who were now in the very twilight of life, was their effort to secure proper care of the old family burial plot in the public cemetery at Sparta, Georgia. Not only E. P. Lugand, owner of the Milledgeville Marble Works, from whom several letters were received, but also other Georgia friends assisted in this endeavor, which was finally realized. Appropriate markers and slabs for the graves of loved ones interred at Sparta were secured and accurately placed in position, with a general memorial shaft in the center of the plot. She appeared greatly relieved when she had been assured of the completion of this work.

It appears that in arranging the plans for the erection of this monument and the accompanying renovation of the family burial plot at Sparta, all of which occupied considerably more than a year, she had on one occasion definitely pleaded illness as an excuse for failing to answer promptly one of the letters from Lugand. Her health during the half-year before her death—especially near the close of it—appears to have been even less satisfactory. A significant sentence from one of her letters, her last letter to her husband, Feb. 9, 1897—" I have gotten along pretty well today "—indicates clearly in her own words the manner of the passing of those last days. From this it may be inferred that all of those particular days did not pass even moderately well. The letter is also revealing otherwise: it shows clearly how her life, which she had once or twice temporarily enlarged and enlivened by correspondence with such literary folk as Eugene Field and Celia Thaxter, had come to be mainly a matter of concern about household affairs and of devotion to the endless routine of religious activities to which she all but martyred herself: [1]

[1] Miss Ruth Johnston—the only remaining member of the immediate family since the death of the Rev. Lucian Johnston, October, 1940—is authority for the

Tuesday afternoon
Feb. 9, 1897

My dear Husband:

Effie has just handed me her letter for me to add a few lines to you, to reassure you the house is about as it has been. I was downstairs this morning at 7 o'clock long before any bell was rung. I have gotten along pretty well today.

Last night, I said my Rosary for us, burned a candle before St. Anthony for you, besides saying the seven joys & sorrows of St. Joseph, which I say every night for you. No news! Take care of yourself for my sake. God, the blessed Mother and all the Saints bring you home safe.

Yr aff. wife

FRANCES M. JOHNSTON

This letter has been carefully preserved, inclosed in an envelope other than the original one, upon which is the following notation in Johnston's handwriting:

The last letter I received from my wife, written on Tuesday afternoon, 9th of February, 1897, while I was on my way to Montreal. *Beata semper ejus amatissimae esto memoria! Requiescat in pace!*

R. M. JOHNSTON

Within a little more than a year after she had seen completed the renovation of the burial plot at Sparta, she became seriously ill, something which had seldom happened to her. This illness, which began February 20, 1897, has been described by her daughter Ruth as a gradual but complete failure of all her vital powers. All of her life she had kept going most of the time, and she had even attempted to do so during those last unusual and trying days. After her illness had lasted two days she sensed even more clearly than ever that the end was near. She caused Father Brady, a Jesuit, to be summoned, to whom she made her last confession, "O my mistakes!" Not long after this she began sinking more rapidly and received extreme unction. She breathed her last on February 23, 1897.

Her loss was keenly felt by her children but especially so by Johnston, to whom the death of his devoted companion was a shattering blow, a blow from which he seems never to have re-

statement that in her mother all the religious zeal and austerity which she had inherited from her New England ancestry became emphatically dominant in the later years of her life.

covered. He devoted himself anew to his children and to the sole work which remained for him, his duties in Washington. Now, however, since Fannie—as he was fond of calling her—had gone, the daily trips to and from Washington grew more irksome and exhausting. Nevertheless, with a sense of duty which was notable and which was characteristic of him, he continued his efforts until he was no longer able to go abroad.

During May, 1898, he found it had become impossible for him to leave his home except occasionally. Fortunately for him and his family the Government continued to pay his modest salary. As the summer dragged its weary length his illness increased. His health had failed him to such a degree that during August he was removed from the little home at 1732 St. Paul Street to the City Hospital, where the end of his life came peacefully, September 23. His death was attributed to " debility attendant upon old age." The funeral services were conducted at St. Ignatius Catholic Church, and the interment was in St. Mary's churchyard, Govanstown, by the side of his beloved wife.

In a tribute paid to him later, Bernard Steiner, one of his devoted friends, affirmed:

> He was a courageous and faithful man, struggling all life long in a noble combat to achieve comfort for those he loved. Even when he was within a few weeks of his death, he could boast that in the past year his work in the Bureau of Education at Washington had been fully equal to that of the younger men . . . No man ever gave a better example or a more attractive one of what the Christian life was. With him, you felt that you were with one whose whole life was moulded by that Master of us all.

Thus it was that he who, though he had always at heart been a Georgian, came at last to rest in Maryland soil. If one were to select an epitaph for him, perhaps it might come most appropriately from that writer who had charmed his earlier years in Georgia and whom he had always loved:

> Fear no more the heat o' the sun
> Nor the furious winters' rages;
> Thou thy worldly task hast done,
> Home art gone, and ta'en thy wages.

LETTERS OF CHARLES CARROLL, BARRISTER

(Continued from Vol. XXXV, page 207)

Sir

I shall Ship you in your Ship the Betsy Captain Love now in Wye River Seven Tons of Pig Iron more than I wrote to you for Insurance on in mine of the 5th of August Last. I Desire therefore that you will add to the Insurance on my Account in the said Vessel the Sum of forty Pounds

I am Sir your most Hble Servt

Annapolis October 21st 1765 — Chas Carroll

To Mr William Anderson
Merchant in London
℔ Captain Curling
℔ Captain Johnstoun
℔ Captain Lewis

Sir

My wife wants if it Can be Got and sent to her a Pound of Raw Silk Half Deep blue and Half Crimson Please if you Can to send it and also a piece of White Lammy and a Floured Black Sattin Cloak for a Girl about Thirteen years old

I am Sir your M hble Servt

Annapolis October 24th 1765 — Chas Carroll

To Mr William Anderson
Mercht in London
℔ Captain Johnstoun
℔ Captain Lewis

Sir

Please to send me In Insured the Contents of the Inclosed Invoice Marked as Directed. The Still my wife wants is for Distilling Rose water &c for family use She Does not Know whether they are Called Cold or Coal Stills the maker will Know what we mean

I would have the Kitchen Jack made of the Sort Least Liable to be

out of order as our Negro Cooks and Servants are but Careless and Rough Handlers of any thing that may be Trusted to their Care

I am Sir your M h^ble Servant

Annapolis Maryland
November 17^th 1765

Charles Carroll

To M^r W^m Anderson
Merchant in London
℔ Capt. M^cLachlan

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x|x

Invoice of Goods sent Inclosed in a Letter to M^r William Anderson Merchant in London Dated November 17^th 1765

½ Dozen best Ivory Dandrif Combs
½ Dozen best Horn Ditto
½ Dozen fine Ivory Handled Comb Brushes
1 Copper that will Hold forty Gallons to be set in Brick work Strong and Substantially made
1 Beer Kettle to Hang on a Hook to Hold 18 Gallons
1 Brass Kettle & Cover to Hang on a Hook 2½ Gallons
2 Best Iron Dripping Pans
1 Coffee Roaster
1 Bell metal Spice Morter and Pestle
1 Small Cold or Coal Still for Distilling Rose and Mint Water
2 Iron Pots to hold 15 Gallons Each
2 Ditto to hold 8 D° D°
2 Ditto to hold 4 D° D°
2 Ditto to hold 3 D° D°
1 Kitchen Jack made Strong and Plain and Proper weights and all necessarys strong Rope Pollies and Chain
40 m 10^d and 20 m 20^d nails
2 pieces Blue Half thick
12 pair Blue yarn Hose
two Pewter wash Basins of the Largest Size made Substantial—
12 pair of wool Cards
1 Gross Brass metal Buttons Coat and vest Plain and well Shanked—
2 Garden Tin Watering Pots
6 yards of narrow fashionable Gold Lace for a morning or Riding waist-coat and 2 pair of Common Sized Strong Gold knee Garters for Breeches

And the Contents of the under mentioned Invoice marked A G—

1 piece of ⅞ Cotton Chex @19^d
1 piece of Ell wide Sheeting @18^d
1 piece of y^d wide Irish Linen @ 20^d

NB the Sample for the Check is Inclosed

Sir

Inclosed I send you Mr Matthew Tilghman Bill of Exchange for Thirty five Pounds with which please to Credit my account

Please to send me in added to the Goods before wrote for five pounds of the Best Burnit[?] Grass seed two pair of Cotton Cards and four pair of wool Ditto. And the following Books Montesques Spirit of Laws Spectacle De la Nature or Nature Displayed the age of Lewis the fourteenth by Voltaire all Translated from the french a new and Complete System of Practical Husbandry by John Mills Esquire Editor of Duhamels Husbandry Printed by John Johnson at the Monument Essays on Husbandry. Essay the first on the Antient and Present State of Agriculture and the Second on Lucern Printed for William Frederick at Bath 1764 Sold by Hunter at Newgate Street or Johnston in Ludgate Street

I am Sir your Most Hble Servant

Maryland Novemr 2d 1765 — C. Carroll

To Mr William Anderson
Merchant in London
℔ Captain Cockey
℔ Captain Love

Sir

Inclosed I send you Robert Loves Bill of Lading for fourteen Tons of Pig and Six Tons of Bar Iron and Adam Coxens for fifteen Tons of Pig and Ten Tons of Bar Do and Robert Johnstouns for Eight Hdds of Tobacco Love has by mistake made his Bill for Ten Shillings freight should have been but seven and Six pence

The Ship Isabella belonging to Stevenson that I wrote to you to make Insurance on for me to Bristol will not sail this year for Bristol as she was too Late Launched And they have Left the Iron and sent her a voyage to the west Indies But she will sail next year I suppose it will make no alteration in the Insurance which will stand Good whenever She Sails on Her Voyage with the Iron for Bristol If you think Differently please to adjust the Matter with the Insurers and Continue the Insurance against She Sails

I am yr most Hble Servt

Annapolis Novemr 19th 1765 — C. Carroll

To Mr William Anderson } ℔ Captain Cockey } Decr 11th 1765
Merchant in London } ℔ Capt. Hamilton }

Sir

Inclosed I send you An Account of the Cash paid you with which you stand Charged in my Books on Account of my Bond for the Land in Baltimore Bought of you which I Hope you will find Right. Be Pleased to Credit yourself in the Account by the Bond and the Interest Calculated to the several Payments and then on the Ballance Remaining Due after such Payments. And Return the Account to me that I may see How it stands you will find that there is a Currency Ballance due to me which Please to Turn into Sterling I send you a memorandum of my Clerks to shew How the £2.. 17s.. 0d Sterling became due to me

I Do not know the Exact Date of the Bond or I would Calculate the Interest and save you the Trouble I have some other Charges for Tobacco &c on Account of our Frederick County Land. But those I Charge in other Accounts

I am your most Hble Servant

Annapolis January 21st 1766 C. C.

To Mr Henry Griffith }
Elk Ridge }

Mr John Scerce

I will Let you have my House and Lot at Baltimore Town for one hundred Pounds Sterling And tha' the Note be given in Sterling you may Pay it off in Currency at Sixty Six and two thirds Exchange that is for the one hundred Pounds Sterling one hundred and Sixty Six pounds thirteen Shillings and four Pence Currency in Pensylvania money or Pieces of Eight at Seven Shillings and Six pence each If you Agree to this Please to sign a Note to me for the above Sum and Interest and I will Give you my Bond to Convey the House and Lot to you when the money is Paid and as I shall Receive only on your Note from the time of its date in the Sted of Rent for the House and Lot you must make all Repairs and Stand to all Damages in Case of Fire or otherwise to the House and Paleing from the time of Giving your Note till the money is Paid

I am yr mo. hble Servt

Annapolis March 10th 1766 C. Carroll

To Mr John Scerce }
Baltimore Town }

The Background of the Revolution in Maryland. By CHARLES ALBRO BARKER. (Yale Historical Publications, XXXVIII.) New Haven, Yale University Press, 1940. [xii] 419 pp. $3.50.

Dr. Barker's contribution to the history of Maryland in the eighteenth century is much wider in scope than its title implies. From the title one might easily infer that the treatise relates chiefly or solely to the period just preceding the American Revolution, that it is limited in its range to what is called the pre-revolutionary era. On the contrary, it contains in compact and at times summary form a political, social, and economic history of Maryland from 1715 to 1774, a period here examined with entire impartiality and in great detail. All pertinent material, in print or in manuscript, discoverable either in Maryland itself or in depositaries outside, has been grist to the writer's mill. He has scrutinized and digested documents of all kinds—some only recently brought to light; contemporary printed material in great variety; recent treatises—books, monographs, and articles wherever found; and in a bibliographical note at the end of the volume has printed one of the fullest and most useful statements of the tools of trade for Maryland's history that has ever been prepared. And all this in a book, the text of which covers but 377 pages. I doubt if any writer on the subject has ever built up a structure on a sounder body of bed-rock evidence or has been less biased in his treatment than the writer of this very able monograph.

The topics treated are not selective but all embracing, and the conclusions reached, some tentative and suggestive only, others proven beyond cavil, are always significant and often illuminating. Dr. Barker discusses the geographical environment, established institutions, manors and tenancies, soil and staples, and population, the last-named subject covering racial and religious characteristics, classifications and gradations, solidarity, and regional density. He has sections on capital, wealth, law, justice, the clergy, schools, books, and newspapers, estimates of cultural standards, excellent analyses of economic and commercial conditions, in times both of expansion and of depression. He writes of tobacco and the tobacco trade and of the extent to which the peace and prosperity of the community hung on the vicissitudes of that staple. He has much to say of the grain trade also, in which connection he brings in the German element in Maryland west and examines with care the efforts made to widen the staple base of the province.

Two topics bulk large in the book, just as they bulk large in Maryland's history: namely, the relations of Maryland with the world outside—the mother country and the frontier beyond the borders of the province; and, secondly, the ever prevalent and growing antagonism between the deputies in assembly, with their provincial and parliamentary view-points, and the proprietor, with his privileges and powers derived from the charter. As to the first point, the writer concludes that there was always a

minimum of administrative connection with the government at home and that at no time was the British colonial system a cause of serious complaint, even though the commercial regulations were obeyed without enthusiasm. As to affairs beyond the immediate borders of the colony he finds that Marylanders had no great interest in the military and other activities common to the British colonial world and paid little attention to western land claims because of the peculiar configuration of the provincial boundaries.

On the second point Dr. Barker presents evidence and reaches conclusions that help to the understanding of a unique situation, for the conflict in Maryland finds no exact parallel in any of the other British colonies in America, though representative of a constitutional struggle common to all. The reasons why the parallel is not exact are to be found, in the first place, in the existence of the Maryland charter—a feudal document—which gave the proprietor powers, perquisites, and privileges such as never were possessed either by a royal governor or even by the only other surviving proprietor, William Penn, whose charter was granted fifty years later, with its feudal characteristics greatly curtailed. These proprietary rights in Maryland were the more unassailable because written down in black and white and not subject to change. They imposed on the colony not only a very heavy burden of debt but also powers of appointment and control that were irritating in the extreme. In the second place, the uniqueness of the Maryland situation lies, to no small extent, in the make-up of the House of Delegates. This body, which fought the proprietor and his resident governor with every weapon at its command, was composed of many of the wealthiest landholders in the province. Probably the deputies as a whole were richer men than were the deputies in any other colonial assembly, and though ostensibly they based their claims on the needs of the province and their parliamentary rights they were really representative of their own class and not of the people at large. Toward the end of the period, however, as Dr. Barker shows, popular restlessness tended more and more to become a factor in the struggle, recognized by proprietor and delegates alike, and finding voice sometimes in popular movements and sometimes in newspapers and pamphlets. Under the dual attack the proprietary system, already weakened by the succession of an illegitimate son to the headship of the province, collapsed and vanished from view.

Dr. Barker's style, cramped as it is bound to be by the very compactness of his treatment, occasionally lacks ease and fluency and is at times obscure, but for the most part it is correct and forcible. I have discovered no matters of importance to criticize and only a few of minor consequence. Dr. Barker in citing "Bond" as an authority should have distinguished between the two writers of that name. Customs officials were never appointed by the crown (196). No king ever signed a charter to give it validity (214), for that could be done only by the affixing of the great seal. "Commissary" (275) should have been preceded by the word "ecclesiastical," for the commissary in Maryland had a double connotation. I think that on page 167, line 5, "executive" should be "legislative," for otherwise the statement there made is not correct. A map would have added to the usefulness of the work.

I cannot close this notice without testifying again to the excellence of Dr. Barker's book. It is thorough, unprejudiced, and scholarly, a first-rate contribution to a period of Maryland's history that in the past has received from Maryland writers less attention than its importance deserves.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

Archives of Maryland. LVI: Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, 1758-1761 (26). [Published by Authority of the State under the Direction of the Maryland Historical Society] J. HALL PLEASANTS, Editor. Baltimore, the Society, 1939. lxxvi, 552 pp. $3.00.

This volume of the *Archives of Maryland,* the twenty-sixth in the Series of Proceedings and Acts of the Assembly, is the tenth which, in the course of as many years, has been published under the editorship of Dr. Pleasants. Like its immediate predecessor it has to do with the period of the French and Indian War. That the four years which the record covers were for the Assembly a time of less activity than the single year 1757-58 is revealed by the mere fact that this smaller volume includes the longer period, and yet affords the editor space for a more extended Introduction.

In this Dr. Pleasants sums up for the reader the work of this Assembly in each of its six sessions and then also discusses topically the most important problems with which the Assembly had to deal. As before, these represented chiefly the conflicting forces of finance and politics in that the Assembly, or rather its Lower House, consistently endeavored to use its power of taxation in such a way as to increase its own power over affairs and reduce that of the Lord Proprietary. In this volume military affairs and the struggle between Roman Catholics and the Anglican establishment play, on the whole, less important parts.

Concerning the Supply or Assessment Bill Dr. Pleasants is of the opinion that some of its provisions represent the first beginnings of the modern principle of the income tax; but one is inclined to question whether, in the light of the entirely different circumstances of eighteenth century Maryland and the absence of what we now call corporate wealth, this is so important as the relation of the Maryland tax bill to the earlier efforts to regulate by taxes and fees the lawyers, the clergy and the holders of office.

Of other topics one of the most interesting is found in the proceedings of the Upper House, when the younger Daniel Dulany appears in opposition to his conservative associates with respect to the treatment of aliens as to their land holding and naturalization. In this one may detect the working of a new social force, the influence of the Germans in Western Maryland, in whose coming Daniel Dulany, the elder, had played so interested a part. One may find an analogy in the liberal attitude of George Washington's short-lived brother Lawrence, on the other side of the Potomac.

It is hardly necessary to say that the format is of the same excellence that has marked in recent years each volume of the *Archives*. In health contrast with the silence that one notes in some other series of the same sort, Dr. Pleasants reveals to the reader that the text of his volume is derived from two sources—the original *libers* of the Journals of the Upper and Lower Houses and also printed pamphlets of the Proceedings. From the latter source are taken in particular some marginal notes that do not appear in the manuscript journals. It would be yet more helpful to bibliographers if the editor would give a fuller description of these originals with notes as to their size, pagination, etc., and as to imprints, their location. But perhaps the scholar will be better served if Dr. Pleasants will sometime make these matters the subject of a separate study. No one is so well qualified to write an essay on the bibliography, considered by periods, of the archival records of the Maryland Assembly.

St. George L. Sioussat.

Library of Congress.

Thomas Cromwell Corner: An Appreciation—A Memoir—An Alphabetical and Chronological Index of the Portraits Painted and Forty-Nine Reproductions. Baltimore, Privately printed, 1940. Not paged. $10.00.

Maryland has a painting tradition extending back more than two centuries, of which the late Thomas Corner was the recent flowering. Beginning early in the eighteenth century with Justus Engelhardt Kühn and the two Hesseliuses, father and son, these three pre-Revolutionary painters of portraits, sometimes classed as primitives, were followed by a succession of Peales—Charles Willson the greatest, his son Rembrandt the most sophisticated and academic, and finally a niece, Sarah M., who carried down the Peale tradition almost until the mid-nineteenth century. These Maryland painters of Maryland people and other local portraitists less well known, have left for posterity numerous portraits, which serve as a pictorial record of many of the leading men and women of the State, covering a period of nearly a century and a half. Then there was a lapse of several decades when, with the exception of Alfred J. Miller, numerous indifferent brushes kept but an indifferent record of the leading people of the latter half of the nineteenth century.

When painting in Baltimore was at this low ebb, a young Baltimorean, Thomas Cromwell Corner, ambitious to paint portraits and to rise above the mediocrity with which he was surrounded, and which he feared might envelop him, went to Paris, where he worked hard under good masters for four years. When he returned to Baltimore in 1891 he was well qualified to revive the tradition which had been broken, or at best been feebly carried on, by most of his immediate predecessors for over four decades.

In the notable book which has just appeared will be found the record of this painter's work from his student days in Paris until his death in Baltimore in 1938. Here the painter's sister, Mary Cromwell Corner, tells

us, only too briefly, the story of his life, his ambitions, his achievements, and his character. J. Gilman D. Paul contributes a sympathetic foreword as "An Appreciation." The committee which has charged itself with the preparation of this volume has selected for reproduction in gravure fifty of his portraits. The book has been privately printed by the Walpole Printing Office in a limited edition of one hundred and ninety copies.

The city of Baltimore certainly has every reason to be grateful that for nearly half a century there was entrusted to Tom Corner the perpetuation of the features of over three hundred of its prominent men and women—or perhaps it would be more truthful to say, of its men, for Corner was seldom willing to paint women, realizing that he was not at his best with them. The historically minded will feel that the community is to be congratulated that there will be passed down to future generations portraits which show how those fortunate enough to have been painted by Corner really looked—vigorous, truthful paintings, not feeble two-dimensional murals depicting the subjects, not as they were, but as some neurotic decadent dauber saw them.

Tom Corner was really a good, honest, portrait painter and, as Gilman Paul says of him in his Appreciation, he did not allow himself to be "drawn aside from the cultivation of his individuality and from the perfecting of a style of painting which was his own—and would never have subscribed to the theory that good portraiture is impossible without a touch of caricature." His natural kindliness and penetration enabled him to see the best in the character of his subjects without crass flattery.

The Maryland Historical Society is fortunate in having in its gallery the portraits of two of its former presidents by Corner, and the book itself is a notable addition to its historical records of the past.

J. Hall Pleasants.

Torchbearer of the Revolution; the Story of Bacon's Rebellion and Its Leader. By Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1940. 237 pages. $2.50.

The reviewer having mentioned to a group of university graduates that at long last a life of Nathaniel Bacon had appeared, a club member of no small experience in history and literature asked: "Who was he?"

This query does not of itself constitute proof that a biography of Bacon was needed, but it did contribute additional evidence to show that few know anything about the career of the most romantic character in the America of the seventeenth century. In this volume of less than three hundred pages, Professor Wertenbaker has produced a masterpiece. His exposition reveals not only all that is ascertainable about this brilliant champion of the oppressed in the struggle against Governor Berkeley's tyranny; but it also presents the most graphic brief portrayal yet written of rural life in that period. "Colorful" narratives are not always accurate; yet this is both, for Professor Wertenbaker shows that he has steeped himself not only in the lore of the scholar but also in the atmos-

phere of the age. He shows further that the colony which a century later produced in a single generation a Bland, a Henry, a Jefferson, a Washington, and a George Rogers Clark, was early fired with that fierce spirit of liberty eulogized by Edmund Burke; not only that, but he offers us a picture of living conditions so distinct that the reader feels himself a part thereof. Though Bacon died and Berkeley lived, liberty survived in Virginia; for Bacon did not fight in vain.

Professor Wertenbaker is perhaps the first historian to set forth in a general exposition a true portrayal of the early colonial houses of frame built in English style, rather than the traditional log cabins of the up-country era. He tells also of transportation by shallops over Virginia streams long before the advent of roads and covered wagons. Maryland comes into the picture through the siege by land and water of the ingeniously constructed fort which the Susquehannocks built upon the broad Potomac not so far from the present site of the national capital.

The reader could 'go through' this modest volume within a few hours. He should not, however; for a thoughtful survey would reveal a fuller appreciation of a period of the past never before disclosed so well in so brief a compass.

MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS.

Calendar of the General Otho Holland Williams Papers in the Maryland Historical Society. Prepared by the Maryland Historical Records Survey Project, Division of Professional and Service Projects, Work Projects Administration. Baltimore, The Survey, 1940. Mimeographed. 454 pp.

The calendar of the Otho Holland Williams Papers lists at length the contents of 1225 original manuscripts. These consist of various types, though the majority may be said to comprise General Williams' correspondence with prominent Americans from 1775 to 1794. There are papers of historical value, such as those describing battles of the Revolution and those telling about the difficulties encountered in setting up the federal government. There are scores of items which shed light on local politics, economic activity, and social customs. There are hundreds of entries which reveal details of the life of the times. Many of the letters are intertwined in such a way that the result is a series of continued stories which are interesting—and even exciting— to follow.

The editor, Dr. Elizabeth Merritt, deserves credit for the excellence of the work in the calendar. She has gathered her material in scholarly fashion, yet the book is written so that it is definitely readable as well as an encyclopedia of information for the period covered. A Preface by Walter F. Meyer, State Supervisor, gives physical data about the Williams Papers and discusses the procedure of the survery. Miss Merritt's Introduction supplies facts concerning General Williams' life and career and estimates the value of his correspondence. A Proper Name Index allows the searcher to find easily references to any persons or places. The only imperfection noted is the rather flippant citation (in a few instances) of Williams as "Otho H."

The calendar is an important piece of work, and it will be invaluable to all students of the period, whatever their inclinations: military tactics, constitutional history, politics, everyday life, or biography. It is well done, and it is the kind of thing which should exist for every large manuscript collection.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

An Index of the Source Records of Maryland, Genealogical, Biographical, Historical. By ELEANOR PHILLIPS PASSANO. Baltimore, Waverly Press, Inc., 1940. 478 pp. $15.00. (Cash with order, $12.)

At last, at long last, we have here an intelligible, consolidated index to the extensive genealogical, biographical and historical source records of Maryland!

Mrs. Passano, who is Honorary State Historian of the Maryland Society of the National Society, D. A. R., has devoted six years to the successful accomplishment of this work, which bears the title "An Index of the Source Records of Maryland, Genealogical, Biographical, Historical."

The compiler has gleaned her reference material from the collections of the Library of Congress, the National Archives at Washington, the National D. A. R. Library, the Hall of Records at Annapolis, the Peabody Library, the Maryland Diocesan Library, the Maryland Historical Society and the Enoch Pratt Library of Baltimore; from the membership files or collections of the local societies of Colonial Wars, the Colonial Dames, the Founders and Patriots, the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution and the Society of the War of 1812; from the National Genealogical Society Quarterly, the Maryland Historical Magazine, the Harford County Historical Collections (*MSS.*), the County Court Note Book (*Ljungstedt*), the Columbia Historical Society Collections (D. C.), the Original Research Bulletins (Baltimore) and from private records, both printed and manuscript, family histories, biographies and numerous pedigree charts. The list comprises some 20,000 names, cross-indexed, arranged alphabetically.

The foregoing outline provides an inadequate picture of the scope of this excellent work. The value of the book is enhanced by lists of State, county and church records, a bibliography of Maryland histories, biographies, genealogies, war records, magazines, newspapers, and other information which a perusal of the table of contents will disclose. This compilation will be a most useful acquisition to libraries and a convenient guide for all who are interested in research work.

As may be expected in the first edition of a work of such scope and diversity, there are some typographical errors, notably the repetition of the family name "Keener," instead of Kenner.

This volume is dedicated to the memory of Mrs. John Grey Hopkins Milburn, née Thomas, formerly Regent of the Maryland Society, D. A. R. The book is attractively bound and well printed.

FRANCIS BARNUM CULVER.

Studies of the Virginia Eastern Shore in the Seventeenth Century. By Susie W. Ames. Richmond, Dietz Press [1940], 274 pp. $3.50.

This is really a very competent piece of work. It displays not only the authenticity which arises from an intelligent use of primary sources in historical research, but also an easy style of composition. And for a monograph primarily factual, readability is no mean achievement.

The boundaries set by Miss Ames for this study must be kept in mind. She has restricted herself to the Eastern Shore of Virginia consisting of two counties: Accomack and Northampton. Also the time period is the seventeenth century. The choice is a wise one. An intensive economic and administrative history of a state as rich in records as is Virginia has to be done gradually. The Eastern Shore was a homogeneous area, and these two counties offer "the oldest continuous county court records in the United States and unpublished except for brief transcripts. . . ."

Although there are eight chapters they can be grouped into four divisions: the geographical and political background, the economic phases of life, political and judicial administration, and one chapter on the Church and State.

Of course the fundamental economic institutions were land and labor; each of these receives a chapter. Miss Ames's conclusions about the sizes of plantations, conditions of acquisition and disposal may be considered conclusive for that area, and are rather similar to the results which I found for Maryland. Furthermore, her willingness to question the conclusions of the "authorities" on American colonial history is well supported by documentary evidence. Her conclusions about the legal position of the Negro in those two counties (pp. 100-106) could be extended, I feel reasonably sure, to the western shore of Virginia. Certainly they are applicable to Maryland of that century. Maryland's records, however, give much less evidence of the use of Indian slaves.

Although tobacco was the dominant product on the Eastern Shore for many decades, by the end of the seventeenth century the planters had in great part turned from the leaf to grain, livestock and household manufactures as did their Maryland neighbors directly to the North. Not much direct use of English records is made by Miss Ames, but she has soundly emphasized the extent to which the foreign trade from these two counties used routes and ships other than those controlled by the mother country.

The chapters on legal institutions and law enforcement give the letter and spirit of county administration. Here, as in Raphael Semmes's *Crime and Punishment in Early Maryland,* the more intimate details of daily individual behavior are offered the reader. It is good stuff.

"In short, for the Virginians of the Eastern Shore the seventeenth century was a period of beginnings, of adjustments, of progress toward security." These are the author's conclusions, conclusions so adequately established that I hope this careful scholar will continue by widening the scope of her research. Such an extension of the boundaries would allow a fuller correlation with the activities of the Western Shore counties of

Virginia. Also a greater use of rather recent monographs and articles on Maryland and the Carolinas would be possible and would add to the significance of the author's conclusions about Virginia.

University of Maryland. VERTREES J. WYCKOFF.

The Articles of Confederation; An Interpretation of the Social-Constitutional History of the American Revolution, 1774-1781. By MERRILL JENSEN. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1940. 284 pp. $3.00.

The sub-title rather than the title of this monograph offers the better clue to its content and purport. Dr. Jensen has surveyed the whole series of American political conflicts in this period, and has discerned in each essentially the same conflict of interest and parties. It is a conflict between "conservatives" and "radicals." The former represent the interests of property and wealth, fear independence from Great Britain for the possible social anarchy that may result, and favor strong central government in America to offset the radicalism of the state governments. The latter represent a larger mass of the population, are strongly in favor of independence and a fair degree of local autonomy for the state governments. The author concludes that "the Revolution was essentially, though relatively, a democratic movement," and that "The Articles of Confederation were the constitutional expression of this movement and the embodiment in governmental form of the philosophy of the Declaration of Independence." (p. 15)

Criticism can be leveled at the author's loose construction of the terms "radical" and "conservative," and at his effort to trace a too clear-cut line of continuity of party opposition on every issue fought out in this period. In fact, there was considerable migration between party camps as the nature of the issues changed. So-called "radicals" of the period 1763-1776 who favored independence did not necessarily afterward oppose a strong central government for America. Nor is it clear that the "radical" opposition to John Dickinson's original plan for a fairly powerful central government was derived from democratic principle. Rather it came from the slave-holding states who opposed the system of apportionment of taxes and from states claiming large areas of Western lands who objected to Congress assuming extensive powers over those regions. Undoubtedly there is a continuous under-current of conflict in the revolutionary and confederation periods between aristocratic and democratic principles of government, between property and personal rights. But never is the issue as neat and clear-cut as Dr. Jensen implies.

However, this work deserves high praise for its careful integration of the best recent studies of the revolutionary movement in the separate colonies, and for its original contributions to the history of the formulation and ratification of the Articles of Confederation. Serious students of Maryland history should be especially gratified by the author's exposure

of the true motives underlying her opposition to ratification, and his explosion of ancient myths regarding this state's rôle in that affair.

The Johns Hopkins University. PHILIP A. CROWL.

George Washington as the French Knew Him; A Collection of Texts. Edited and translated and with an Introduction by GILBERT CHINARD. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1940. 161 pp. $2.50.

To see ourselves as others see us is always an enlightening experience and to hear about our great hero Washington from the words of foreign statesmen, military experts, travellers and diplomats is of great value. Gilbert Chinard has edited and translated a collection of French documents otherwise unavailable to many Americans, in this small volume. In his introduction Mr. Chinard explains that his purpose in making this collection available is to make the "little known Washington" less of a "National Myth" and to record the impressions of the French soldiers and officers who came in contact with Washington in America and who in the record of their impressions made keen observations concerning him.

The arrangement of the sources follows a chronological and natural order, presenting first the letters of French volunteers, such as Lafayette, Duponceau, Duportail and others. Second, the editor records papers of Rochambeau and the French army officers. Third, there follow the accounts of many diplomats, travellers and observers, chief among whom are Chateaubriand, Genêt, Adet, and Crèvecoeur. Some of these are quite critical since they were partisans in opposition to Washington's views. Part four is entitled "A French Apotheosis of Washington." This is a record of the ceremony in Paris held soon after the death of Washington. Bonaparte, Talleyrand, and Fontane gave tributes to our great American on that occasion. These accounts are well worth reading. The fifth and last division of the book is devoted to the remarks of men of a later generation which show that the admiration of the French toward Washington did not perish with his death. Among these men were Hugo, de Neuville, Tocqueville and Guizot.

Historians interested in the period of the American Revolution will acknowledge that they owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Chinard for having made available for their use valuable source material. Mr. Chinard admits that this is not a complete record of all the French have written about Washington and it is to be hoped that in the future the editor may present a still more extensive collection of documents on this subject for American perusal.

ESTHER MOHR DOLE.

Washington College.

A Surgeon's Life: The Autobiography of J. M. T. FINNEY. New York, Putnam, [1940] [xvi] 395 pp. $3.50.

Two chief characteristics dominate this very human autobiography; simplicity and kindliness. An active life, with success in a chosen pro-

fession, sometimes includes pride and a certain aloofness of spirit; but Dr. Finney puts ably before us where his true values lie, showing why he is so much loved by friends, colleagues and patients alike. If the book lacks glamor and contains few of the surprises looked for in modern biography, it is perhaps significant that the writer has cared little for glamor. He has, instead, gone his even way with a persistence and stability stronger in itself than surface glory.

The reader follows with interest his "peripatetic childhood" in his various homes; first in Mississippi, where after the death of his mother he lived with the kindly Mrs. Turpin; next in Illinois under the care of his loving and lovable grandmother; and later in Harford County, Maryland, where his father's country pastorate extended over a wide area. The foundation of his early religious training supplied the criterion by which he measured his relationships with his fellow men; to many his faith has brought added confidence and comfort.

Princeton and Harvard Medical School followed and then Baltimore and the infant Johns Hopkins Hospital. Here is given a fascinating picture of the people and policies of this institution. "The Big Four" and their immediate associates and subordinates pass vividly before our eyes, together with the stories of early methods (or lack of methods) and the gradual steps in improvement that pioneered present day medicine and research. Throughout these pages is detected the author's fear that the sickness might take precedence over the sick. He, himself, was jealously guarding against this, and in his growing knowledge of surgical technique the human element was never lost.

As the years progressed, bringing with them his marriage, his children, his travels, and his extensive practice, Dr. Finney took his place in church and civic duties. The offer of the Presidency of Princeton brought to light the confidence placed in him wherever his activities led and the versatility of his capacity for service. The means by which he arrived at his decision to decline this honor proves, not without humor, what influence incidental circumstances can play in weighty decisions.

The World War meant for him new duties and new honors, among them a special mission, instigated by General Pershing, which brought him from France to the White House for a personal interview with President Wilson. With fame came many contacts with prominent people, not least in interest those with President Theodore Roosevelt, for whom Dr. Finney was sometimes mistaken. At one such encounter remonstrance was of no avail. The gentleman insisted "That's all right, Mr. President, you can't fool me!" and as he seemed pleased with the President's policies Dr. Finney did not try further to disillusion him. His sense of humor has always stood him in good stead and there is scarcely a chapter without amusing reminiscences. Especially revealing of his understanding and sympathy are those concerning the colored race.

The high standard set for each phase of his profession is brought out in the section entitled "The Medical World." This includes not only the relationship between doctor and patient in the question of socialized medicine; but also that between doctor and doctor in the issue of fee split-

ting. His later years find him still active in many forms of service outside his profession; chief of these are his leadership in the Red Cross and his great interest in education. Dr. Finney has worn his honors lightly, if with a mild, justifiable pride; and many of the fine tributes he pays his friends could be aptly applied to himself. The remark of an eminent colleague is the most descriptive: "There is a truly Christian gentleman!" Surely his life follows closely Dr. Trudeau's definition of the function of a physician quoted in the Foreword—"To cure sometimes, to relieve often, to comfort always."

MARY G. HOWARD.

American Figureheads and Their Carvers. By PAULINE A. PINCKNEY. New York, Norton, 1940. 167 pp. $4.00.

It seems surprising, in view of recent interest in American antiquities and arts, that there has not been any serious attempt to investigate the origins and survivals of the art of the figurehead carvers of this country. Here, at last, is a scholarly study of the rise and decline of figurehead carving, excellently documented with illustrations, quotations from contemporary newspapers, customs house descriptions, and records of the U. S. Navy. With the beginning of shipbuilding after the Revolution, a firm determination not to imitate English custom led our ship carvers to forsake the traditional British lion, and to embellish our vessels with figureheads of heroes, statesmen, Indians, eagles, serpents, mythological characters and symbols of Freedom, Independence and Hope, the civic virtues that lay uppermost in their thoughts. This complete lack of restriction in design, innate talent and the use of new woods, especially the adaptable pine, shortly produced an art both original and American. The carvers also decorated the stern of the ship with carefully balanced groups of allegorical figures in relief, and spent painstaking care upon interior woodwork, where a more delicate and elaborate form of carving was possible.

The best carving seems to have been done between 1785 and 1825, and numerous outstanding carvers are mentioned. The figureheads of this time were full figures, life sized or heroic, and their carving brought handsome remuneration. Sums from seven hundred to nine hundred dollars are frequently mentioned in old bills. After the turn of the century, however, the packets began their development, and speed was the objective for which all else was cast aside. The weight of the large figureheads retarded the vessels, but the idea was still deeply embedded in the hearts of the ship builders. Small portrait busts made their appearance as a compromise, but the carvers' fees dropped to a low level. In the eighteen forties, however, the clippers made their appearance, and the long, slim lines of these ships brought a revival of the whole figure. The head was tilted back a trifle, to produce the effect of the figurehead gazing directly ahead at the sea. Even in the steam and sail ships some form of figurehead persisted, and it was only in 1907 by order of the Navy that the cherished symbol finally came to its end. Nevertheless, on many wooden

ships or river boats today the eagle which once was the proud figurehead may be found, appropriately reduced in scale, defiantly spreading its wings over the pilot house.

The technical difficulties in carving a figurehead were great. The location, between the upper curve of the cutwater and the bowsprit, was conducive to artificiality and constraint. By the use of the "walking figurehead," in which one foot is slightly advanced, this difficulty was overcome, and the illusion of life and motion gained. The carving had to be sturdy, as any fragile detail was soon swept off by the sea. As the figurehead was buried under an unusually large wave, there could be nothing about the carving which would retain water as the ship rose. Somehow, the ship carvers gave their figures a feeling of buoyancy and speed, and even of graceful movement, so that the best of them seem to draw the ship after them, rather than to be borne ahead by it. The flowing draperies and fluttering scarfs were clever devices for gaining the effect of life. It is only to be expected that the figureheads do not look well on shore. Each one was designed in proportion to its ship, and both the lines of the ship and the significance of what was being represented had direct influence on the model. The figureheads of the clippers had sharper outlines and seemed to strive for the effect of marble. The marks of the tool were more apparent on the older figures. The famous Tecumseh, "god of 2.5" at the Naval Academy is an example of the portrait bust. This figurehead was one of several on the *Constitution*, and is really a portrait of Tamanend, Delaware chief of legendary fame. It must also be remembered that such figureheads as have been recovered have been subjected to much abuse by the sea and by weather—some have lain unprotected for years on the beaches near shipyards—to say nothing of the ravages of shot and shell. Notwithstanding all this, and the fact that they seem primitive or clumsy on shore, there is about them a very compelling charm to all who love the sea.

The author writes with great earnestness and enthusiasm, and in Appendix I has listed every figurehead, with its description, of which she has found any record. Appendix II is comprised of quotations from newspapers, letters and documents describing figureheads, and in Appendix III is a most complete list of wood carvers in the cities of the Eastern seaboard. With modern progress and improvements and developments along waterfronts, it is more than possible that other figureheads will be found. Look well in the sands when you visit the "shore" this summer, for who knows but you may find some relic of the days of wooden ships, the whaler and the clipper!

PENELOPE W. JAMISON.

Pistols at Ten Paces: The Story of the Code of Honor in America. By WILLIAM OLIVER STEVENS. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1940. vi, 293 pp. $3.00.

The above work, more comprehensive in its scope perhaps than its title suggests, is a graphic and valuable contribution to the history of

that period in America, deplorable and lawless though not unromantic, when gentlemen settled disputed questions of honor by "fighting it out," so to speak, between themselves.

The reader is given an introductory glimpse into the origin of the code of honor which came into being in the form of the "judicial combat" between the knights at the time of William the Conqueror, and then told of the vigorous progress of its off-spring—the duel—in France during the early part of the sixteenth century, where it became the acknowledged method for the redress of grievances. The universal adoption of this child of the Age of Chivalry throughout Christendom, including its acceptance in the parent country and its colonies, is briefly traced.

The treatment of the development of the duel in America shows that its growth was dependent upon the elements of time, locality, occupation and temperament. During the early colonial period, preoccupied as they were with the problems of settlement, the colonists could give but little thought to questions of offended honor, insult, and the like. In the northern colonies and states, the duel was abhorrent to the Puritan conscience of New England and it found no place among the peace-loving Quakers of Pennsylvania. Nor did it meet with any response among the Dutch in New York. Though the seed germinated in these sections during the colonial period and the Revolution and in the era of the early republic, the plant made scant growth because of the withering force of public condemnation and the consequent passage and enforcement of inhibitory laws. However, in the army and navy of the early nation, especially among the highly temperamental younger officers, the plant flourished for many years. But it was in the southern colonies and states that it early found congenial soil and came to its fullest maturity and bloom. Here is remained in abundant flower well past the meridian of the eighteenth century, and then the petals dropped off only gradually. The growth of the plant was in all cases contingent upon the sanction of public opinion, and the death of the plant, in the localities and in the social spheres where it made its greatest development, came not because of the passage of laws against duelling (for small heed was given to such laws or to their enforcement, either by the citizenry, by the authorities, military or civil, by courts, or by juries), but because of a revolt in the hearts of men against the continuance of the practice.

The code of honor extant during the days when, and in the regions where, the duel was approved, is vividly developed by the inductive process of the recounting of innumerable instances in which the challenge was given and accepted. While the grievances or insults actuating the duel were at times real, and perhaps justified mortal combat, far more often they were trivial and fanciful, or the result of the operation of unfounded rumor or gossip upon sensitive and acutely tensioned natures. It is noteworthy that a potent force in bringing the duel into disrepute was incisive ridicule by skillful authors of the intense egoism and headstrong vanity which so frequently impelled recourse to the field of honor.

The recipient of the challenge generally was in honor bound to accept it, irrespective of his thoughts as to the gravamen of the grievance or insult

inherent in its sending. A refusal branded him as a coward and made him an outcast, at least, in his own social sphere. In some few instances, however, it was possible for sane men, relying upon outstanding prominence, political or otherwise, or on an unquestioned record for courage on the field of battle or upon the duelling ground, to ignore a challenge without loss of prestige. The ignominy incidental to the non-acceptance of a challenge was largely responsible not only for the spread of the practice of duelling, but also for the wreaking of unfounded vengeance and the commission of murder. The only arbiters, after the sending of a challenge, were the seconds, in whom resided the power to bring about its withdrawal, an apology and its acceptance or an amicable disposition of the dispute. Through sober thought and action on their part incipient duels were sometimes avoided, but frequently the seconds were as highly attuned temperamentally as their principals.

The reader is granted a clear insight into the ceremonial of the duel, and appropriate review of the outstanding duels fought in this country is made. Separate chapters are devoted to the duels of Alexander Keith McClung, "The Black Knight of the South," to the duel between Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr, to that between Andrew Jackson and Charles Dickinson, and to the battle between the two Commodores, James Barron and Stephen Decatur.

The author very properly affords a true perspective by a careful and accurate analysis of the social, economic and political background and conditions encompassing the participants. Thus, a clear insight is had into the inciting motives and the psychological influences which affected the actions of the men at that time.

EDWARD D. MARTIN.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Wanted—Data connecting the Key, Taney and Bentley families.

S. W. Hardwick,
Fort Pierce, Fla.

Parrott—Provisions of will of George Parrott (b. Talbot Co., Md., July 8, 1712—d. 1779) wanted; names of all his children, and dates of their birth. Did he have a son John? Who were his parents and ancestors, back to the immigrant? He assisted in establishing American independence as private in Captain Goldsborough's Co., Talbot Co., militia. His daughter Ruth born 1732, died 1802; she married Samuel Mulliken (b. 1732, d. 1777).

DeMoss—An account of two members of the DeMoss family who were mentioned as heads of families in Harford Co., Maryland, in the census of 1790, viz.: (1) John DeMoss, Sr., with 3 whites in the family; and (2) John DeMoss, Jr., with 9 whites in the family. Where did they go from Harford Co.?

More—An account of the descendants of Richard More, of the Mayflower, who settled in Maryland is wanted. When and where did they intermarry with the Parrott family of Easton, Talbot Co., Md.?

Wanted—Parentage and ancestry of James Moore, of Washington, D. C., a man of considerable means, who raised his nieces, Margaret and Mary Moore Parrott, daughters of John Parrott, who died in Washington, D. C., when they were small. Mary Moore was born in Easton, Talbot Co., Md., Feb. 18, 1801; married John Kennedy, son of George Kennedy, in Washington and had 2 daughters: Margaret Celinda, and Rebecca Ann Kennedy. He died when Margaret Celinda was 10 years old, and later Mary Moore Parrott-Kennedy moved with her two daughters to Oxford, Ohio. There she married Joseph Shirk; Margaret Celinda married Dr. Morton DeMoss, and Rebecca Ann married Samuel Lane. Margaret Parrott married Joseph Dawes, and had 2 sons: Theodore Dawes, of Iowa; and Wm. Dawes of the Dakotas; and a daughter Betty Baker, in Minnesota. Mary Moore Parrott had a cousin in Washington, D. C., named Rebecca Billings, whose daughters Ann and Amelia worked in government buildings.

Edith S. Caughron (Mrs. G. L. Caughron),
203 Wisconsin St., Neodesha, Ks.

Miller—Huffer—Want names of parents of Joseph Huffer and Hannah (Miller) Huffer who lived in Frederick, Maryland, in the very early part of the 19th century. Hannah Miller was born in Maryland Feb. 12, 1803.

Reid—Want names of parents of Mathew Mark Reid who was born in Maryland Aug. 28, 1815.

Alta R. Chrisman,
3051 Starr St., Lincoln, Nebr.

Barrett—Want parentage, date of birth, marriage and death of Isaac Barrett of Frederick County, Md., who married Elizabeth, daughter of Ninian Beall (1696-1780) and his first wife Catherine Duke (1704-1736). Known children of Isaac and Elizabeth Beall Barrett were Ninian (1751-1807), Elizabeth, John Beall, Alexander, Ann, Richard and Isaac.

James—Want parentage of Mary James (1752-1824), who married Ninian Barrett (1752-1824). They had a son, Isaac, born in 1775, and were living in Frederick County, Md. in 1776. They came to South Carolina, probably, in 1785 and to Franklin Co., Georgia in 1790.

Mrs. B. S. Burton,
104 Georgia Ave., Valdosta, Ga.

General Henry Lee—The statement on page 355 of the last number of the *Magazine* to the effect that General Henry Lee was killed during the riots of 1812 in Baltimore is, of course, an error. While seriously injured

and his health perhaps permanently impaired, Gen. Lee's death did not occur until six years later. Several readers kindly called attention to the slip.—EDITOR.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

ALICE L. L. FERGUSON is an artist by profession. She has become an amateur in archaeology and Maryland history through the accidental ownership of a farm on the Potomac which has proved to contain rich archaeological material. Her introduction to archaeology was as a member of the expedition excavating the Puye in New Mexico under Dr. Hewett. When she is not in her Maryland home at Accokeek she is a resident of Washington, D. C. ☆ A frequent contributor to the Magazine and to other historical journals, WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR., holds the degree of doctor of philosophy in history from John Hopkins University and lives in Lexington, Virginia. He is of Maryland descent. ☆ Mention of WILLIAM H. JAMES and B. WILLIAM SPALDING has been made in footnotes. It might be added that Mr. Spalding ran away from Mount Saint Mary's College, Emmitsburg, to join the Confederate forces. ☆ HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN, M. Arch. in Fine Arts, is a specialist in European and American art and archaeology, and was recently awarded a grant by the American Council of Learned Societies for research in archaeology. He is the author of *Jamestown and St. Mary's: Buried Cities of Romance* and a former contributor to this Magazine. ☆ Data regarding HELEN H. PATTERSON is printed in the note accompanying her letter. ☆ A native of Leesburg, Georgia, graduate of Mercer University and holder of a Phelps-Stokes fellowship at the University of Georgia, FRANCIS TAYLOR LONG is an instructor now pursuing graduate studies in New York City.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

December 9, 1940. The regular meeting was held with President Radcliffe in the chair. A list of the donations was read and the following persons were elected to membership:

Active

Mr. Chalmers S. Brumbaugh
Mrs. George Patterson McCeney
Mrs. Leonard L. Greif
Mr. Charles Stephenson Smith
Mr. Tench Francis Tilghman

Associate

Mr. W. F. Davidson

The deaths of the following members were reported:

Mrs. Reuben Ross Holloway, November 30, 1940.
Mr. Roberdeau A. McCormick, November 18, 1940.

Mr. William G. Nolting, November 24, 1940.
General Lawrason Riggs, November 21, 1940.

Dr. Hugh Hampton Young gave a very interesting talk on "The Early Days of Johns Hopkins Hospital," illustrated with lantern slides.

January 13, 1941. The regular meeting of the Society was held with President Radcliffe in the chair. The donations made to the Society, since the last meeting, were announced. The following persons were elected to membership:

Active	*Associate*
Mrs. Samuel R. Berenberg	Mr. Norman A. Hill
	Mr. Joseph C. Johnson

The deaths of the following members were announced:

Mr. Walter W. Abell, January 20, 1941.
Mr. William H. Kellum, January 12, 1941.
Mrs. Mark Sullivan, December 6, 1940.

Judge Henry D. Harlan for the Nominating Committee read the list of officers and members of committees nominated for the ensuing year.

General John Philip Clayton Hill gave a most interesting talk on "The Continental Congress in Maryland: Baltimore, 1776-1777; Annapolis, 1783-1784."

February 10, 1941. President Radcliffe was in the chair for the regular monthly meeting. Recent donations made to the library and gallery were announced. The following were elected members:

Active

Mrs. Harry Clark Boden	Mrs. Charles W. Kellogg
Mr. Richard Furners Bond	Mrs. Frank R. Kent
Mr. Frederick M. Cabell	Miss Ethel M. Miller
Mr. Edward J. Colgan, Jr.	Mr. Michael Murray
Mr. T. Veazey Craycroft	Mr. Samuel Webster Piper
Mrs. W. Hall Harris, Jr.	Mrs. Foster M. Reeder
Mr. Bancroft Hill	Mr. W. Bird Terwilliger
Mrs. Charles P. Ives	Mr. Seigfried Weisberger

Associate

Mr. Martin W. Jones

There was no speaker, the Annual Meeting following immediately.

ANNUAL MEETING

General John Philip Clayton Hill was asked to take the chair while the election of the officers and members of the various committees was held. There being no contest for any of the offices, General Hill asked for a motion instructing the Secretary to cast the ballot, as printed and issued to each member. Mr. Marshall Winchester made such a motion which was duly seconded and carried. The following were elected:

President

George L. Radcliffe

Vice-Presidents

J. Hall Pleasants — Laurence Hall Fowler — J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul

Corresponding Secretary

William B. Marye

Recording Secretary

W. Hall Harris, Jr.

Treasurer

Heyward E. Boyce

Trustees of the Athenaeum

G. Corner Fenhagen, *Chairman*

Summerfield Baldwin, Jr. — Henry Duffy
Thomas F. Cadwalader — Charles McHenry Howard — C. Morgan Marshall

Committee on the Gallery

John Henry Scarff, *Chairman*

James R. Herbert Boone — H. Irvine Keyser, 2d
Miss Jane James Cook — R. McGill Mackall

Committee on the Library

Louis H. Dielman, *Chairman*

John W. Garrett — Edward B. Mathews
George Harrison — A. Morris Tyson
Thomas G. Machen — Charles C. Wallace

Committee on Finance

William Ingle, *Chairman*

William G. Baker, Jr. — Charles E. Rieman

Committee on Publications

Kent Roberts Greenfield, *Chairman*

J. Hall Pleasants — Raphael Semmes

Committee on Membership

Mrs. Francis F. Beirne, *Chairman*

George W. Constable — John P. Paca, Jr.
Roger Brooke Hopkins, Jr. — Miss Elizabeth Chew Williams
Ferdinand C. Latrobe — Marshall Winchester

Committee on Addresses and Literary Entertainment

B. Howell Griswold, Jr., *Chairman*
Richard F. Cleveland Henry E. Treide

Immediately after the election the President read the annual reports of the various committees for the year 1940, as follows:

Report of the Trustees of the Athenaeum

I beg to submit herewith report of the Trustees of the Athenaeum for the Calendar year 1940.

The budget allowance for the year was $2,000.00 and we have actually expended during the year for the items listed below a total of $2,231.59, leaving a deficit of $231.59.

The expenditures have been for the most part routine maintenance items, with somewhat more than the usual amount of repairs to the heating plant.

The following is a detailed statement:

Budget allowance		$2,000.00
Expenditures:		
Repairs (general)	$178.34	
Furnace repairs	264.55	
Fuel	636.95	
Insurance	240.00	
A. D. T. alarm protection	427.20	
Light	260.96	
Supplies (general cleaning supplies)	180.09	
Water rent	43.50	$2,231.59
Expended over budget allowance		$ 231.59

G. Corner Fenhagen, *Chairman.*

Report of the Committee on the Gallery

During the year 1940 the Society cooperated with the Baltimore Museum of Art for its exhibition of "Romanticism in America," and with the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, by lending several paintings for its "Survey of American Painting Exhibition."

Richard Hardesty Thompson bequeathed to the Society a portrait of Mrs. Young, daughter of William and Frances Barney, and a sister of Commodore Joshua Barney, and also a portrait of Mrs. Rebecca Ridgely, daughter of Dorothea and Alexander Lawson, and wife of Charles Ridgely.

The Society is indebted to Mr. Carl Clarke for his kindness and generosity in restoring the two portraits bequeathed to the Society's collections by the late Mr. Thompson, as well as for the restoration of the painting by Francis Guy of Mount Vernon.

There was willed to the Society by Miss Margaret M. Yoe, a portrait of her great grandfather, Thomas M. Post, a captain during the War of 1812.

By the terms of the will of Mrs. Josephine Nelson Hamlin the Society received a portrait of General Roger Nelson, of Frederick, Maryland, a revolutionary patriot and soldier, and also a bronze and gold Adam clock, once the property of General Nelson.

Among the important gifts which were received during the year 1940 were eight grandfather clocks, all made in Baltimore, which were presented by Miss Ethel M. Miller in memory of her brother, the late Edgar G. Miller, Jr., to whom they had belonged.

From Miss Elizabeth W. Greenway the Society received a splendid collection of miniatures by well-known artists. Miss Greenway also generously gave a cabinet in which the miniatures are displayed in the main gallery.

After the death of Miss Elizabeth Grant McIlvain we received the large mahogany dining table which was bequeathed to the Society by Mrs. Emilie McKim Reed. Miss McIlvain had the use of the table during her lifetime.

Mrs. Francis T. Redwood bequeathed many additional items to be placed in the Redwood Room, including a portrait of her son Captain George Buchanan Redwood, the first Baltimore officer to be killed in action during the World War.

Other donors to the Gallery collections during 1940 include Miss Nannie Hanson, Mr. John Carroll Stow, Mrs. Alexius McGlannan, Mr. R. Denison Frick, Dr. and Mrs. Michael Abrams, Miss Susan Brown and Miss Mary Wilson Long.

JOHN H. SCARFF, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE

Your committee reports that during the past year a special fund of $500 was appropriated for the library. This was in the nature of an emergency fund in order to repair or rebind many of the Society's books or manuscripts. Part of the same fund was used to purchase much needed equipment for the library, including filing card cases, newspaper racks, etc.

This coming year, the library, in the absence of a special appropriation, must try to make out on the regular yearly appropriation of $300. It must be obvious to any one familiar with the size of our collections that this amount is grossly inadequate. It merely takes care of a few necessities and allows nothing for the acquisition of new books or manuscripts or for improvements in the library equipment.

The additions to the permanent collections made during the year included 317 books, 39 maps, 7 manuscript account books, 15 pamphlets, and 9 broadsides. Other acquisitions included a number of interesting manuscript collections, nearly 300 pieces of sheet music and many theater programs.

Miss Elizabeth W. Greenway, besides presenting the Society with a fine collection of miniatures by noted artists, also gave to our library many interesting books. The Society was also fortunate in acquiring from Mrs. Harry B. Green about 150 volumes dealing with the Civil War, which were given in memory of her husband, the late Harry Bennett Green, to whom

the books had belonged. From Mr. John C. Legg, Jr. the Society received a valuable collection of photographs and articles relating to Maryland. These had belonged to his brother, the late Joseph B. Legg, in whose memory the collection was given. Much interesting genealogical data was also presented to the Society, including, among others, the collection donated by Miss Fannie E. Stuart, of Chestertown.

A partial list of other donors to the Society follows: Bart Anderson, George M. Anderson, Lockwood Barr, Mrs. Mary R. Claiborne, Vernon M. Dorsey, Henry C. Forman, H. E. Gillingham, Mrs. Norman James, Mrs. T. Courtenay Jenkins, Miss M. Ella Hoopes, Mrs. Alexius McGlannan, Louis D. Scisco, Robert L. Swain, Jr., Mrs. A. F. Van Bibber and Miss Elizabeth C. Williams. Also the following patriotic organizations and libraries made donations to the Society: Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America; Maryland Society, Colonial Dames of America; Maryland State Society, Daughters of the American Revolution; Enoch Pratt Free Library and the Hall of Records, Annapolis.

GENEALOGICAL MATERIALS PRESENTED TO THE SOCIETY IN 1940

Genealogy of the Galloway, Gay, King, Mitchell, Stevenson and allied families. Gift of R. S. King.
Landis family notes. Gift of Henry K. Landis.
Michael and Osborn family notes. Gift of Mrs. A. F. Van Bibber.
Samuel Johnston Donaldson Bible Records. Gift of Mrs. James R. Manning.
Colonial and Revolutionary Lineages of America; 3 vols. Gift of Mrs. Elmore B. Jeffery.
Forrest Dodge Bowie ancestral chart. Gift of Mr. Bowie.
Williams and Greenway family records. Gift of Miss Elizabeth W. Greenway.
Wheeler family records. Gift of Mrs. Ellen May Howard Bloedorn.
Nichols Family of Maryland. Gift of the author, Katharine Nichols Grove.
Stansbury family, 1658-1938. Gift of Iva Scheffel.
Ancestral line of Joshua Dorsey, son of Edward Dorsey the immigrant. Gift of Mrs. J. P. Wright.
Hall Family Chart. Gift of Col. Oscar Kemp Tolley.
Tolley Bible Records. Gift of Col. Tolley.
The Harvie Family. Gift of John Harvie Creecy.
Ferrar—Collett papers and charts. Gift of Mrs. Louis C. Bulkley.
Kinfolks; 3 vols. Gift of Col. William C. Harllee.
Gaston, Harvey, Reid, Simonton, Tomlinson family notes. Gift of Mrs. L. D. McPherson.
Index to Prince George's County Wills, 1698-1832. Gift of the Rezin Beall Chapter D. A. R.
Unpublished Revolutionary Records of Maryland, compiled by Margaret Robert Hodges. Gift of Maryland State Society D. A. R.
Family papers of the Smith family of Charles County. Gift of Vernon M. Dorsey.
Buchanan and allied families. Compiled and given by Mrs. Mark Sullivan.
Index of Source Records of Maryland—Genealogical, Biographical, and Historical. Edited by Eleanor Phillips Passano (Mrs. Edward B. Passano). Gift of Mrs. Passano.
Genealogy of members, and service records of ancestors of members of the Maryland Society of Colonial Wars. Vol. II. Gift of Mrs. Passano.
Hopper family chart. Gift of Charles Cox Hopper.
Walker—Cradock Bible records. Gift of Miss Katherine Cradock.
Berry family records. Gift of Thomas L. Berry, Jr.
Family Bible containing records of descendants of William Skirven. Gift of Percy G. Skirven.
Walbridge Parsons and allied families; chart. Owings and allied families; notes. Gifts of Mrs. David A. Ralston.
Descendants of Samuel Painter, 1699-1903, by Orrin Chalfant Painter. Gift of Miss M. Ella Hoopes.
Genealogy and history of the Jerome family; ancestry of Sarah Noble. Gift of Miss M. Virginia Aiken.
Eight generations of American Fendalls. Gift of Miss Mary G. Fendall.
Family history of Peter and John Jones. Gift of Mrs. J. Harmon Lewis.
Harris family chart. Gift of Mrs. Andrew Jackson Hobbs.
Register of Members of the Maryland Society Colonial Dames of America, 1915-1938.
Daniel Shed Genealogy, 1327-1920. Gift of Frederick Shedd.
Gibson and Tilton families of Maryland and Delaware, by Isaac L. Harris. Gift of Mr. Charles Cox Hopper.
Chew—Dulany—Bordley family bible records. Gift of J. Hall Pleasants.
Colonial Colletts of Maryland. Gift of compiler, John D. Collett.
Some descendants of Nathaniel Woodward. Gift of Percy Emmons Woodward.
Genealogy of the Reindollar family, 1758-1940. Gift of Preston Englar.
Chappell—Pitt—Faris and allied families. Gift of Mr. Lockwood Barr.

Hughlett family data. Gift of Harrington Adams.
Bosley—Littig family bible records. Gift of A. Russell Slagle.
MacPike family notes. Gift of E. F. MacPike.
Notes of the descendants of William Ward. Gift of Dr. Grant Eben Ward.
Egerton family wills, deeds, and records. Gift of Stuart Egerton.
Vestry Book of St. Paul's Parish, Hanover County, Va., 1706-1786.
The Gist family history. Gift of Mrs. Branford Gist Lynch.
Blackburn Genealogy. Gift of Vinette Wells Ranke.
West Virginia Revolutionary ancestors. Compiled by the donor, Mrs. Ann Waller Reddy.
The Zink families in America. Gift of Miss Dora Zink Kellogg.
Biographical sketch of Sir Thomas Adams. Gift of Louis H. Dielman.
Kent County marriage records (1797 to about 1863), and miscellaneous marriage records and genealogical data, compiled by the late Miss Sarah Elizabeth Stuart. Gift of Miss Fannie E. Stuart.
History of the descendants of Henry Baron Von Blume, Valerius Dukehart and Francis Murphy. Gift of Morton McI. Dukehart.
Abercrombie family genealogy. Gift of Dr. Ronald T. Abercrombie.
William Davis Hoffman Bible records. Gift of Mrs. Clayton Seitz.
Data on Captain Thomas Moore, 1746-1820. Gift of Mrs. Walter Miles.
Memories of Joseph Lancaster Brent, Brigadier General C. S. A. Gift of Mrs. Thomas Sloo.
Harman and Cronise family data. Gift of W. G. Harman.
Wilmot—Wilmoth—Wilmeth genealogy. Gift of James L. Wilmeth.

Report of the Treasurer

Balance on hand January 1, 1940			$ 1,167.75
Income			
Dues		$ 5,780.00	
Special Funds:			
Peabody Fund	$ 865.00		
Athenaeum Fund	3,309.02		
Audubon Fund	210.00		
Confederate Relics	50.00		
		4,434.02	
Committees:			
Publication	$ 550.88		
Library	212.23		
Magazine	124.30		
		887.41	
Other than Peabody Fund		3,201.46	
General Account		1,085.35	
			15,388.24
Permanent Endowment Fund:			
Bequest—Clinton L. Riggs	$1,000.00		
Bequest—Anna B. C. Hambleton	1,000.00		
Bequest—Elizabeth G. McIlvain	100.00		
Life Member—Elizabeth T. Sudler	100.00		
		2,200.00	
Investments:			
$2,000. City of Cambridge 4½%. Due 1940	$2,000.00		
1,000. City of Jacksonville 5½%. Due 1940	1,000.00		
3,000. U. S. Steel 3¼% Debentures. Called @ 103	3,090.00		
7% Distribution on $2,000. Mortgage Security Corporation Series "B" in Liquidation	140.00		
		6,230.00	
			8,430.00
Total			$24,985.99

EXPENDITURES

General:			
Salaries	$6,954.94		
Trustees	2,231.59		
Office	244.86		
Treasurer	122.81		
Miscellaneous	748.90		
		10,303.10	
Special Funds:			
Carter Fund	$ 992.00		
Book Fund	447.04		
Jane Cook Fund	43.82		
Williams Papers	75.00		
Repairs to Pulaski Banner	225.00		
		1,782.86	
Committees:			
Magazine	$2,015.22		
Library	1,996.06		
Publication	723.05		
		4,734.33	
Securities Purchased:			
(See Investment Account)	$6,811.65		
		6,811.65	
			23,631.94
Balance on hand December 31, 1940			$ 1,354.05

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Uninvested Funds January 1, 1940			$1,704.52

CREDITS

Bequests:			
Clinton L. Riggs	$1,000.00		
Anna B. C. Hambleton	1,000.00		
Elizabeth G. McIlvain	100.00		
		$2,100.00	
Life Member—Elizabeth T. Sudler		100.00	
Securities Due:			
$1,000 City of Jacksonville 5½%	$1,000.00		
2,000 City of Cambridge 4½%	2,000.00		
		3,000.00	
Securities Called:			
$3,000 U. S. Steel 3¼% Debentures @ 103		3,090.00	
Securities Exchanged:			
$5,000 Brooklyn Manhattan Transit 4½% for $4,700 City of New York 3% Corporate 1980 Stock		4,700.00	
7% Distribution on $2,000 Mortgage Security Corporation Series "B" in Liquidation		140.00	
			13,130.00
			$14,834.52

DEBITS

Securities Purchased:		
$3,000 McCrorys Stores Corp. 15 Yr. 3¼% Deb. 1955	$3,084.48	

300 City of New York 3% Corporate 1980 Stock	303.94		
20 shs. American Tel. & Tel. Co...	3,423.23		
		$6,811.65	
Securities Exchanged:			
$4,700 City of New York 3% Corporate stock for $5,000 Brooklyn Manhattan Transit 4½%		4,700.00	
Securities Transferred:			
$2,000 U. S. Treasury 3⅜% from Special Reserve to General Fund		2,000.00	
			13,511.65
Uninvested Balance December 31, 1940			$ 1,322.87

STATE OF MARYLAND—ARCHIVES ACCOUNT

Balance on hand January 1, 1940			$6,093.20
RECEIPTS			
State of Maryland		$1,881.67	
General		97.24	
			1,978.91
			$8,072.11
DISBURSEMENTS			
General Archives			$1,961.52
Balance on hand December 31, 1940			$6,110.59

* * * *

State of Maryland Appropriation for 1940		$4,175.00	
Paid to the Society			$1,881.67
Paid direct to Lord Baltimore Press			2,293.33
		$4,175.00	$4,175.00

HEYWARD E. BOYCE, *Treasurer.*

REPORT OF THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

During the year 1940 the fifty-sixth volume of the Archives of Maryland was distributed. This volume was prepared under the editorial supervision of Dr. J. Hall Pleasants. It contains the *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, 1758-1761,* and is the twenty-sixth volume of the sub-series of the Assembly records.

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* appeared regularly under the continued editorship of Mr. James W. Foster. The reaction of the members to the changes in the *Magazine* during the previous year has been most favorable. The thirty-fifth volume of the Magazine was completed with the December issue.

The following is a statement of the cost of publishing the Magazine for the past year:

Budget allowance			$2,000.00
Credits (Magazine sales and advertising)			684.18
			$2,684.18
Printing (four issues)	2015.22		
Debit balance, 1939	150.00		
	2165.22	$2,165.22	
Postage (four issues)		99.40	
Editor (editing four issues)	200.00		
Commission on advertising	100.00		
	300.00	300.00	
Miscellaneous (engraving, indexing, etc.)		192.90	
			2,757.52
Debit balance			73.34

RAPHAEL SEMMES,
For the Publication Committee.

REPORT OF THE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

January 1, 1940:		
Life members	18	
Associate members	159	
Active members	1040	
		1217
New Members, 1940:		
Life members	1	
Associate members	14	
Active members	75	
		90
		1307
Members lost during 1940:		
Died	45	
Resigned	62	
Dropped	53	
		160
		1147
Dec. 31, 1940:		
Life members	18	
Associate members	141	
Active members	988	
		1147

MACGILL JAMES, *Chairman.*

Report of the Committee on Addresses and Literary Entertainment

The addresses given before the regular meetings of the Society during the year 1940 were most successful and interesting. The Committee is pleased to record the names of the various speakers and the titles of their lectures:

1940

January 15, "Charles' Gift, the House Built in 1650 by Richard Preston, at Lusby, Charles County, Maryland." By Mr. Hulbert Footner.

February 12, "Maryland in Ye Olden Dayes." By Mr. Raphael Semmes.

March 11, "Colonial Maryland Printers and Printing." By Dr. J. Hall Pleasants.

April 8, Messrs. John Philips Cranwell and William Bowers Crane, co-authors of *Men of Marque,* recently published, discussed privateering and the Baltimore clipper.

May 13, "Fielding Lucas and His Times," illustrated with views of early 19th century Baltimore. By Mr. James W. Foster.

October 14, "English Precedent for American Colonial Architecture," illustrated. By Mr. John Henry Scarff.

November 11, "Commodore Joshua Barney, Maryland's Picturesque Sailor of Fortune." By Mr. Hulbert Footner.

December 9, "Early Days of Johns Hopkins Hospital," illustrated. By Dr. Hugh Hampton Young.

B. Howell Griswold, Jr., *Chairman.*

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

HONORARY MEMBERS

Ames, Joseph S. (1937) ..... Charlcote Place, Guilford, Baltimore
Andrews, Charles McLean, Ph.D. (1938) .. 424 St. Ronan St., New Haven, Conn.
Eden, Captain Anthony (1939) ..... 17 Fitzhardinge St., W. I., London, Eng.
Marsden, R. G. (1902) ..... 13 Leinster Gardens, London, Eng.

LIFE MEMBERS

Brevitt, Mrs. Katherine Mackenzie (1935) ..... Hotel Altamont, Baltimore
Cain, Mrs. Mary Clough (1922) ..... Church Hill, Md.
Calvert, Charles Exley (1911) ..... 34 Huntley St., Toronto, Canada
Davis, George Harvey (1927) ..... 14 E. Biddle St., Baltimore
Dick, Mrs. Frank M. (1933) ..... Cambridge, Md.
Gaither, Miss Ida Belle (1935) ..... Elizabethtown, N. Y.
Howard, Miss Elizabeth Gray (1916) ... 901 St. Paul St., Baltimore
Jeanes, Mrs. Joseph Y. (1931) ..... Villa Nova, Pa.
Littlejohn, Mrs. Robert M. (1916) ..... 2 E. 88th St., New York City
Loyola College Librarian ..... Loyola College, Baltimore
Marburg, Miss Emma (1917) ..... Belvedere Hotel, Baltimore
Morris, Lawrence J. (1927) ..... 240 S. 4th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
*Redwood, Mrs. Mary B. (1907) ..... Preston Apts., Baltimore
Shirk, Mrs. Ida M. (1913) ..... Care of R. C. Faust, Central Union Trust Bldg., 42nd St. & Madison Ave., New York City
Short, Capt. John Saulsbury (1919) ..... 38 E. 25th Street, Baltimore
Shriver, J. Alexis (1931) ..... Bel Air, Md.
Sudler, Miss Elizabeth T. (1940) ..... Salisbury, Md.
Williams, Miss Nellie C. (1917) ..... 50 Riverside Drive, New York City
Woodward, William (1935) ..... One Wall Street, New York City

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

Bell, Herbert C. (1899) ..... R. D. Route, No. 4, Springfield, O.
Black, J. William, Ph. D. (1898) ..... Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.
Brooks, William Gray (1895) ..... 257 S. 21st St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Brown, Henry John (1908) ..... 4 Trafalgar Sq., London, W. C., Eng.
Cockey, Marston Rogers (1897) ..... 117 Liberty St., New York City
Ford, Worthington C. (1890) ..... 1154 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.
Hall, Hubert (1904) ..... Public Record Office, London
Hersh, Grier (1897) ..... York, Pa.
Stevenson, John J. (1890) ..... 215 West End Ave., New York City
Wood, Henry C. (1902) ..... Harrodsburg, Ky.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

Adams, Harrington (1934) ..... Bethlehem Trust Bldg., Bethlehem, Pa.
Anderson, Bart (1940) ..... 100 High St., West Chester, Pa.
Andrews, Charles Lee (1911) ..... 42 Broadway, New York City
Auld, Miss Lula Gray (1935) ..... Danville, Va.

* Deceased.

Baker, Mrs. Allan L. (1938) ..... 348 E. Foster Ave., State College, Penna.
Baker, Mrs. C. H. (1927) ..... 1080 Arden Rd., Pasadena, Cal.
*Ball, David Haines (1935) ..... 327 E. Sydney Ave., Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
Barr, Lockwood (1940) ..... 20 Beech Tree Lane, Pelham Manor, N. Y.
Bell, Mrs. Louise V. (Annie Megrue) (1930) ..... 209 West 89th St., New York City
Bennett-Baird, O. Josephine, M. D. (1931) ..... La Salle Apts., Washington, D. C.
Bloom, Mrs. Sarah F. (1929) ..... Vienna, RFD, Va.
Bouvier, Mrs. Henrietta J. (1919) ..... 580 Park Ave., New York City
Bouvier, Maj. John Vernou (1940) ..... 52 Broadway, New York City
Britton, Mrs. Winchester (1932) ..... Cranford, N. J.
Brown, Alexander C. (1939) ..... Mariner's Museum, Newport News, Va.
Bulkley, Mrs. Caroline (Kemper) (1926) ..... 1044 Rutherford Ave., Shreveport, La.
Bullitt, William Marshall (1914) ..... 1711 Kentucky Home Life Bldg., Louisville, Ky.
Burns, Mrs. Annie Walker (1938) ..... R1, Box 119, Benning Sta., Washington, D. C.
Butner, Mrs. Arthur L. (Estelle Shipley) (1940) ..... 1090 Arbor Road, Winston-Salem, N. C.
Byrne, Mrs. James (Olivia McGregor) (1939) ..... 1088 Park Ave., New York City.
Carpenter, Mrs. Walter S. (1936) ..... Wilmington, Del.
Cecil, Arthur Bond, M. D. (1933) ..... 251 Muirfield Rd., Los Angeles, Calif.
Chaney, Mrs. Herbert M. (1936) ..... 2115 F St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Chew, Major Fielder Bowie (1934) ..... 1910 Biltmore St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Clark, Allen C. (1926) ..... Equitable Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Cooch, Mrs. Edward W. (1936) ..... Cooch's Bridge, Newark, Delaware
Cox, Thomas Riggs (1938) ..... Southport, Connecticut.
Davidge, Walter Dorsey (1936) ..... 1826 Eye St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Davidson, W. F. (1940) ..... 14 E. 57th St., New York City
Dean, Joseph William (1934) ..... Kulpmont, Penna.
Dearborn, Mrs. Frederick (1940) ..... 580 Park Ave., New York City
Deford, B. Frank (1914) ..... 608 W. Franklin St., Richmond, Va.
Deford, Mrs. B. Frank (1916) .....
Dent, Louis Addison (1905) ..... 3300 16th St., Washington, D. C.
Dent, Magruder (1937) ..... Old Church Rd., Greenwich, Conn.
Dolan, John J. (1934) ..... 1323 30th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Donaldson, John W. (1927) ..... Millbrook, N. Y.
Dorsey, Vernon M. (1921) ..... 1346 F St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Eliason, Mrs. James T. (1930) ..... New Castle, Delaware
Evans, Henry Ridgely (1935) ..... 1601 Argonne Place, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Ferrell, Mrs. Garland P. (1940) ..... Ferrell Ranch, Beaumont, Texas
Foster, Frederick (1921) ..... 84 State St., Boston, Mass.
Franklin, Robert S. (1931) ..... Charleston, W. Va.
Frazier, Mrs. John (1936) ..... 8015 Navajo St., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa.
French, Mrs. W. E. Pattison (Evelyn Eva Sutton Weems) (1930) ..... 3017 N St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Gardner, Frank Williams (1934) ..... 1192 Cleveland Ave., Columbus, O.
Gardner, Mrs. Philip (1934) ..... 74 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass.
Gibbons, Miss E. Nora (1940) ..... Redding, Conn.
Gifford, W. L. R. (1906) ..... St. Louis Mercantile Library Association, Missouri
Glenn, John M. (1905) ..... 1 Lexington Ave., New York City
Goodrich, Thomas M. (1933) ..... Hotel Wellington, Albany, N. Y.

* Deceased.

Goodridge, Mr. Edwin T. (1936) ..... 111 Broadway, New York City
Gordon, Mrs. Burgess Lee (1916) ..... 1921 E. Gales St., Seattle, Wash.
Gordon, Mrs. James Riely (Mary Lamar Sprigg) (1934) ..... 159 Corliss Ave., Pelham Heights, N. Y.
Gould, Lyttleton B. P. (1936) ..... Ring's End Rd., Noroton, Conn.
Griffiss, Miss Penelope (1936) ..... Hotel Palton, Chattanooga, Tenn.
Griffith, Major Charles T., U. S. A. Ret. (1934) ..... 6733 Emlen St., Germantown, Pa.
Gronemeyer, Mrs. Henry H. (1936) ..... Wawaset Park, Wilmington, Delaware
Groome, H. C. (1926) ..... Airlie, nr. Warrenton, Va.
Grove, Mrs. J. R. (Katharine N.) (1934) ..... 1921 19th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Guilday, Rev. Peter, Ph. D. (1915) ..... Catholic University, Washington, D. C.
Hager, Frank L. (1921) ..... 204 Spring St., Fayette, Mo.
Halsey, Mrs. Van Rensselaer (1938) ..... "Briarwood," Rumson, N. J.
Hamilton, Hon. George E. (1924) ..... Union Trust Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Hannay, Wm. M. (1936) ..... 207 Eye St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Hanson, Murray (1936) ..... 1010 Vermont Ave., Washington, D. C.
Hastings, Mrs. Russel (1925) ..... 230 E. 50th Street, New York City
Headman, Mrs. Mary Hoss (1934) ..... 1000 Davenport Rd., Knoxville, Tenn.
Heaton, Mrs. Louise (1939) ..... P. O. Box 86, Clarksdale, Miss.
Henderson, Daniel MacIntyre (1939) ..... 55 Central Park, W., New York City
Heyn, Mrs. Walter (Minnie Watkins) (1929) ..... 8 Holland Terr., Montclair, N. J.
Hill, John Sprunt (1936) ..... 900 Duke St., Durham, N. C.
Hillyer, Mrs. Geo. Jr. (1927) ..... 168 The Prado, Atlanta, Ga.
Himes, Joseph H. (1935) ..... 1705 K St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Hodgdon, A. Dana (1933) ..... American Consulate General, Berlin, Germany
Hoffman, Wilmer (1929) ..... Church St., Charleston, S. C.
Holmes, Mrs. Anne Middleton (1940) ..... Norfolk, Connecticut.
Hook, James W. (1924) ..... Blake & Vallery Sts, New Haven, Conn.
Hooker, Roland M. (1933) ..... 186 N. Beacon St., Hartford, Conn.
Hopkins, Samuel Gover (1911) ..... 6th & Walnut Sts., Phila., Pa.
Horner, Mrs. Harris H. (1936) ..... 1304 W. 77th St., Chicago, Illinois
Hough, H. C. Tilghman (1925) ..... 142 E. 71st St., New York City
Hynson, Richard Washburn (1934) ..... 3435 34th Place, Washington, D. C.
Jennings, Mrs. Frank E. (1936) ..... 2505 Oak St., Jacksonville, Florida
Johnson, Joseph E. (1941) ..... 2511 Lexington Rd., Louisville, Ky.
Johnson, Mrs. O. M. (1938) ..... 416 Maple Ave., Waynesboro, Va.
Jones, Mrs. T. Catesby (1929) ..... 149 E. 73rd St., New York City
Jones, Robert C. (1934) ..... Shoreham Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Keene, Lt. Col. Marcel S. (1935) ..... 1 East 60th St., New York City
Keidel, Geo. C., Ph. D. (1912) ..... 414 Seward Square, N. E., Wash., D. C.
Keith, A. L. (1924) ..... Lock Box W., Vermillion, S. Dakota
Kelley, J. Thomas, M. D. (1934) ..... 1312 15th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Key, Sewall (1929) ..... University Club, Washington, D. C.
Kinsworthy, Mrs. Burton S. (1940) ..... 1009 W. 3rd St., Little Rock, Arkansas
*Kremer, J. Bruce (1939) ..... Tower Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Kuhn, Miss Florence Calvert (1921) ..... Marmet, W. Va.
Layton, Mrs. Mary Turpin (1929) ..... 3925 7th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Leach, Miss M. Atherton (1907) ..... 2118 Spruce St., Phila., Pa.
Lehr, Mrs. Louis (1926) ..... 825 Fifth Ave., New York City
Lewis, Clifford, 3rd (1934) ..... 240 S. 4th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Libby, George F., M. D. (1933) .....
Libby, Mrs. George F. (1919) (Augusta Maitland Carter) ..... 913 25th St., San Diego, California
Livringhouse, F. A. (1938) ..... 1648 Euclid Ave., Lincoln, Neb.
Lowe, W. Eldridge (1936) ..... 45 Grove St., Boston, Mass.

*Lyden, Frederick F. (1925) ..... 42 Broadway, New York City
McAdams, Rev. Edward P. (1906) ..... 313 2nd St., S. E., Washington, D. C.
McCormick, Rev. Leo J. (1940) ..... Catholic University, Washington, D. C.
Magee, D. Frank (1938) ..... York, Penna.
Manges, Mrs. Willis F. (Marie Elsie Bosley) (1934) .... The Lenox, 13th & Spruce Sts., Philadelphia, Penna.
Martin, Mrs. Edwin S. (1905) ..... New Straitsville, Ohio
Massey, George V., 2nd (1937) ..... 55 King St., Dover, Del.
Metten, J. F. (1936) ..... N. Y. Shipbldg. Corp., Camden, N. J.
Middleton, Arthur Pierce (1939) ..... 1150 5th Ave., New York City
Miller, William Alexander (1932) ..... 911 Monroe St., N. W., Wash., D. C.
Mills, Mrs. Ballinger (1934) ..... 2908 Ave. O., Galveston, Texas
Mish, Mrs. W. F., Jr. (1936) ..... Falling Waters, West Virginia
Mohler, Mrs. V. E. (1921) ..... St. Albans, W. Va.
Montgomery, Mrs. Kingsley (1931) ..... Plum Creek Farms, Northeast, Md.
Moss, James E. (1938) ..... 219 E. Gowen Ave., Phila., Pa.
Nicklin, Col. Benjamin Patten (1921) ..... 720 James Blvd., Signal Mountain, Tennessee
Nicodemus, F. Courtney, Jr. (1902) .... Smithtown Branch, Long Island, N. Y.
O'Brien, John (1937) ..... 1247 30th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Oursler, Miss Mary C. (1921) ..... 1415 Longfellow St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Owens, Charles A. (1939) ..... Dupont Bldg., Wilmington, Del.
Phipps, Mrs. George M. (1940) ..... 3109 Van Buren St., Wilmington, Del.
Price, Mrs. Florence A. (1934) ..... 100 Maryland Ave., N. E., Washington, D. C.
Ranck, Samuel H. (1898) ..... Public Library, Grand Rapids, Mich.
*Reese, Dr. Charles Lee (1930) ..... 1600 Brinckle Ave., Wilmington, Del.
Reid, Mrs. C. R. (1928) ..... Newtonville, Mass.
Reid, Legh Wilber (1923) ..... Box 151, Haverford, Penna.
Richardson, William Ewen (1939) ..... 1719 Lamont St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Rinehart, Evan (1935) ..... 72 Ivy Way, Port Washington, N. Y.
Roberson, H. C. (1936) ..... 1218 E. Capitol St., Washington, D. C.
Roberts, Emerson B., M. D. (1932) ..... Wilkinsburg, Penna.
Rogers, Col. Arthur C. (1920) ..... 5 Radcliff Rd., Belle Haven, Alexandria, Va.
Ruth, Thos. DeCourcey (1916) ..... 55 Liberty St., New York City
Satterlee, Herbert L. (1934) ..... 1 Beekman Place, New York City
Satterthwaite, Reuben, Jr. (1939) ..... DuPont Bldg., Wilmington, Delaware
Scisco, Louis Dow (1925) ..... 2022 Columbia Rd., Washington, D. C.
Seth, Frank W. (1914) ..... Box 309, White Plains, N. Y.
Sheppard, Mrs. Henrietta D. (1925) ..... 17 Frederick St., Hanover, Pa.
Sherwood, Mrs. Horace K. T. (1939) .... Glen Cove, L. I.
Shoemaker, Rev. Samuel M. (1937) ..... 61 Gramercy Park, New York City
Silverson, Mrs. Katherine Taney (1931) ..... 2655 Lakes of Isle Blvd., Minneapolis, Minn.
Sinclair, Carroll T. (1939) ..... 7030 Flaccus Rd., Ben Avon, Penna.
Sioussat, St. George Leakin (1912) ..... Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
Smoot, Lewis Egerton (1921) ..... 2007 Wyoming Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Somers, Wilson E. (1935) ..... North Emporia, Va.
Steele, Heath (1936) ..... 61 Broadway, New York City
Steiner, Dr. Walter R. (1927) ..... 646 Asylum Ave., Hartford, Conn.
Stephenson, Miss Jean (1929) ..... Conard Apts., Washington, D. C.
Stewart, Foster (1917) ..... 4037 W. 8th Street, Los Angeles, Cal.
Strider, Miss Emma T. (1927) ..... 1450 Rhode Island Ave., Washingon, D. C.
Sudler, Miss Carolina V. (1915) ..... Calverton Apts., Washington, D. C.
Sumwalt, Mrs. Mary H. (1909) ..... 418 Franklin Ave., Danville, Illinois
Sutliff, Mrs. S. Dana (1921) ..... Shippensburg, Pa.

* Deceased.

Taylor, Stephen C. (1938).....5571 Hampton St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Thomas, Rt. Rev. Cornelius F. (1933)....St. Patrick's Rectory, Washington, D. C.
Thruston, R. C. Ballard (1917).....Filson Club, Breckinridge St., Louisville, Ky.
Todd, Mrs. Henry Alfred (1935).....860 Park Ave., New York City
Van Deventer, Horace (1937).....Brighton Hotel, Washington, D. C.
Van Rensselaer, Miss Florence (1926)....3 E. 82d St., New York City
Vercoe, Mrs. Fred. (1939).....2479 Fair Ave., Columbus, Ohio
Virkus, Fred. Adams (1930).....440 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Illinois
Waggaman, Thomas E. (1939).....U. S. Supreme Court, Washington, D. C.
Waller, Joseph W. (1939).....Laurel, Del.
Wallis, Mrs. Thomas Smythe (1923).....1906 Randolph St., Arlington, Virginia
Waters, Campbell Easter (1934).....5812 Chevy Chase Pkwy., Wash., D. C.
Watson, Mrs. Alexander Mackenzie (1920) ..... } Harrods Creek, Kentucky
Watts, Mrs. James T. (1938).....514 19th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Welbon, Rev. Henry G. (1938).....77 E. Park Place, Newark, Del.
White, Mrs. Harry (1935).....701 Cathedral St., Baltimore, Md.
White, John Campbell (1931).....State Depart., Washington, D. C.
Wilson, Samuel M. (1907).....Trust Co. Building, Lexington, Ky.
Winchester, James Price (1935).....Wilmington, Delaware
Wright, Mrs. J. Pilling (1939).....Orchard Rd. & Kent Way, Newark, Del.
Young, H. J. (1935)..... { Librarian, York County Historical Society, York, Penna.
Young, Mrs. Norville Finley (1937)....1968 Denune Ave., Columbus, Ohio

ACTIVE MEMBERS.

Where no P. O. Address is given, Baltimore is understood.

*Abell, W. W. (1937).....424 Equitable Bldg.
Abercrombie, Dr. Ronald T. (1916).....10 Whitfield Rd.
Abercrombie, Mrs. Ronald T. (1937)....10 Whitfield Rd.
Abrams, Michael A., M. D. (1936).....2360 Eutaw Place
Addison, Joseph (1934).....806 Mercantile Trust Building
Addison, Mrs. T. Gibson (Otie Seymour Candler) (1923).. } P. O. Box 194, Baltimore
Aiken, Miss M. Virginia J. (1934).....400 Lyman Ave.
Akers, Mrs. Warren M. (1929).....2017 Eye St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Albee, Mrs. George (1921).....Laurel, Md.
Albert, Mrs. J. Taylor (1928).....1028 N. Calvert St.
Alexander, Charles Butler (1923).....Eccleston, Md.
Allen, Hervey (1935)....."Bonfield," Oxford, Md.
Allen, Mrs. Wendell D. (1940).....216 Edgevale Rd
Anderson, George M. (1933).....831 Park Ave.
Anderson, Mr. & Mrs. Nils (1940)....."Presqu'ile," Easton, Md.
Anderson, Stuart H. (1940).....2919 St. Paul St.
Andrews, Miss Julia G. de V. (1938)....107 E. Lake Ave.
Andrews, Matthew Page (1911).....845 Park Ave.
Armstrong, Mrs. Arthur F. (1938).....2911 Chesley Ave.
Ash, Miss Mollie Howard (1924).....Elkton, Md.
Atkinson, Miss Grace (1937).....4201 Somerset Place
Atkinson, Matthew S., Jr. (1925).....37 South St.
Austin, Walter F. (1934).....Easton, Md.

Badger, Mrs. A. P. (1927).....1111 Edmondson Ave.
Baer, Michael S. (1920).....1001 N. Calvert St.
Baetjer, Charles H. (1936).....4300 Greenway
Baetjer, Edwin G. (1936).....16 W. Madison St.
Baetjer, Harry N. (1936).....1409 Mercantile Trust Bldg.

Baetjer, Howard (1936) ..... 16 W. Madison St.
Baetjer, Walter A., M. D. (1936) ..... 16 W. Madison St.
Baker, William G., Jr. (1916) ..... Care of Baker Watts & Co.
Baldwin, Francis J. (1939) ..... 801 N. Charles St.
Baldwin, John Ashby (1935) ..... 1302 John St.
Baldwin, Miss Rosa E. (1923) ..... 3951 Cloverhill Road.
Baldwin, Miss Sarah R. (1929) ..... 101 E. 72d St., New York City
Baldwin, Robert H. (1939) ..... Elkridge, Md.
Baldwin, Summerfield, Jr. (1928) ..... 117 W. Baltimore St.
Baldwin, Wm. Woodward (1924) ..... 926 Cathedral St.
Ballard, Paul G. (1938) ..... 6307 Pinehurst Ave.
Baltimore Association of Commerce (1936) ..... 22 Light St.
Banks, Miss Elizabeth (1926) ..... 2119 Bolton St.
Barker, Mrs. Lewellys F. (Lilian Halsey) (1931) ..... 208 Stratford Rd.
Barnes, G. Harry (1936) ..... Homewood Apts.
Barnes, Walter D. (1928) ..... 3603 Calloway Ave.
*Barrett, Henry C (1902) ..... "The Severn"
Barroll, L. Wethered (1910) ..... 412 Equitable Bldg.
Barroll, Morris Keene (1917) ..... Chestertown, Md.
Barton, Carlyle (1924) ..... 800 Baltimore Life Bldg.
Barton, Mrs. Carlyle (Isabel R. T.) (1929) ..... Dulany Valley Rd., Towson, Md.
Barton, Randolph, Jr. (1915) ..... 806 Mercantile Trust Bldg.
Baugh, Mrs. Frederick H. (1922) ..... 207 Woodlawn Rd.
*Baughman, Mrs. L. Victor (1931) ..... Frederick, Md.
Baylor, John (1939) ..... Latrobe Apts.
Beall, Douglas H. (1939) ..... Sudbrook Park, Md.
Bean, Miss Mary Cloud (1930) ..... 226 W. Lanvale St.
Beatty, Mrs. Philip Asfordby (1910) ..... Bradenton, Florida
Beck, Mrs. Harvey G. (1936) ..... 215 Northway
Beebe Miss Heloise A. (1937) ..... 3957 Cloverhill Rd.
Beeuwkes, C. John (1924) ..... 1706 First National Bank Bldg.
Beirne, Mrs. Francis F. (1935) ..... Ruxton, Md.
Bennett, Miss Sarah E. (1930) ..... 2019 Eutaw Place
Benson, Harry L. (1910) ..... 3106 Evergreen Ave.
Berenberg, Mrs. Samuel R. (1940) ..... Greenbelt, Md.
*Berkley, Henry J., M. D. (1900) ..... 1735 Park Ave.
Berry, Thomas N. (1940) ..... 311 Washington St., Cumberland, Md.
Biays, Tolley A. (1939) ..... 2807 N. Howard St.
Bibbins, Mrs. A. B. (1906) ..... 2600 Maryland Ave.
Biedler, Mrs. William T., Jr. (1940) ..... 305 Edgevale Rd.
Birmingham, Miss Grace (1939) ..... 3112 N. Calvert St.
Black, Harry C., Jr. (1920) ..... Fidelity Building
*Black, Wilmer (1935) ..... 16 E. Franklin St.
Bladensburg Historical Society (1938) ..... Bladensburg, Maryland
Blakiston, Mrs. Buchanan (Jessie Gary Black) (1921) ..... Hurstleigh Ave., Woodbrook
Blanchard, Peter P. (1939) ..... 4814 Keswick Rd.
Bland, R. Howard (1937) ..... Rolling Rd., Catonsville, Md.
Bland, Mrs. William B. (1935) ..... Sparks, Md.
Bliss, Dr. Wm. J. A. (1937) ..... 1026 N. Calvert St.
Blunt, Royden A. (1936) ..... Dorsey Hall Farm, Ellicott City, Md.
Bode, Mrs. Wm. C. (Gulielma G. Krebs Warner Hewes) (1937) ..... 1900 Maryland Ave.
Bond, Carroll T. (1916) ..... 3507 N. Charles St.
Bond, Duke (1919) ..... Charles & Read Sts.
Bond, Eugene A. (1936) ..... Stevenson, Md.

* Deceased.

Bond, Richard Furness (1940) ..... Relay, Md.
*Bonsal, Leigh (1902) ..... 103 Elmwood Rd.
Boone, James R. Herbert (1934) ....
Boone, Mrs. James R. Herbert (Muriel H. Wurts-Dundas) (1934) } 765 Park Ave., N. Y. C.
Borden, Mrs. E. M. (1936) ..... Washington Apts.
Bordley, Dr. James, Jr. (1914) ..... Charlcote Place
Bordley, Dr. James, 3rd (1937) ..... Brooklandville, Md.
Bosworth, Mrs. C. W. (Beatrice) (1929) ..... } 2109 N. Calvert St.
Bouchet, Charles J. (1921) ..... 206 E. Biddle St.
Bounds, Mrs. George C. (1937) ..... Hebron, Md.
Boulden, Mrs. Chas. Newton (1916) .. .. P. O. Box 154, Baltimore
Bouse, John H., M. D. (1926) ..... 317 S. Ann St.
Bowdoin, Mrs. Henry J. (Julia Morris) (1930) ..... } Lawyers Hill, Relay, Md.
Bowe, Dr. Dudley Pleasants (1927) ..... 2 W. Read St.
Bowie, Clarence K. (1916) ..... Mercantile Trust Bldg.
Bowie, Forrest Dodge (1936) ..... Mt. Lubentia, R. F. D., Benning, D. C.
Bowie, Miss Lucy Leigh (1936) ..... 1301 Bolton St.
Bowie, Mrs. Richmond Irving (Effie Gwynn) (1934) ..... } " Beechwood," Upper Marlboro, Md.
Bowman, Isaiah (1936) ..... Oak Place, Charles St.
Boyce, Fred. G., Jr. (1916) ..... 4102 Greenway
Boyce, Heyward E. (1912) ..... 4 Club Rd.
Boyce, Mrs. Prevost (1937) ..... 2 Beechdale Rd.
*Brandt, Mrs. Jackson (1935) ..... Wyman Park Apts.
Brent, Mrs. Duncan K. (1922) ..... Ruxton, Md.
Brent, Mrs. Robert F. (1916) ..... The St. Paul Apts.
Brewer, Wm. Treanor (1928) ..... 4205 Penhurst Ave.
Brewster, Mrs. Benjamin H., Jr. (1939) .. Stevenson, Md.
Brooks, Rodney J. (1937) ..... Melrose & Bellona Aves.
Brown, Alexander (1902) ..... 2500 Reistertown Rd.
Brown, Mrs. Thomas R. (1936) ..... 14 Whitfield Rd.
Browne, Rev. Lewis Beeman (1907) ..... St. John's Rectory, Frostburg, Md.
Broyles, Mrs. Edwin Nash (1936) ..... 4405 Bedford Place
Bruce, Howard (1925) ..... c/o Baltimore National Bank
Bruce, Wm. Cabell (1909) .....
Bruce, Mrs. Wm. Cabell (1920) .... } Ruxton, Md.
Brumbaugh, Chalmers S. (1940) ..... 317 St. Dunstan's Rd.
Brun, B. Lucien, D. D. S. (1936) ..... 827 Park Ave.
Brune, Fred W. (1929) ..... 2500 Baltimore Trust Bldg.
Brune, H. M. (1902) ..... First National Bank Bldg.
Buchanan, Thomas Gittings (1917) ..... 804 Garrett Bldg.
Buck, Charles H. (1937) ..... Munsey Bldg.
Buck, George G. (1940) ..... 225 E. Redwood St.
Buck, Walter H. (1926) ..... 609 Union Trust Bldg.
Buckingham, E. G. (1927) ..... 1019 Winding Way
Bull, Mrs. Carroll G. (Zelma Melissa Smith) (1937) ..... } 3021 N. Calvert St.
Bunn, Very Rev. Edward B., S. J. (1940) .. Loyola College, Evergreen
Burnett, Paul M. (1935) ..... Charles & Chase Sts.
Butler, Thomas P. (1937) ..... c/o Safe Deposit & Trust Co.
Butterfield, Clement F. (1927) ..... 2723 N. Charles St.
Byrd, Harry Clifton, Ph. D. (1938) ..... Univ. of Maryland, College Park, Md.

Cabell, Frederick M. (1941) ..... 2834 Maryland Ave.
Cadwalader, Thomas F. (1934) ..... 217 W. Lanvale St.
Cairnes, Miss Laura J. (1923) ..... 4008 Roland Ave.

Campbell, Mrs. Harry Mackin (1938)....5717 Roland Ave.
Campbell, Milton (1935).....Easton, Md.
Carey, Charles H. (1919).....2220 N. Charles St.
Carey, Lee C., Lt. Comm. U. S. N. (Ret.) (1937)..... } Belvedere Hotel
Carman, Mrs. Stanley (1936).....1617 Linden Ave.
Carmine, Miss Margaret B. (1930).....Hopkins Apartments
Carr, Mrs. Robert H. (1929).....653 University Pkwy.
Carroll, Douglas Gordon (1913).....Brooklandville, Md.
Carroll, Douglas Gordon, Jr. (1940)....Brooklandville, Md.
Carroll, Miss Louise E. (1935).....2015 Edgewood St.
Carroll, Miss M. Grace (1923).....Roland Park Apts.
Carroll, Philip A. (1936)..... ..55 Wall St., New York City
Carter, Allan L. (1937).....3902 N. Charles St.
Carter, H. LeRoy (1937).....843 University Pkwy.
Carton, Mrs. Lawrence R. (1935)....." Poppintry House," Towson, Md.
Carver, Mrs. David J. (1935).....217 Chancery Rd.
Cassell, W. Barry (1934).....Brooklandville, Md.
Castle, Mrs. Guy W. S. (1932).....Oxon Hill, Md.
Cathcart, Maxwell (1922).....1408 Park Ave.
Chapman, James W., Jr. (1916).....415 Mercantile Trust Bldg.
Chatard, Dr. J. Albert (1929).....1300 N. Calvert St.
Chesney, Dr. Alan M. (1939).....1419 Eutaw St.
Chesnut, Mrs. W. Calvin (1923).... } 111 Ridgewood Road
Chesnut, W. Calvin (1897)..... }
Chinard, Gilbert, Ph. D. (1935).....93 Mercer St., Princeton, N. J.
Christhilf, Miss Katharine M. (1940)....Wyman Park Apts.
Clark, Miss Anna E. B. (1914).....The St. Paul Apartments
Clark, Charles Branch, Ph. D. (1940)...Hancock, Md.
Clark, Miss Charlotte (1940).....212 E. 39th St.
Clark, Ernest J. (1931)..... ..211 Highfield Rd.
Clark, Mrs. Gaylord Lee (1928).....Stevenson, Md.
Clark, Louis T. (1929).....Ellicott City, Md.
Clark, Walter L. (1921).....1914 Baltimore Trust Bldg.
Clemens, Mrs. L. B. (Olivia Fendall) (1939)..... } " Evesham Place," Govans P. O.
Clemson, Charles O. (1928).....Westminster, Maryland
Cleveland, Richard F. (1925).....Baltimore Trust Bldg.
Cloud, Mr. & Mrs. William Woodward (1940)..... } 3 Hillside Road
Coale, Joseph M. (1930).....511 Keyser Bldg.
Coale, Mrs. Wm. Ellis (1936).....1 E. University Pkwy.
Cochran, Wm. F. (1937).....411 N. Charles St.
Coe, Ward B. (1920).....Fidelity Building
Cogswell, Latrobe (1937)..... ..45 N. Evergreen Ave., Woodbury, N. J.
Cohn, Charles M. (1919).....Lexington Bldg.
Cohn, Mrs. E. Herrman (Doris Maslin) (1930)..... } Princess Anne, Maryland
Cole, J. Wesley, M. D. (1931)..... } Lock Raven Blvd. & Hillen Rd., Towson, Md.
Cole, Hon. William P. (1936).....Towson, Md.
Colgan, Edward J., Jr (1941).....Fidelity Bldg.
Collenberg, Mrs. Henry T. (1928).....114 Witherspoon Rd.
Collinson, Mrs. John (1937).....2808 N. Howard St.
Conlon, Charles C. (1937).....3121 St. Paul St.
Conn, Mrs. William Tipton (1936).....10 Midvale Rd.
Connolly, Gerald C. (1919)..... } 1116 N. Eutaw St.
Connolly, James E., M. D. (1928).. }

* Deceased.

Constable, George W. (1940) ..... Ruxton, Md.
Cook, Miss Jane James ..... Stevenson, Md.
Cooke, Mrs. Miriam Baldwin (1930) .... Waterbury, Md.
Coonan, Edward V. (1907) ..... 121 W. Lafayette Ave.
Cooper, J. Crossan, Jr. (1937) .....
Cooper, Mrs. J. Crossan (1937) .... } W. Lake Ave.
Cooper, John P., Jr., (1940) ..... 3 Brightside Ave., Pikesville, Md.
Coriell, Dr. Lewis (1927) ..... 111 W. Monument St.
Cotten, Bruce (1912) ..... Mt. Washington
*Coudon, Joseph (1920) ..... Perryville, Md.
Coulter, Philemon B. (1938) ..... 711 Park Ave.
Cox, Charles Hurley (1939) ..... 3007 Shannon Drive
*Crabbs, W. J. (1939) ..... 537 Brown Ave., Hagerstown, Md.
*Cranwell, J. H. (1895) ..... 1622 Park Ave.
Cranwell, John Philips (1936) ..... 1622 Park Ave.
Craycroft, T. Veazey (1941) ..... Preston Apts.
Cromwell, Mrs. W. Kennedy (1916) ..... Brightside & Bellona Aves.
Cronin, Mrs. W. H. (1932) ..... Aberdeen, Md.
Cull, Miss Mabel F. (1930) ..... 1314 Bolton St.
Cullen, Dr. Thos. S. (1926) ..... 20 E. Eager St.
Culver, Francis Barnum (1910) ..... 1226 N. Calvert St.
Curley, Right Reverend Michael J., Archbishop of Baltimore (1937) .. } 408 N. Charles St.
Cutler, Geo. C. (1936) ..... Garrison, Md.

Dabney, Dr. William M. (1916) ..... Ruxton, Md.
Daiger, Mr. & Mrs. Matthais L. (1937) .. 3227 Vickers Rd.
Daingerfield, Mrs. P. B. Key (1925) ..... 4409 Greenway
Dallam, C. Braxton (1924) ..... 4001 Greenway
Dalsheimer, Simon (1909) ..... The Lord Baltimore Press
Dalton, Joseph C. (1932) ..... Sparks, Maryland
Damuth, Rev. Warren K. (1923) ..... Thurmont, Md.
Darnall, Richard Bennett (1933) ..... Greenock P. O., Maryland
Darrell, Mrs. H. Cavendish (1937) ..... 1109 Eutaw St.
Dashiell, Benjamin J. (1914) ..... Towson, Maryland
Dashiell, Miss Mary Leeke (1934) ..... Phoenix, Maryland
Dashiell, N. Leeke, M. D. (1904) ..... 2927 St. Paul St.
Dashiell, Mrs. Nicholas L. (1922) ..... 2927 St. Paul St.
Davis, Mrs. Allen A. (1934) ..... 34 E. Melrose Ave.
Davis, E. Asbury (1924) ..... 119-21 S. Howard St.
Davis, Mrs. Harry S. (1939) ..... 2112 Brookfield Ave.
Davis, Dr. J. Staige (1916) ..... 215 Wendover Rd.
Davis, Dr. S. Griffith (1935) ..... 220 Chancery St.
Davis, Dr. W. W. (1921) ..... Box 724, Baltimore, Md.
Davison, Miss Elizabeth T. (1925) ..... Cecil Apts.
Davison, Miss Carolina V. (1925) ..... Cecil Apts.
Dawson, E. Rowland (1940) ..... 1113 N. Calvert St.
Day, Miss Mary Forman (1907) ..... { The Donald, 1523 22nd St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Debman, George R. (1937) ..... Woodbrook, Baltimore
Deford, Mrs. Robert B. (Dorothea Hoffman) (1934) .... } Towson, Md.
Delaplaine, Edward S. (1920) ..... Frederick, Md.
Dempster, Ryland N. (1937) ..... 950 Baltimore Trust Building
Denmead, Garner Wood (1923) ..... 227 St. Paul St.
Dennis, Mrs. James Teackle (1923) ..... 100 W. University Parkway
Dennis, James U. (1907) ..... 2 E. Lexington St.
Dennis, Oregon Milton (1922) ..... New Amsterdam Bldg.
Dennis, Samuel K. (1905) ..... Court House

Dickerson, Hon. Edwin T. (1939) ..... 3004 Garrison Blvd.
Dielman, Louis H. (1905) ..... Peabody Institute
Digges, Miss Anne Bond (1938) ..... 3415 Duvall Ave.
Digges, Mrs. Edward William (1939) ... 6016 Bellona Ave.
Diggs, Albert (1940) ..... Homewood Apts.
Dixon, James (1926) ..... Easton, Maryland
Dodson, Herbert K. (1909) ..... 344 N. Charles St.
Doebler, Valentine S. (1922) ..... Greenway and St. Martin's Rd.
Doehler, Edward A. (1935) ..... Loyola College, Evergreen
Dole, Dr. Esther M. (1937) ..... Washington College, Chestertown, Md.
Donn, Edward W., Jr. (1935) ..... 10 E. Bradley Lane, Chevy Chase, Md.
Donnelly, Edward A. (1919) ..... 213 N. Calvert St.
Donoho, Edmond S. (1939) ..... 18 N. Charles St.
Dorsey, Dr. Caleb, Jr. (1927) ..... 1700 Rosedale St.
Dorsey, Mrs. John L. (1940) ..... 1015 St. George's Rd.
Downey, Dr. Jesse W., Jr. (1929) ..... 209 Hawthorne Rd.
Dozer, Donald Marquand, Ph. D. (1938) ..... Univ. of Maryland, College Park
Dryden, Thos. P. (1930) ..... 208 Northfield Place
Duer, Thomas Marshall (1935) ..... Roland Park Apts.
Duffy, Edward (1920) ..... 138 W. Lanvale St.
Duffy, Mrs. Eleanor Bernard (1927)
Duffy, Henry (1916) ..... 110 W. North Ave.
Dugan, Miss Mary Coale (1919) ..... 124 W. Lanvale St.
Duke, Charles C. (1939) ..... 101 W. Monument St.
Dukehart, Morton McI. (1920) ..... 2744 N. Calvert St.
Duker, Mrs. J. Edward (1923) ..... 3904 N. Charles St.
Dulany, Mrs. Josephine Lanahan (1936) .. Washington Apts.
Dunton, Wm. Rush, Jr., M. D. (1902) .. 33 Symington Ave., Catonsville, Md.
Dutton, Meiric K. (1940) ..... 221 Ridgemeade Rd.
Duvall, Mrs. Richard M. ..... 2905 N. Charles St.

Eareckson, F. Leif (1928) ..... 23 S. Hanover St.
Easter, Mrs. James W. (Anita T.) (1929) ..... Owings Mills, Md.
Edmondson, Mrs. Frank Gordon (1928)
Edmondson, J. Hooper (1928) .....
Edmondson, W. W., Jr. ..... Roland Park Apts.
Edwards, Mrs. Charles Reid (1935) ..... 106 Longwood Rd.
Edwards, Mrs. Edmund P. (1928) ..... 55 Lombardy Place
Egerton, Stuart (1919) ..... 106 Elmhurst Rd.
Ellicott, Charles E. (1918) ..... Melvale, Md.
Ellicott, William M. (1929) .....
Ellicott, Mrs. Wm. M. (1929) ..... 714 St. Paul St.
Ellinger, Esther Parker (1922) ..... 12 W. 25th St.
Ellis, Edward D., M. D. (1936) ..... 106 St. Dunstans Rd.
Elphinstone, Lewis M. (1939) ..... 4705 Roland Ave.
Emmart, Wm. W. (1924) ..... 1818 Munsey Bldg.
Englar, George Monroe (1928) ..... Roland Park Apts.
England, Joseph Townsend (1939) ..... 43 Iglehart Bldg.
Ewell, Mrs. Emmett Robinson (1937) .... 1513 Bolton St.

Fairfax, Mrs. John (1938) ..... 1210 Bolton St.
*Falconer, Chas. E. (1915) ..... 1630 Bolton St.
Fenhagen, G. Corner (1918) ..... 325 N. Charles St.
Fenhagen, James C. (1927) ..... c/o Baltimore National Bank
Fenwick, G. Bernard (1929) ..... Glyndon, Md.
Fickus, Henry J. (1927) ..... 4506 Mainfield Ave.

* Deceased.

Finch, Rayme W. (1937) ..... 207 W. 29th St.
Findlay, Miss Mary P. B. (1930) ..... 1510 Bolton St.
Finley, Mrs. W. Norville (1930) ..... 605 N. Charles St.
Finney, Miss Catherine (1934) ..... 937 St. Paul St.
Finney, W. W. (1939) ..... Aberdeen, Md.
Fisher, D. K. E. (1916) ..... 1301 Park Ave.
Fisher, Samuel J. (1932) ..... Union Trust Bldg.
Fisher, Dr. Wm. A. (1924) ..... 715 Park Ave.
Fitzgerald, Charles G. (1923) ..... 3507 N. Charles St.
Flack, Horace E. (1938) ..... Mt. Washington, Md.
Flack, Mrs. James W., Jr. (1937) ...
Flack, James W., Jr. (1939) ..... } 2921 St. Paul St.
Fleming, Miss Elizabeth Boyd (1925) .... Canterbury Hall Apartments
Florence, Nellie G. (1931) ..... Brentwood P. O., Md.
Flynn, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph J. (1937) .... 1702 Park Ave.
Fogg, George W. (1939) ..... College Park, Md.
Fooks, Major Herbert C. (1921) ..... 723 Munsey Building
Forbes, George (1924) ..... 601 Maryland Trust Building
Ford, Horace A. (1937) ..... 3401 Greenway
Forman, Henry Chandlee (1933) ..... Farm-of-Four Winds, Ruxton, Md.
Foster, Mrs. Henry C. (1939) ..... Clear Spring, Md.
Foster, James W. (1935) ..... 203 Oakdale Rd.
Fowler, Mrs. Edith E. (1939) ..... 104 Washington St., Cumberland, Md.
Fowler, Laurence Hall (1919) ..... 347 N. Charles St.
Fowler, Miss Louisa Mc. E. (1939) ..... Washington Apts.
France, Jacob (1926) ..... Calvert Building
France, Mrs. Jacob (1926) ..... Old Court Rd., Pikesville, Md.
Frank, Eli (1923) ..... 2007 Sulgrave Ave., Mt. Washington
Franklin, Mrs. Benjamin (1921) ..... 104 W. 39th St.
Frederick, Eugene (1939) ..... 3208 Brightwood Ave.
Freeman, Dr. E. B. (1926) ..... 807 Cathedral St.
Freeman, J. Douglas (1914) ..... 203 Woodlawn Rd.
French, H. Findlay (1929) ..... 2303 Baltimore Trust Bldg.
French, Dr. John C. (1924) ..... 416 Cedarcroft Road
Frick, Fred. M. (1936) ..... 609 Keyser Bldg.
Frick, George Arnold (1914) ..... 20 E. Lexington St.
Friedenwald, Harry, M. D. (1919) ..... 1212 Eutaw Place
Friedenwald, Julius, M. D. (1919) ..
Friedenwald, Mrs. Julius (1937) .... } 1013 N. Charles St.

Gaither, Charles D. (1919) ..... " Stockwood," Ellicott City, Md.
Gale, Walter R. (1921) ..... 241 W. Lanvale St.
Gambrill, Mrs. Chauncey
(Gabrielle E.) (1935) ..... } Northway Apts.
Gans, Arthur D. (1939) ..... 117 B. & O. Bldg.
Garcelon, Mrs. Herbert I. (1924) ..... Severna Park, Anne Arundel Co., Md.
Gardiner, Norman Bentley (1938) ..... Riderwood, Md.
Garrett, John W. (1898) ..... 4545 N. Charles St.
Garrett, Mrs. Robert (1928) .....
Garrett, Robert (1898) ..... } Charles St. and Wyndhurst Ave.
George, Mrs. Thomas Stevens
(Esther Ridgely) (1934) ..... } Towson, Md.
Gibbs, John S., Jr. (1914) ..... Woodbrook, Baltimore
Gibbs, Mrs. Rufus M. (1924) ..... 1209 St. Paul St.
Gill, Mrs. Robert Lee (1924) ..... 11 Club Road
Gilleland, Mrs. Marion A. (1936) ..... 2017 E. North Ave.
Gillet, Mrs. James McClure (1939) ..... 1420 Park Ave.
Gilpin, Mrs. Arthington, Jr. (1935) ..... 7 Gittings Ave.
Gittings, Miss Victoria (1920) ..... 1428 Park Ave.

Goldsborough, Phillips Lee (1915)..... Tudor Arms Apts.
Goldsborough, Richard (1939)..... Easton, Maryland
Goldsmith, Mr. and Mrs. John Gray (1937)..... 812 E. 41st St.
Gordon, Mrs. Alan L. (1937)..... 1613 Bolton St.
Gordon, Mrs. Alexander H. (1916)..... 1009 N. Charles St.
Gordon, Douglas H. (1928)..... 100 E. Chase St.
Gore, Clarence S., M. D. (1940)..... Fidelity Bldg.
Gorman, Mrs. Grace Norris (1923)..... Laurel, Md.
Gorter, Poultney (1939)..... 5314 St. Albans Way
Gough, Mrs. I. Pike (1916)..... Hopkins Apts.
Graham, Albert D. (1915)..... First National Bank Bldg.
Graham, Boyd B. (1936)..... 4310 St. Paul St.
Graham, R. Walter, Jr., M. D. (1935)... 700 Cathedral St.
Graham, Robert Lee (1936)..... 4310 St. Paul St.
Green, Elmer S. (1934)..... 54 Ridge Rd., Yonkers, N. Y.
Green, Mrs. John M. (1938)..... 4 Acton Place, Annapolis, Md.
Greenfield, Kent Roberts, Ph. D. (1934).. Tudor Arms Apts.
Greenway, Miss Elizabeth W. (1917).... 2322 N. Charles St.
Gregg, Maurice (1886)..... 719 N. Charles St.
Greif, Mrs. Leonard L. (1940)..... 4 Slade Ave.
Griswold, Alexander Brown (1935)..... Monkton, Md.
Griswold, B. Howell, Jr. (1913)..... Alex. Brown & Sons
Gross, Jacob (1937)..... 1605 Chilton St.

Hall, Miss Adelphine (1928)..... 5304 Springlake Way
Hall, Arthur, Jr. (1939)..... St. Thomas' Lane, Owings Mills, Md.
Hall, Mrs. Arthur H., Sr. (1938)..... McDonogh Lane, Pikesville, Md.
Hall, Cary D., Jr. (1919)..... 706 Fidelity Bldg.
Hall, Miss Rosabel E. (1928)..... 2406 Kenoak Ave., Mt. Washington
Hall, Sidney (1937)..... 1319 Park Ave.
Hall, Dr. William S. (1922)..... 215 Woodlawn Rd.
Hamilton, Mrs. S. Henry (1939)..... 1212 Bolton St.
Hamman, Mrs. Louis (1923)..... 315 Overhill Rd.
Hammond, Edward (1923)..... 140 W. Lanvale St.
Hammond, Edward Hopkins (1923)... 2205 California St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Hancock, James E. (1907)..... 2122 St. Paul St.
Hann, Charles K. (1936)..... First National Bank
Hann, Samuel M. (1915)..... 3902 Canterbury Rd.
Hanson, Aquilla Brown (1928)..... 3622 Greenmount Ave.
Hanson, B. Henry, Jr. (1940)..... 526 W. University Pkwy.
Hardinge, Mr. and Mrs. Harold, Jr. (1932)..... 2450 Eutaw Place
Harlan, Henry D., LL. D. (1894)..... Fidelity Building.
Harlan, Mrs. Henry D. (1928)..... 4909 Falls Rd.
Harper, George Houston (1921)..... Homewood Apts.
Harris, Miss Helen Nicholson (1928).... St. Paul Apts.
Harris, Norris (1927)..... 2906 Alameda Blvd.
Harris, Mrs. Norris (1926)..... 2906 Alameda Blvd.
Harris, Mrs. W. Hall (Alice Patterson) (1919)..... 11 East Chase St.
Harris, W. Hall, Jr. (1938)..... 31 E. Mt. Vernon Pl.
Harris, Mrs. W. Hall, Jr. (1941)... 31 E. Mt. Vernon Pl.
Harris, W. Hall, 3rd (1938)..... 1210 Bolton St.
Harrison, Dr. Edmund P. H., Jr. (1934).. 2903 N. Charles St.
Harrison, George (1915)..... 4426 Marble Hall Rd.
Harrison, J. Edward (1915)..... 315 E. University Pkwy.
Harrison, Miss Rebekah (1919)..... Ellicott City, Md.

* Deceased.

Harrison, Robert B. (1936) ..... Garrison, Md.
Hart, Robert S. (1923) ..... 101 W. Monument St.
Hayden, Mrs. Lewis M. (1927) ..... 2010 Park Ave.
Hayes, Robert F., Jr. (1923) ..... 3526 Roland Ave.
Hayward, F. Sidney (1897) ..... Harwood Ave., Govans
Hecht, Miss Beatrice Mae (1936) ..... Arlington Park Apts.
Helfenstein, Rev. Edward T. (1920) ..... 105 W. Monument St.
Hemphill, Mrs. James M. (1940) ..... Elkridge, Md.
Henderson, Charles F. (1919) ..... Continental Trust Bldg.
Henderson, George (1934) ..... Cumberland, Md.
Henderson, Mrs. Louisa P. (1919) ..... Cumberland, Md.
Hendler, L. Manuel (1939) ..... 913 Lake Drive
Henry, Daniel M. (1923) ..... Easton, Maryland
Henry, Mrs. M. Lynn (1928) ..... Linthicum Heights, Md.
Henry, Mrs. Roberta B. (1914) ..... "Myrtle Grove," Easton, Md.
Herring, Thomas R. (1919) ..... 10 South St.
Hewes, Miss Frances Cushing (1941) ... 407 Cedarcroft Rd.
Hewes, M. Warner (1922) ..... 2315 Maryland Ave.
Hewes, Miss Sarah C. (1940) ..... 407 Cedarcroft Rd.
Hicks, Admiral T. Holliday (1938) ..... Cambridge, Md.
Hicks, T. Russell (1929) ..... 106 W. Madison St.
Hill, Bancroft (1941) ..... c/o Baltimore Transit Co., Equitable Bldg.
Hill, Mrs. Eben C. (1941) ..... Hotel Stafford
Hill, John Philip Clayton (1899) ..... 16 E. Lexington St.
Hill, Norman A. (1941) ..... 2024 Mt. Royal Terrace
Hilles, Mrs. William S. (1934) ..... 4603 Millbrook Rd., Guilford
Hines, Rev. Charles J. (1922) ..... 27 S. Ellwood Ave.
*Hinkley, John (1900) ..... 215 N. Charles St.
Hitchcock, Ella Sprague (1919) ..... 219 City Hall
Hobbs, Mrs. Andrew Jackson (Ethel Close) (1931) ..... 1815 Park Ave.
Hoen, Albert B. (1935) ..... 100 Ridgewood Rd.
Hoff, Mrs. Violet B. (1924) ..... 4202 Somerset Place
Hogan, Dr. John F. (1929) ..... 7 East Preston St.
Holbeine, Sister M. Clotilde (1933) ..... Mt. St. Agnes, Mount Washington
Holdcraft, Mehrling (1930) ..... 2315 Harlem Ave.
*Hollander, Jacob H., Ph. D. (1895) .... 1802 Eutaw Place
*Holloway, Mrs. Reuben Ross (1939) ... Greenway Apts.
Holly, Miss Netta E. (1934) ..... Havre de Grace, Md.
Hooff, Miss Mary Stabler (1922) ..... 1205 Linden Ave.
Hooper, Miss Florence (1937) ..... 4506 Roland Ave.
Hoopes, Miss Blanche L. (1935) ..... Blackstone Apts.
Hoopes, Miss M. Ella (1935) ..... Homewood Apts.
Hopkins, Mrs. Mabel Ford (1924) ..... 2 Wyndhurst Ave.
Hopkins, Roger Brooke, Jr. (1938) ..... "Bagatelle," Woodbrook, Baltimore
Hopper, Charles Cox (1930) ..... 1405 John St.
Hough, Miss Anne Edmondson (1928)
Hough, Miss Ethel (1937) ..... 212 Lambeth Rd.
Howard, Arthur C. (1937) ..... 329 Dolphin St.
Howard, Charles McHenry (1902) ..... 901 St. Paul St.
Howard, Charles Morris (1907) ..... 1010 Munsey Bldg.
Howard, John D. (1917) ..... 209 W. Monument St.
Howard, John Eager, of B. (1936) ..... Joppa Rd., Towson, Md.
Howard, Miss Julia McHenry (1927)
Howard, Miss May (1927) ..... 901 St. Paul St.
Howell, G. Robert (1935) ..... Fidelity Bldg.
Howell, William H., M. D. (1935) ..... 112 St. Dunstan's Rd.
Howell, William R., Ph. D. (1929) ... E. Campus Ave., Byforth Heights, Chestertown, Md.

Hoye, Charles E. (1931) ..... Oakland, Md.
Hoyt, William Dana, Jr. (1930) ..... 2019 Maryland Ave.
Hubbard, Thomas F. (1928) ..... 3324 Ellerslie Ave.
Hubbard, Mrs. Wilbur W. (1940) ..... Chestertown, Md.
Hubner, William R. (1920) ..... Safe Deposit and Trust Co.
Hughes, Thomas (1886) ..... 1018 Cathedral St.
Hutchins, Miss Katherine K. (1928) ..... 142 W. Lanvale St.
Hutzler, Albert D. (1936) ..... "Pomona," Pikesville, Md.
Hyde, Bryden Bordley (1940) ..... "Evesham," Northern Parkway
Hyde, Enoch Pratt (1906) ..... 3507 N. Charles St.
*Hynson, W. George (1925) ..... Ruxton, Md.
Hysan, William B., Jr. (1937) ..... 6301 Eastern Ave.

Ijams, Miss Ella (1933) ..... 3702 Mohawk Ave.
Ijams, Mrs. George W. (1913) ..... 1324 Eutaw Place
Ingle, Miss Eliza (1934) .....
Ingle, William (1909) ..... } 1710 Park Ave.
Isaacs, Miss Bertha P. (1934) ..... "Maplewood," Elkridge, Md.
Israel, Miss Ellen C. (1934) ..... 701 Cathedral St.
Ives, Mrs. Charles P. (1941) ..... 4211 Wickford Rd.

Jackson, Mrs. George S. (1910) ..... Garrison, Md.
Jackson, Mayor Howard W. (1937) .
Jackson, Mrs. Howard W. (1936) ... } 5222 Springlake Way
Jacobs, Frank, Esq. (1935) ..... Bel Air, Md.
James, Macgill (1934) ..... 1228 30th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
James, Mrs. Richard H. (1940) ..... 1641 Ellamont St.
*Janney, Stuart S. (1924) ..... 1635 Baltimore Trust Bldg.
Janney, Mrs. Stuart S. (1936) ..... Garrison, Md.
Jarman, Miss Martha F. (1934) ..... Princess Anne, Md.
Jeffery, Mrs. Elmore Berry (1933) ..... 307 Somerset Rd.
Jencks, Mrs. Francis M. (1924) ..... 1 W. Mt. Vernon Place
Jenkins, M. Ernest (1924) ..... Lake Ave., Roland Park, P. O.
Jenkins, T. Courtney (1940) ..... "Denbigh," W. Lake Ave.
*Johnson, Mrs. Edward M. (1924) ..... 843 University Pkwy.
Johnson, Miss Mary Louise (1935) ..... Frederick, Md.
Johnson, Mrs. William H. (1939) ..... 306 Underwood Court
Johnston, Mrs. John Edward (1936) .... Charlcote House
Johnston, Mrs. Lola E. (1929) ..... Warrington Apts.
Jones, Arthur Lafayette (1911) ..... 1516 Bolton St.
Jones, Miss Ruth (1932) ..... Towson, Md.
Joseph, Miss Bertha Coblens (1939) .
Joseph, Miss Jeannette (1936) ..... } 1513 Eutaw Place
Joyce, Mrs. John Collinson (1936) ..... Iris Hill-on-Severn, Arnold P. O., Md.
Joyce, Temple N. (1927) ..... Joyce Station, Md.
Judik, Mrs. J. Henry (1918) ..... 3906 St. Paul St.

Katz, Joseph (1935) ..... 7201 Park Heights Ave.
Keech, Mrs. Carolina Pagon (1924) ..... Roland Park Apts.
Kelley, William J. (1939) ..... 2303 Baltimore Trust Bldg.
Kellogg, Mrs. Charles W. (1941) ..... "Longshaws," Queen Anne P. O., Md.
*Kellum, William H. (1935) ..... 2633 N. Charles St.
Kelly, Howard A., M. D. (1919) ..... 1418 Eutaw Place
Kemp, Ernest W. (1935) ..... 219 W. Centre St.
Kenney, Benj. F. (1937) ..... c/o Central Savings Bank
Kent, Mrs. Frank R. (1941) ..... Lombardy Apts.
Keys, Miss Jane G. (1905) ..... 605 E. 41st St.
Keyser, H. Irvine, 2nd (1928) ..... 4103 St. Paul St.

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* Deceased.

Keyser, W. Irvine (1917) ..... Stevenson, Md.
King, Edward Stevenson (1938) ..... 5305 Falls Road Terrace
Kirkman, Walter N. (1927) ..... Rolling Road, Catonsville, Md.
Klein, Daniel E. (1937) ..... 618 University Pkwy., W.
Knox, J. H. Mason, Jr., M. D. (1909) ... 211 Wendover Road
Koppelman, Walter (1927) ..... 102 Milbrook Rd.
Kriel, Mrs. Walter E. (1938) ..... Hampstead, Md.

Lanahan, Mrs. William Wallace (Eleanor Williams) (1929) ..... } Long Crandon, Towson, Md.
Lane, William Preston, Jr. (1939) ..... Hagerstown, Md.
Lasson, Nelson B. (1939) ..... 2427 Callow Ave.
Latrobe, Ferdinand C. (1932) ..... 3921 Canterbury Rd.
Leach, Miss Mary Clara (1924) ..... 4014 Edmondson Ave.
Leakin, Miss Susan Dobbin (1923) ..... 103 W. Monument St.
Lee, H. H. M. (1923) ..... 1930 Mt. Royal Terrace
Lee, John L. G. (1916) ..... 511 Calvert Building
Le Fevre, Mrs. Wm. Douglas (1935) .... R. F. D. 1, Chesapeake City, Md.
Legg, John C., Jr. (1916) ..... 222 E. Redwood St.
Leser, C. C. Fulton (1935) ..... 3915 N. Charles St.
Leupold, Mrs. Richard J. (1934) ..... 223 E. Preston St.
Levering, Edwin W., Jr. (1935) ..... Ruxton, Md.
Levy, Lester S. (1937) ..... Lombard & Paca Sts.
Levy, Oscar G. (1928) ..... 423 N. Fulton Ave.
Levy, William B. (1909) ..... 3700 N. Charles St.
Lewis, Prof. Charles L., U. S. N. A. (1936) ..... } 41 Southgate Ave., Annapolis, Md.
Linville, Charles H. (1918) ..... 4003 Keswick Rd.
Litsinger, Miss Elizabeth C. (1938) ..... 1503 Mt. Royal Ave.
Littig, Mrs. John M. (1919) ..... Cambridge Apartments
Lloyd, Mrs. Charles Howard (1928) ..... Easton, Md.
Lockard, G. Carroll, M. D. (1919) .. } 2925 N. Charles St.
Lockard, Mrs. G. Carroll (1930) .... }
Lockhart, Henry, Jr. (1935) ..... "Cleghorn-on-Wye," Longwoods, Md.
Long, Mrs. Breckenridge (1931) ..... Laurel, Md.
Long, G. Allison, Jr. (1940) ..... 452 Lexington Bldg.
Lord, Mrs. J. Walter (1923) ..... 4314 Roland Court
Lord, Mrs. J. Williams (1919) ..... 1011 N. Charles St.
Lowry, Henry A. (1939) ..... } 610 W. 40th St.
Lowry, Mrs. Henry A. (1938) ..... }
Lucas, J. C. M. (1936) ..... Standard Oil Building
Lynch, Mrs. M. John (Branford Gist) (1939) ..... } Westminster, Md.
Lyon, Miss Grace (1923) ..... 223 Wendover Rd.

McCabe, Jos. A. (1936) ..... 1312 Homewood Ave.
McCardell, Lee (1929) ..... 4618 Wilmslow Rd.
McCarty, Mrs. Agatha Shipley (1935) ... 636 Cokesbury Ave.
McCeney, Mrs. George Patterson (1940) .. Laurel, Md.
McCleave, R. Hugh (1928) ..... Cumberland, Maryland
McColgan, Charles C. (1916) ..... 2710 N. Calvert St.
McColgan, Edward (1921) ..... 200 N. Beechwood Ave.
*McCormick, R. A. (1914) ..... 3807 Fenchurch Road
McCormick-Goodhart, Leander (1928) ... "Langley Park," Hyattsville, Md.
Maccubbin, Mrs. Wm. H. (1936) ..... 1925 E. 32nd St.
McCulloch, Mrs. Duncan (1932) ..... Glencoe, Md.
McCullough, David Norman (1938) .... 2702 Roslyn Ave.
MacGill, James (1934) ..... Atholton, Md.
McIntosh, J. Rieman (1937) ..... Baltimore Trust Bldg.
McKenrick, Mrs. Carl Ross (1939) ..... 321 Hawthorne Rd.

McKim, S. S. (1902) ..... P. O. Box 893
McLanahan, Mrs. Austin (Romaine LeMoyne) (1931) ..... Greenspring & Woodlawn Aves.
*McLane, Allan (1894) ..... Owings Mills, Md.
McLane, Miss Elizabeth C. (1919) ..... Warrington Apts.
MacLean, Dr. Angus L. (1933) ..... 1201 N. Calvert St.
McWilliams, Miss Mary Matthews (1929) ..... 1732 N. Calvert St.
Machen, Arthur W. (1917) ..... 1109 Calvert Bldg.
Machen, Thomas G. (1937) ..... Poplar Hill Rd.
Mackall, R. McGill (1928) ..... 2423 Pickwick Rd.
Magee, Mr. and Mrs. John Alexander (1936) ..... 14 Hillside Rd.
Magruder, Caleb Clarke (1930) ..... Upper Marlboro, Md.
Magruder, Miss Louise E. (1929) ..... Annapolis, Md.
Maloy, William Milnes (1911) ..... 308 Overhill Rd.
Manakee, Harold Randall (1938) ....
Manakee, Mrs. Harold Randall (Beta Kaessman) (1938) ..... 4006 Kathland Ave.
Manning, James R. (1928) ..... Briarfield, Poplar Hill Road
Marburg, Theodore (1931) ..... 14 W. Mt. Vernon Pl.
Marbury, Mrs. Ogle (1940) ..... Laurel, Md.
Marine, Miss Harriet P. (1915) ..... Box 3753, Druid Station, Baltimore
Markell, Charles (1937) ..... 1804 1st Nat'l Bank Bldg.
Markell, Mrs. Francis H. (1923) ..... Frederick, Md.
Marshall, Morgan (1935) ..... 3804 St. Paul St.
Marshall, Mrs. Robert E. Lee (1937) ..... 1013 Poplar Hill Rd.
Marshall, Thomas Hartley, Jr. (1941) ..... Aberdeen, Md.
Marye, William B. (1911) ..... 207 E. Preston St.
Massey, Mr. & Mrs. J. Allan (1923) ..... 1514 33rd St.
Massey, Miss M. E. (1925) ..... 105 Maple Ave., Chestertown, Md.
Mather, L. B. (1922) ..... 315 E. 22nd St.
Mathews, Edward B., Ph. D. (1905) ..... Johns Hopkins University
Maulsby, Holt (1940) ..... 4503 Roland Ave.
Maynard, Julian H., Lt. Comm. U. S. N. (1936) ..... 80 Cranberry St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Maynard, Mrs. Sellman (1938) ..... 2507 Roslyn Ave.
Mears, Mrs. Adelbert Warren (1930) ..... 3102 Hilton St.
Medford, Richard C. (1940) ..... Municipal Museum
Mencken, August (1928) ..... 1524 Hollins St.
Menzies, John T. (1937) ..... Lutherville, Md.
Meredith, Mr. & Mrs. Clyde Robe (1940) ..... 2023 Maryland Ave.
Merrick, Robert G. (1937) ..... Munsey Bldg.
Merritt, Elizabeth, Ph.D. (1939) ..... 3402 W. North Ave.
Merritt, Mrs. James A. (1940) ..... 6014 Bellona Ave.
Meyer, Mrs. Robert A. (1924) ..... 3047 Brighton St.
Meyer, Walter F. (1937) ..... 800 Glen Allen Drive
Miller, Miss Alice E. (1938) ..... Port Deposit, Md.
Miller, Charles R. (1916) ..... 2200 Roslyn Ave.
Miller, Miss Ethel M. (1941) ..... Charles St. & Lake Ave.
Miller, R. Fowler (1937) ..... c/o Supt. Telegraph B. & O. R. R., Camden Station
Miller, Mrs. Warren D. (1924) ..... 160 W. Washington St., Hagerstown, Md.
Miller, Mrs. William E. (1922) ..... 7 Beechdale Rd.
Mintz, Julius (1924) ..... 1009 Calvert Bldg.
Moore, Mrs. Charles E. (1938) ..... 4414 Roland Ave.
Moore, Mrs. Winfield A. (1940) ..... 3133 Rosalie Ave.

* Deceased.

Morgan, Philip S. (1936).....514 St. Paul Place
Morgan, Zachariah R., M. D. (1931)....3 Deepdene Rd.
Morrison, Mrs. Harry (1935).....Woodbrook, Md.
Morton, Samuel P., Jr. (1934).....Ambassador Apts.
Mullikin, James C. (1938).....802 Kingston Rd., Stoneleigh
Mullikin, Kent R. (1933).....306 Montgomery Ave., Laurel, Md.
Mullin, Miss Elizabeth Lester (1916)....1501 Park Ave.
Murdoch, Miss Mildred Laws (1926)....Cecil Apts.
Murray, John Donaldson, M. D. (1921)..206 W. Monument St.
Murray, Miss Mercedes M. (1926).....1309 W. 42nd St.
Murray, Michael (1941).....1034 N. Calvert St.
Myers, Mrs. Philip (1935).....5 Maryland Ave., Towson, Md.
Myers, Miss Rebecca (1940).....718 Evesham Ave.

Nance, O. H. (1937).....4002 St. Paul St.
Nelson, J. Arthur (1921).....227 St. Paul St.
Ness, George T., Jr. (1940).....633 Equitable Bldg.
New, Mrs. Jacob S. (1937).....101 W. Monument St.
Nice, Mrs. Harry Whinna (1937).....5701 Oakshire Rd.
Nicklin, Mrs. James (1940).....San Domingo, St. Michaels, Md.
Nimmo, Mrs. Nannie Ball (1920).....3207 N. Calvert St.
*Nolting, William G. (1919).....11 E. Chase St.
Norris, Walter B. (1924).....Wardour, Annapolis, Md.
Nyburg, Sydney L. (1921).....1504 First National Bank Building

Ober, Gustavus, Jr. (1914).....Woodbrook, Govans P. O., City
Ober, J. Hambleton (1940).....3803 St. Paul St.
O'Conor, Hon. Herbert R. (Governor of Maryland) (1937)..... } Governor's House, Annapolis, Md.
O'Ferrall, Alfred J. (1936).....100 St. Paul St.
Offutt, T. Scott (1908).....Towson, Md.
Old, Francis E., Jr. (1931).....1915 Park Ave.
Oliver, John R., M. D. (1919).....44 Wall St., New York City
Olivier, Stuart (1913).....2 Wyndhurst Ave.
Onderdonk, Adrian H. (1940).....St. James School, Hagerstown, Md.
Onderdonk, Mrs. J. R. (1940).....Riderwood, Md.
Oppenheimer, Reuben (1924).....1508 1st Nat'l Bank Building
Orem, Mrs. William Chase (1940).....1416 Lake Ave.
Orndorff, James Ridgely (1929).....Homewood Apts.
Orrick, S. Hilton (1938).....209 E. Biddle St.
Owens, Hamilton (1937).....c/o Evening Sun, Baltimore
Owens, John W. (1937).....103 Goodale Road

Paca, John P., Jr. (1931).....729 Title Bldg.
Page, Mrs. James (1929).....Homewood Apts.
Page, Wm. C. (1912).....Calvert Bank
*Paine, James R. (1933).....18 E. Baltimore St.
Pannel, Miss Ruby (1940).....Rich Neck Farms, Earlville, Md.
Parke, Francis Neal (1910).....Westminster, Md.
Parker, Mrs. Jameson (1939).....2418 Pickwick Rd.
Parks, Miss Ida M. (1922).....11 W. Saratoga St.
Parran, Mrs. Frank J. (1908).....144 W. Lanvale St.
Parran, Dalrymple (1926).....1708 N. Calvert St.
Passano, Mrs. Edward B. (1935)..... { York Road and Susquehanna Ave., Towson, Md.
Pattison, Sam W. (1935).....407 N. Howard St.
Paul, Mrs. D'Arcy (1909)..... } Blythewood Road
Paul, John Gilman D'Arcy (1927).. }
Paul, Rev. Peter J., O. S. A. (1938).....6243 S. Fairfield Ave., Chicago, Illinois
Peirce, Mr. and Mrs. William H. (1939)..100 University Pkwy., W.

Pentz, Harry G. (1938) ..... 1824 West Baltimore St.
Perine, Mrs. George Corbin (1916) ..... 1124 Cathedral St.
Perine, Washington (1917) ..... 607 Cathedral St.
Perkins, Mifflin Thomas (1935) ..... 3118 Howard Park Ave.
Perkins, Walter F. (1935) ..... 104 Tunbridge Rd.
Perlman, Philip B. (1936) ..... Munsey Bldg.
Perrin, W. Kennon (1940) ..... 1508 Bolton St.
Piper, Mrs. James (1935) ..... Eccleston, Md.
Piper, Samuel Webster (1941) ..... Hagerstown, Md.
Pitts, Miss Mary B. (1927) ..... 100 University Pkwy., W.
Pitts, Tilghman G. (1924) ..... 129 E. Redwood St.
Pleasants, J. Hall, M. D. (1898) ..... 201 Longwood Road, Roland Park
Pleasants, Mrs. Richard H. (1936) ..... 103 W. Monument St.
Poe, Edgar Allan (1929) ..... U. S. F. & G. Building.
Poe, Mrs. William C. (1940) ..... 211 W. Lanvale St.
Pollitt, L. Irving (1916) ..... 1715 Park Place
Porter, Miss Bessie (1926) ..... Greenway Apts.
Post, A. H. S. (1916) ..... Mercantile Trust and Deposit Co.
Potter, Henry Betram (1936) ..... c/o Baltimore Transit Co.
Powell, Henry Fletcher (1923) ..... 309 W. Lanvale St.
Powell, Rev. Noble C. (1934) ..... Mount St. Alban, Washington, D. C.
Presstman, Miss Marie W. (1940) ..... 3911 Canterbury Rd.
Preston, Mrs. Herbert R. (1936) ..... Catonsville, Md.
Price, Mrs. Juliet Hammond (1924) ..... Sherwood Hotel
Purdum, Mrs. Bradley K. (1923) ..... 5401 Harford Rd.
Purdum, Frank C. (1922) ..... 7017 Harford Rd.
Purkins, Robert T. (1940) ..... 1519 Lakeside Ave.
Purnell, Mrs. Francis H. (1940) ..... 101 E. Mt. Royal Ave.

Radcliffe, George L., Ph. D. (1908) ..... Fidelity Building
Radoff, Morris Leon, Ph. D. (1937) ..... Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.
Ralston, Mrs. David A. (1935) ..... Severna Park, Md.
Ramey, Mrs. Mary E. W. (1922) ..... 9 E. Franklin St.
Randall, Blanchard (1902) ..... 200 Chamber of Commerce Bldg.
Randall, Blanchard, Jr. (1940) ..... 28 E. Fayette St.
Randall, Miss Emily B. (1938) ..... 8 W. Mt. Vernon Pl.
Rawls, William Lee (1938) ..... Maryland Trust Bldg.
Reckord, Milton A. (Adjutant General) (1939) ..... 11 E. Chase St.
Reeder, Mrs. Foster M. (1941) ..... "West Hatton," Mt. Victoria, Md.
Requardt, John M. (1926) ..... 101 Wendover Rd.
Requardt, Mrs. John M. (1926) ..... 101 Wendover Rd.
Revell, Edward J. W. (1916) ..... 1308-09 Fidelity Bldg.
Rice, Duane Ridgely (1938) ..... 306 Highfield Rd.
Rich, Edward N. (1916) ..... Union Trust Building
Rich, Mrs. Edward L. (1926) ..... Catonsville, Md.
Ricker, Mrs. Roger R. (1927) ..... 3011 Wayne Ave.
Ridgely, Miss Eliza (1893) ..... 825 Park Ave.
Ridgely, John, Jr. (1916) ..... Towson, Md.
Rieman, Mrs. Charles Ellet (1909) ..... 10 E. Mt. Vernon Place
Rieman, Charles Ellet (1898) ..... 10 E. Mt. Vernon Place
Riggs, Miss Annie Smith (1934) ..... Brookeville, Md.
Riggs, Henry G. (1937) ..... 814 Cathedral St.
Riggs, John Beverley (1936) ..... Brookeville, Md.
*Riggs, Lawrason (1894) ..... 632 Equitable Building
Riordan, William A. (1938) ..... Washington Apts.
Roach, Erwin R. (1934) ..... 611 Park Ave.
Roberts, Thomas Carroll (1939) ..... 3012 Reistertown Rd.

* Deceased.

Robertson, David A. (1936) ..... 2229 N. Charles St.
Robertson, Geo. S. (1921) ..... Fidelity Building
Robertson, Mrs. Hughes (1940) ..... Chenar Farm, Easton, Md.
Robertson, Mrs. John C. (Edith Harlan Reed) (1938) .... 79 Shipwright St., Annapolis, Md.
Robinson, J. Ben, D. D. S., (1928) ..... Medical Arts Bldg.
Robinson, Ralph (1894) ..... Maryland Trust Bldg.
Robinson, Ralph J. (1934) ..... 22 Light St.
Rodgers, Maurice Falconer (1937) ..... 505 Orkney Rd.
Rogers, Miss Maria R. (1936) ..... Pikesville, Md.
Rogers, Mrs. Wm. F. (1927) ..... 5308 Stonington Ave., Howard Park
Rohrer, C. W. G., M. D. (1910) ..... 2814 Ailsa Ave.
Rose, Douglas H. (1898) ..... 10 South St.
Rose, Douglas H., 2d (1940) ..... Fidelity Trust Co.
Rose, R. Contee (1935) ..... 301 Oakdale Rd.
Rouse, John G. (1928) ..... 403 Somerset Rd.
Rouzer, E. McClure (1920) ..... Calvert Bldg.
Rowe, Miss Georgia M. (1925) ..... 2321 N. Calvert St.
Rowland, Samuel C. (1923) ..... First National Bank Bldg.
Ruark, Elmer F. (1939) ..... Pres. Wicomico Historical Society, Salisbury, Md.
Rumsey, Charles L., M. D. (1919) ..... 812 Park Ave.
*Ryan, Timothy J., Jr. (1938) ..... 1825 E. Baltimore St.

Sadtler, Miss Florence P. (1925) ..... 2605 N. Charles St.
Sanger, Mrs. Frank Dyer (1939) ..... Ruxton, Md.
Sappington, Mrs. Edith M. (1937) ..... 2931 N. Calvert St.
Sattler, Mrs. Augustus Edmund (1937) ..... 3904 St. Paul St.
Scarff, John Henry (1939) ..... Keyser Bldg.
Scarlett, Charles E., Jr. (1937) ..... 303 Northway
Schoenfield, Mrs. Frederick (Virginia Berkley Bowie) (1928) 1409 Hillside Rd., Wynnewood, Penna.
Scholtz, Karl A. M. (1937) ..... 334 St. Paul St.
Scott, Miss Dorothy McIlvain (1937) .... Warrington Apts.
Scott, James W. (1935) ..... 213 W. Monument St.
Scott, Mrs. T. Quincy (1937) ..... Warrington Apts.
Scott, Mrs. William Dodds (1929) (Katherine Fairfax Kimberly) .... 3908 Hadley Square
Sealock, Richard B. (1940) ..... 3819 Penhurst Ave.
Seeman, Frederick C. (1919) ..... 110 Hopkins Place
Seitz, Mrs. S. Clayton (1934) ..... Towson, Md.
Selden, Albert A. (1935) ..... Rehoboth, Del.
Selfe, Mrs. Lee Webster (1934) ..... 2420 16th St., Washington, D. C.
Semmes, Miss Frances C. (1929) ..... 222 W. Lanvale St.
Semmes, John E., Jr. (1916) ..... First National Bank Bldg.
Semmes, Raphael (1923) ..... Latrobe Apts.
Severn, Edwin F. (1936) ..... 55 Oregon Ave., Halethorpe, Md.
Shackelford, Wm. T. (1926) ..... Earl Court Apts.
Shamer, Maurice Emory (1924) ..... 3300 W. North Ave.
Shannahan, E. McNeal (1936) ..... Easton, Md.
Shaw, John K., Jr. (1927) ..... Eccleston Station, Md.
Shepherd, Major Tryon Mason U. S. A. (1939) ..... Madison Barracks, Sackets Harbor, N. Y.
Sherwood, Donald H. (1939) ..... Box 1604, Baltimore, Md.
Sherwood, John W. (1939) ..... Baltimore Trust Bldg.
Sherwood, Watson E. (1931) ..... 5201 St. Albans Way
Shipley, Arthur M. (1935) ..... 507 Edgevale Rd.
Shipley, George (1924) ..... Fairhaven, Easton, Md.
Shipley, Mrs. Marvin R. (1927) ..... Harman's, Md.

Shoemaker, Mrs. Edward (1919).....1031 N. Calvert St.
Showacre, Miss Elizabeth B. (1932).....3701 Garrison Blvd.
Shreve, Levin Gale (1938).....127 W. Lanvale St.
Shriver, Mrs. Edward Jenkins (1936)....205 Ridgewood Rd.
Shriver, George M. (1935).....Old Court Rd.
Shure, Austin F. (1932).....3531 Wabash Ave.
Sill, Mrs. Howard (1928).....1203 St. Paul St.
Simpson, Mrs. Edward (1935).....1528 Bolton St.
Sioussat, Mrs. Annie Leakin (1891).....1000 N. Charles St.
Skeen, John H. (1927).....First National Bank Bldg.
Skinner, M. E. (1897).....1103 Fidelity Bldg.
Skirven, Percy G. (1914).....2800 Reistertown Rd.
Slack, Dr. & Mrs. Harry R., Jr. (1938)..8 Bishop's Rd.
Slagle, A. Russell (1937).....4803 Roland Ave.
Slemmer, Mrs. William R. (Martha Kemp) (1938)..... "Kembire," Frederick, Md.
Slingluff, Jesse (1936).....Md. Trust Bldg.
Sloan, Miss Anne M. (1924).....Lonaconing, Md.
Slocum, Mrs. Geo. Washington (1925)...4100 N. Charles St.
Smith, Charles Stephenson (1940)..... "Havre de Venture," Port Tobacco, Md.
Smith, Miss Grace Vernon (1940).....Ridgely, Md.
Smith, Mrs. Henry Edmond (1923).....Blandair, Ellicott City, Md.
Smith, Mrs. James S. (1928).....Annapolis Blvd., Brooklyn, Md.
Smith, R. Manson (1937).....c/o Mercantile Trust Co.
Smith, R. Marsden (1939).....110 Upnor Rd.
Smith, Mrs. Tunstall (1935).....Preston Apts.
Smith, Winford H., M. D. (1939).....Johns Hopkins Hospital
Snow, Mrs. Henry (Maud Birnie Cary) (1925)..... 4824 Roland Avenue
Sollers, Basil (1933).....31 Irwin St., Portsmouth, Va.
Solter, George A. (1925).....Court House, City
Soper, Hon. Morris A. (1917).....102 W. 39th St.
Speer, J. Ramsey (1931).....Trappe, Talbot Co., Md.
Spence, Miss Lydia E. (1937).....626 S. Paca St.
Spencer, Miss Eleanor Patterson (1936)..Goucher College
Spilker, Miss Julia E. (1933).....Northway Apts.
Sprigg, James Cresap (1932).....Allston Apts.
Stanford, John Harwood (1937).....Munsey Bldg.
Stanley, John S. (1936).....First National Bank Bldg.
Stanley, William (1938).....Laurel, Md.
Stanton, Hon. Robert F. (1937)
Stanton, Mrs. Robert F. (1937).... 853 University Pkwy. W.
Steele, C. E. (1940).....Hagerstown, Md.
Steele, Miss Rosa (1925).....3809 N. Charles St.
Stettinius, Mrs. Wm. C. (1929).....Pot Spring Rd., Towson, Md.
Steuart, Lamar Hollyday (1928).....1311 John Street
Steuart, Richard D. (1919).....703 W. University Pkwy.
Steuart, Miss Susan Elliott (1929).....5709 Roland Ave.
Stick, Mrs. Gordon M. F. (Anna Howard Fitchett) (1930)..... Glenarm, Maryland
Stieff, Gideon N. (1939).....Wyman Park Driveway
Stoll, Mrs. Conrad (1926).....Brooklyn, Md.
Stork, Wm. B., Lt. U. S. Navy, Ret. (1928)..... 3923 Canterbury Rd.
Storm, William M. (1926).....Frederick, Md.
Stow, John Carroll (1933).....4001 N. Charles St.
Stran, Mrs. Thomas P. (Caroline S. Bansemer) (1929).. Ambassador Apts.

* Deceased.

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Stritehoff, Nelson H. (1937) ..... 327 Paddington Rd.
Strong, Gordon (1936) ..... Sugar Loaf Mountain, Dickerson Sta., Md.
Stuart, Miss Frances E. (1940) ..... Chestertown, Md.
*Stuart, Miss Sarah Elizabeth (1915) .... Chestertown, Md.
Stump, John B. (1937) ..... Bel Air, Md.
Sullivan, Mrs. Felix R., Jr. (1922) ..... 1605 Park Ave.
*Sullivan, Mrs. Mark (1939) ..... 2437 Pickwick Rd.
*Summers, Clinton (1916) ..... 1 Bedford Place
Swain, Robert L., M. D. (1936) ..... 7712 35th Ave., Jackson Hgts., L. I.
Swann, Don (1935) ..... 879 Park Ave.
Sweeny, Mrs. Louis F. (1919) ..... 2844 N. Calvert St.
Symington, Mrs. Donald (1938) ..... Darlington, Md.
Symington, John F. (1924) ..... 1407 Philpot St.

Tabler, Dr. H. E. (1926) ..... Box 2, Hancock, Md.
Tall, Miss Lida Lee (1940) ..... 3401 Greenway
Taylor, Mrs. Clarence M. (1930) ..... 619 Orpington Rd.
Terwilliger, W. Bird (1941) ..... 5714 Lake Ave.
Thom, Mrs. Mary W. (1919) ..... Warrington Apts.
Thomas, Mrs. Douglas (Catherine Bowie Clagett) (1925) ..... 2739 N. Calvert St.
Thomas, Mrs. Harvey C. (1914) ..... Wyman Park Apts.
Thomas, Henry M., M. D. (1940) ..... 1201 N. Calvert St.
Thomas, Mrs. James Walter (1935) ..... Cumberland, Md.
Thomas, Mrs. William H. (1940) ..... Westminster, Md.
Thomas, William S. (1915) ..... 211 N. Calvert St.
Thompson, Miss Edith V. (1939) ..... 1412 E. Chase St.
Tiffany, Herbert T. (1919) ..... Severn Apts.
Tilghman, Lt. Col. Harrison (1917) .... Foxley Hall, Easton, Md.
Tilghman, J. Donnell (1928) ..... Easton, Md.
Tilghman, Tench Francis (1940) ..... 34 Maryland Ave., Annapolis, Md.
Tilghman, Mrs. William H. (Irma B.) (1934) ..... Salisbury, Md.
Tipton, L. Wylie (1937) ..... 2350 Eutaw Place
Tolley, Oscar Kemp (1938) ..... Corbett, Md.
Torrence, Robert M. (1933) ..... 110 Edgevale Rd.
Torrence, Mrs. Robert M. (1934) ..... 110 Edgevale Rd.
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Treide, Henry E. (1922) ..... 4201 St. Paul St.
Trimble, I. Ridgeway, M.D. (1939) ..... 8 W. Madison St.
Tubman, Mrs. Samuel A. (1921) ..... 2808 N. Calvert St.
Tucker, Mrs. Clarence A. (1922) ..... Sudbrook Park
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Turner, Mrs. Mary Ellis (1940) ..... Calvert Court Apts.
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Valentine, Miss Katherine (1928) ..... 1120 N. Calvert St.
Van Hollen, Donald B. (1925) ..... Cedarcroft & Hillen Rds., Cedarcroft
Veazey, George Ross (1940) ..... 107 Club Rd.
Veitch, Dr. Fletcher P. (1926) ..... College Park, Md.
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Wachter, Frank C. (1941) ..... 16 E. Madison St.
Wainwright, Charles W., M. D. (1940) 6004 Charlesmeade Rd.

Walker, Henry M. (1933) ..... 2927 N. Calvert St.
Wallace, Chas. C. (1915) ..... Union Trust Building
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Warfield, Edwin, Jr. (1914) ..... " Oakdale," Sykesville, Md.
Warfield, Henry M. (1937) ..... Timonium, Md.
Waring, Col. J. M. S. (1933) ..... 277 Park Ave., New York City
Waters, J. Seymour T. (1902) ..... 601 Calvert Building
Waters, Miss Mary E. (1916) ..... c/o English Speaking Union, Rockefeller Centre, New York City
Watkins, Ira D. (1939) ..... Mount Airy, Md.
Watson, Mark Skinner (1938) ..... 1 Merryman Court
Webb, Miss Celeste (1930) ..... 9 Wendover Rd.
Webb-Peploe, Mrs. Laura Hammond (1922) ..... 3927 Canterbury Rd.
Webber, Charles R. (1920) ..... B. and O. Building
Weisberger, Siegfried (1941) ..... 913 N. Charles St.
Weiskittel, Harry C. (1938) ..... 3022 St. Paul St.
Weld, Mrs. Charles R. (1937) ..... 119 W. Franklin St.
Welsh, Mrs. Robert A. (1916) ..... Millersville, A. A. Co., Md.
*Wetherall, Wm. G. (1924) ..... 317 W. President St.
Whedbee, James S. (1927) ..... Maryland Life Insurance Bldg.
Wheeler, Elliott (1935) ..... " Canterbury," Easton, Md.
Wheeler, Joseph L. (1927) ..... Enoch Pratt Free Library
Wheeler, H. Lawrence (1935) ..... 2910 Hollins Ferry Road
Whitcraft, Franklin P., Jr. (1937) ..... Lutherville, Md.
White, Charles Hoover (1923) ..... Rolling Road, Relay, Md.
White, Mrs. George Howard, Jr. (1920) .. Upperville, Va.
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White, Mrs. John Odenheimer (1937) ... Sudbrook Park, Md.
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Wickes, Walter (1928) .....
Wiegand, Henry H. (1923) ..... 4614 Roland Ave.
Wild, Mrs. Michael B. (1922) ..... 928 Cathedral St.
Wilkinson, A. L., M. D. (1923) ..... Raspeburg, Baltimore, Md.
Wilkinson, Charles M. (1933) ..... 638 W. North Ave.
Willard, Daniel (1913) ..... B. & O. Building
Willard, Miss Jessie C (1931) ..... 3907 Greenway
Willard, Samuel L. (1937) ..... 3907 Greenway
Williams, E. A. (1920) ..... 1430 John St.
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Williams, Mrs. Huntington (Mary Camilla McKim) (1937) ..... 620 W. Belvedere Ave.
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Williams, Raymond S. (1940) ..... First National Bank Bldg.
Williams, Roger B. (1928) ..... 3209 N. Charles St.
Willson, Mrs. Notley (Mary R. Camp) (1917) ..... Rock Hall, Md.
Wilson, Mrs. John Glover (1937) ..... 325 Tuscany Rd.
*Wilson, Mrs. Marshall (1939) ..... Hagerstown, Md.

* Deceased.

Wilson, Miss Virginia A. (1926).....Northway Apts.
Winchester, Marshall (1902).....21 W. Chase St.
*Winebrenner, David C. (1939).....Frederick, Md.
Wirgman, Harold F., Lt. Col. U. S. M. C., Ret. (1936)..... } Annapolis Club, Annapolis, Md.
Wood, Frederick Wm. (1926)..... } 2429 Keyworth Ave.
Wood, Mrs. Frederick Wm. (1926).. }
Woodcock, Gen. Amos W. W. (1939)..Salisbury, Md.
Wootton, William H. (1939).....101 E. Redwood St.
Worthington, Edward L. (1924).....1513 Virginia Ave., Charlottesville, Va.
Worthington, Ellicott H. (1917).....1531 Bolton St.
Worthington, Lt. Leland Griffith (1935)..Berwyn, Md.
Wright, W. H. DeCoursey (1921).....Monkton, Md.
Wright, Maj. Wm. Burnett (1936).....806 W. University Pkwy.
Wroth, Lawrence C. (1909).....John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I.
Wroth, Peregrine, Jr., M. D. (1921)....Hagerstown, Md.

Young, Andrew J., Jr. (1916).....34 Central Savings Bank Bldg.
Young, Mrs. Henry S. (1939).....106 Bridge St., Elkton, Md.
Young, Hugh Hampton, M. D. (1934)..Cold Spring Lane
Young, J. Forney (1940).....Hagerstown, Md.

Zimmerman, Louis S. (1939).....Severna Park, Md.
Zimmermann, Charles W. (1929).....1922 W. Baltimore St.
Zoller, Mrs. Henry., Jr. (1938).....11 Charlcote Place

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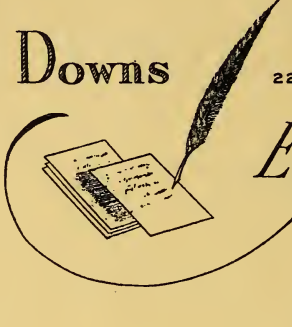

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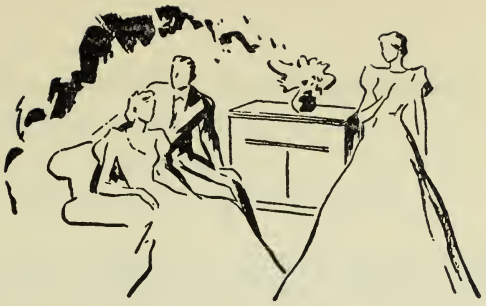

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The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1843, has been engaged in collecting, preserving and disseminating information relating to the history of the State. Through its services to scholars and others in making available collections of research materials, and through its publications, the Society has occupied and always should occupy an important place in the cultural life of Maryland.

Since 1906 the Society has published *The Maryland Historical Magazine.* There are monthly meetings from October to May, inclusive, at which addresses of a historical or literary nature are given. Those interested in the objects of the Society are invited to have their names proposed for membership. The annual dues are $5.00, life membership $100.00. Subscription to *The Maryland Historical Magazine* is included in the membership fee of five dollars, as well as the use of the Society's collections and admission to the monthly lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open on every day of the week except Sundays.

The Society depends on the people of Maryland and its friends elsewhere for its maintenance. The gift of documents and books and donations or bequests to the endowment fund, have made it possible to build up a notable historical library. The collections include not only manuscripts dealing with the social, political and military history of the State, but also letters, diaries, business accounts, maps, newspapers, pamphlets, prints and photographs. Only by a continuance of interest in the Society will it be possible to preserve and catalogue its present collections and, of equal importance, to acquire new documents recording the rich history of the people of Maryland. In short, the usefulness of the Maryland Historical Society depends not only upon the number of its members, but upon their generosity as well.

The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

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THE REVOLUTIONARY IMPULSE IN MARYLAND

By CHARLES A. BARKER

Some ten years ago, when the present writer was beginning a study of revolutionary origins in Maryland, he planned a book in terms of the scholarship of the American Revolution. He thought then as he does now that the significance and meaning of the Revolution is to be understood only in detailed and inclusive terms—agriculture and trade as well as taxation, habits of thought as well as political argument. Maryland offered an unstudied case-history. The core of the problem was to investigate the conditions and movements of Maryland history in the eighteenth century, and to establish their dynamic connection with the national movement of separation from Great Britain.

Now that the account is rendered,[1] and the editor of the *Magazine* has generously invited a general comment on the investigation as a whole, the events of the year 1941 add a new and poignant interest to Anglo-American history. Today the independent United States is consciously re-entering the area of world politics as it never has before; the orbit begun by departure from the British Empire a century and two-thirds ago is visibly closing; national policy declares that the fate of Great Britain is inextricably our own. Such a declaration gives a fresh significance to the separation effected by the Revolution: was it a deep clean break, or was it

[1] Barker, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940). As my invitation is to submit to readers of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* my reflections on the subject of the book, I feel free to dispense with elaborate documentation below. The book itself will supply documentation and detail for those who want them.

incomplete and superficial? What does the case of Maryland tell us on the point?

As we search out the origins of Maryland's separation from the mother country, we may well consider large things first, those intellectual influences toward liberalism which were not truly local but common to British culture everywhere, at home and overseas alike. Then we may gradually narrow the focus. There were certain emancipating influences, political and commercial, which were markedly American not British, such as the self-conscious aggressiveness of the assemblies and the economic independence of the merchants. They were important in Maryland. Finally we shall need to narrow our vision to the very particular. Certain distressed features of the tobacco-staple economy and the hopelessly divided structure of provincial politics, unique in Maryland, are necessary to understand the intensity of the revolutionary impulse when it came.

The very largest thing in the British Commonwealth of Nations today, as its spokesmen are proud to say, is its common mind and its set of liberal principles. In the long view, much the same thing was true of the old colonial system of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Far less was said then than now about a common political mentality or a common civilization; British liberalism was not yet mature or democratic in implication and appeal. Yet the prominence of mercantilism in the colonial period, with its accents on trade and central control, should not obscure the fact that there did overarch the British and British-American world a common English-speaking and English-feeling culture which was richer and more enduring than trade regulation. It was a culture which in its more liberal and conscious aspects stemmed largely from England's own revolutionary and early-scientific period of the seventeenth century, and which was destined in due time to contribute emancipating ideas to the revolutionary movements in America and Europe alike. This culture was partly a political thing: it conveyed the natural-rights philosophy in the writings of Coke and Locke and many others; and it conveyed a faith in constitutional government which came close to constitution-worship. It also practiced such a tolerance of religious and political differences as evoked the praise of Voltaire, who was used to Roman Catholic intolerance in France, and that of the young Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who resented the colonial

anti-Catholicism of the French and Indian War period. It equally expressed recognition of science, summed up in the reputation of Sir Isaac Newton; and it produced a contemporary literature which was inspired, Gibbon said, by " the spirit of reason and liberty."

Maryland had a generous share of this English culture. The libraries of well-to-do provincials testify to tastes which had been cultivated during periods of study in England. Stephen Bordley and various members of the Carroll family, for example, all had a special taste for the classics, particularly Latin letters and literature; their own correspondences include discussions of the merits of ancient statesmen as set forth by historians of the period. Such private libraries as theirs, as well as the circulating libraries which were launched in the dozen or so years before the Revolution, plainly indicate a wide preference for works of history and political thought; they also indicate special enthusiasm for the English poets, essayists, and novelists from the age of Dryden to contemporary publication. The importation of books into late colonial Maryland of course included much that is less marked with the special stamp of the Enlightenment: older works of English literature, handbooks of trade, books of law, and occasional volumes of divinity. But the accent on modern liberal letters is very plain, in no instances more so than in the Catholic Carroll's fondness for Voltaire, and in the occasional purchase of other French writers such as Bayle, Montesquieu, and Rousseau.

Maryland's own literary product, although it was a minor literature of newspaper essay and other ephemeral writing, exactly caught the modern accent. The gentlemen of the social and literary clubs around Annapolis, of which the well-known Tuesday Club was only one, produced their own mock-heroics after the manner of Butler; and Dr. Hamilton wrote a club history in an ironic and moralistic vein. The *Maryland Almanack,* like the better-known almanacs of Franklin and Ames, was penetrated with worldly wisdom and rationalistic thought. More particularly the weekly *Maryland Gazette,* until 1773 the one newspaper in the province, carried critical essays on government, society, history, and religion. The sharpness and the unanimity of this writing is more suggestive than the amount: there was only the one kind of literature in Maryland, and the thinking it expressed had the same critical quality and the same intellectual independence as Franklin's and Zenger's famous newspapers in Philadelphia and New York.

All this refers, of course, particularly to the members of the upper class—to men of education and social standing who had had a classical education, who belonged to clubs, who could express themselves in Addisonian essays. What of the ideas and attitudes of the lower classes? What particularly of the class of freemen who owned sufficient land to vote, but who as small planters had little or no education? Could they share the critical modernism of the well-to-do?

About the only direct evidence is that of religion in the established church, and it is such as to suggest that the ideas of the Enlightenment cut deep into the lower levels of society. Such clergymen as Hugh Jones and Thomas Bacon reported widespread deism in the parishes. They and their sort may have been alarmists, but they leave a picture of religious coolness, of scepticism about revelation, and of the decline of family worship; such a picture conforms nicely with the pattern of thought familiar in the upper class. With exceptions for the piety of the German sectarians and the Methodists of northern and western Maryland, and in spite of the opposition of religious individuals of the lower counties, it does seem that the critical secular spirit reached very far in Maryland. And, as religious rationalism and political Whiggism were intellectual twins in the British world, equal offspring of the natural-law philosophy, it seems farther that the Maryland mind was well prepared to receive the arguments of political liberalism, even of revolution. England had exported to the colony the hardy habit of critical thought, and the habit had taken many roots.

As Maryland shared a national culture that was at once British and American, so it also shared with all the other colonies an increasing movement of self-government in America. From the very earliest years of its history, the province had had an assembly; in a remarkably short period that assembly had established itself as a true legislature with powers to introduce and to enact laws of all kinds. A similar degree of autonomy prevailed in the whole British colonial world of the mid-eighteenth century. By that time a normal type of government had emerged; with the exception of Connecticut and Rhode Island, all the colonies were organized as provinces under crown or proprietor. Under this form government had been stabilized as a divided thing: the source and focus of authority was located in the mother country, and administration and legislation were located in America. Cer-

tain special institutional and political tensions and rivalries, which we shall have to consider later, were to flow from Maryland's peculiar proprietary control, as established by the charter of 1632. But in all the larger aspects Maryland's provincial government was the same as in Virginia and the other royal colonies. Authoritarian control from the mother country, represented by a governor and other officials appointed by the lord proprietor, was met and balanced by legislation in the elected assembly, by the custom of the country, by the political pride and self-consciousness of a growing and promising community.

The elected houses of all the colonial assemblies—whatever their individual differences—shared a common language of argument in asserting their ambition for power. It was the language of English constitutionalism or parliamentarianism, which had matured and gained currency in the course of the seventeenth century at home. Maryland excelled in its use. As early as 1638 the assembly declared that its members should have "powers, privileges, authority, and jurisdiction" similar to those of the House of Commons; in 1682 it was second only to Jamaica in winning a full grant of its right to parliamentary privileges; and in 1725 it employed the language of parliamentary privilege to justify itself in an endeavor to fix certain rules for the governor in the appointment of the county judges. As parliamentary privilege was thus stretched into an elastic formula expressing the will of the legislature to rule, so also other features of the British tradition were borrowed and adapted to the needs of Maryland. Each new session began with the presentation of the speaker of the House of Delegates to the governor, much as the speaker of the House of Commons was presented to the King; standing committees were set up with names and functions much like those of historic committees of the Commons; officials were regularly elected and rules of procedure adopted exactly on the English pattern. There was convenience in such arrangements, of course; the Delegates had business to do, and there was practical advantage in following a successful model. But close imitation of the Mother of Parliaments expressed a feeling of ambition even more than of convenience; to act in parliamentary way created overtones of parliamentary power, and colonial hearing was keyed to such tones.

The natural-rights philosophy, moreover, supplied another indication of political strength on the American side of the pro-

vincial structure of government. Here was a less used but more formidable weapon of political advance than the assertion of parliamentary traditions. A precedent borrowed from the House of Commons had the weakness of argument by analogy; a spokesman for the opposition, as was Attorney-General Pratt during the French and Indian War, might simply declare the precedent to have no meaning in an American legislature. But natural law—which seems to have been as well known to Marylanders from Coke's writings as from Locke's own—admitted no sifting of precedents. Ultimately moral and metaphysical in basis, an argument based upon it could not be crushed by weight of proprietary or other authority; it was universal in its claim. Thus, when in 1725 the House of Delegates declared that, " It is we that are the people's representatives for whom all laws are made and human government established," or when it informed the appointed council that an " ample and full power of legislation is lodged in this province," it attached its political position to an article of faith—to the then modern and always liberal position that government is in its very nature derived from people not kings. In Maryland, and everywhere in America, theory was matching precedent as it contributed to the conviction that the real seat of political power lay, not where commissions were issued and instructions prepared, in England, but where laws were enacted and administered, and where the will of the people was expressed.

In the two types of political thinking just described and illustrated as of about 1725, there will be recognized the same two types as were to be evoked, on a national scale, during the critical dozen years beginning in 1764. An argument which was more historical and precedent-stating than philosophical was to be marshaled against the Stamp Act: in such terms the Marylander Daniel Dulany was to plead for all the colonies. But in the deeper crisis of 1776 the ultimate philosophical argument alone, the assertion of rights against tyranny, was to suffice: the more sweeping mind of Thomas Jefferson was then to be required. The logical progression from the more moderate and legalistic constitutionalism of 1765 to the more radical and theoretical justification of revolution in 1776 has sometimes been made to seem more of a change of mind than actually it was. The case of the Maryland House of Delegates during the half-century before the Revolution is a useful reminder that in the colonial mind, as in the political

thinking of seventeenth-century England, the deepening of the parliamentary tradition and the expression of the fundamental-rights philosophy were merely two phases of the same emerging liberalism. They supported each other. And in using the two together, the Maryland House of Delegates placed itself in an interesting historical position: it was borrowing intellectual resources from the revolutionary age of the mother country; and it was using those resources to justify and strengthen self-government in America.

As we approach the significant economic movements of pre-revolutionary Maryland, we may narrow our focus to agriculture and trade, and particularly to the areas of the lower Chesapeake and Potomac where tobacco-raising was concentrated. In this instance, local conditions of production and marketing tell us more of the revolutionary impulse than do the wider aspects of the British regulation of trade. Yet the surrounding framework of British mercantilism did set the stage: Maryland as a tobacco-staple-producing area was obliged under the English act of 1660 to concentrate its trade in the mother country. The law required that colonial tobacco be sold in Great Britain or the colonies; and, because the very great part of the consumers' market for Maryland tobacco lay on the continent of Europe, the application of the law meant that nearly all of Maryland's staple was consigned to British merchants for reconsignment and sale abroad. This condition of the principal export trade focused the credit of the province and fixed the import market very largely at the "head of trade" in England. Thus Maryland planters and merchants were direct participators in a great overseas trading system, and as such they experienced the recurrent adversities of general depression. Yet they never made public protest against mercantilism, either in principle or in opposition to the administration of the old acts of navigation; any smuggling in contradiction to the laws was at a minimum. Their economic grievances they conceived in the more particular terms of tobacco-raising and selling, and of the specific practical difficulties of doing business overseas.

In the half-century before the Revolution those difficulties were continuous and serious. On the whole the period was one of great expansion: the population approximately trebled, reaching about a quarter-million at the time of independence; great fortunes were made, partly through speculation; towns rose and grew where

there had been none before—particularly Baltimore, Frederick, and Hagerstown. But in this period the annual exportation of tobacco expanded hardly at all, and there were several intervals, conforming to the wars and to depressions common to Britain and all the colonies, when the export of tobacco dropped alarmingly low. In so thoroughly agrarian an economy as that of Maryland (and Virginia) there was no general problem of subsistence—the problem of depression never became so serious a social problem then as it now is. But hard times made a burden of the vast complex of debts which extended, under normal credit arrangements, from provincial consumers of all classes through the middlemen to the ultimate creditors in the export business in Britain. Debts then as always were a worrying business; and in the most difficult times Maryland feeling translated them from private and individual transactions into the language of common protest.

Such questions came to their first full public discussions on the occasion which made full discussion possible, the setting up of William Parks' printing press and the launching of the *Maryland Gazette* in 1727. This was a period of the severest stringency; and pamphlets and newspaper columns debated the plight of the planters in elaborate and informing detail. Various remedies were proposed. The British merchants who managed the foreign sale of the tobacco might be drawn into a trade agreement in support of tobacco prices; the assembly might pass legislation fixing requirements of quality for tobacco to be exported, a program favorable to the large planters; or it might pass restrictions on the amount of tobacco to be planted, a plan favorable to the small planters. Discussion led to a moderate degree of action. In due course, the two types of tobacco legislation were tentatively tried, in 1727 and in 1728 and 1730; and in 1728 a trade agreement was attempted. No remedy really succeeded, however, and in 1733 a paper-money law accomplished more than any other measure to relieve the depression in the province.

Between that time and 1747, the year in which the assembly enacted a tobacco-inspection system on the model of the successful Virginia experiment, the province evolved a sort of double-headed economic policy. In the seventeen-thirties a considerable number of statutes was passed which may be grouped in so far as they all encouraged economic diversification; this was an effort

to escape such complete dependence on the staple as had seemed the hardest feature of the recent depression. Various provisions, in the form of bounties and tax-exemptions, were enacted for the encouragement of hemp-raising, linen manufacture, iron production, and copper-mining. The other object of the developing economic policy was the old one, the regulation of the tobacco trade with a purpose to improve sales overseas. This was accomplished with the law of 1747: it provided for the erection of public warehouses and the appointment of inspectors at designated official ports; all tobacco was required to pass examination as to quality before exportation; the administration of the law was placed under the supervision of the justice of the peace in the counties.

These economic undertakings have a significance of self-government entirely in character with the assembly's assertions of parliamentary privileges and fundamental rights. The laws in favor of paper money, new industries, and tobacco regulation created a public and political interest where there had previously been very little or none. The tobacco-inspection law had, in addition, a yet more specific political meaning. The House of Delegates, in the knowledge that the proprietary upper house wanted an inspection system as much as it did itself, refused to pass the law without clauses which provided for a scaling-down of the fees charged by provincial officials and for a twenty-five per-cent reduction of the tax for the salaries of the established clergy. As officials and clergymen alike were the appointees of the lord proprietor or of one of his high officers of state, these reductions were a matter of long political bargaining. This particular success became a point of pride with the Delegates. On the eve of the Revolution, the house stretched the precedent of having won a reduction of fees in 1747 to assert that the legislature had established an exclusive jurisdiction, and that when the law expired no fees could be collected without new legislation. The proprietary council of course refused to concede such a sweeping claim.

To return to the problem of provincial economic policy, we can now see, with the advantage of hindsight, that economic diversification and the state-regulation of tobacco together marked a step in separation from the mercantilist intention of the mother country. In a superficial sense, indeed, tobacco inspection conformed with the general interest—it was devised to improve a

staple trade which itself operated comfortably in line with British policy. But the act signified the contraction of this trade, not its expansion; it involved the local regulation of commerce, not the national. And the acts for advancing other industries than tobacco, except in the case of iron, were favorable to products which entered the intercolonial trade or the trade with southern Europe and the wine islands, and had little use to expand the trade with Great Britain. The relevant statistics are few and far-between, but the best indications suggest that, about 1760, two-thirds of Maryland's trade was with Great Britain, and that one-third, representing a vast increase, was with the other colonies or with southern Europe and the islands. This trend, while in no sense in violation of the acts of trade, does indicate a departure from the traditional policy of mercantilism. It indicates an Americanization of trade—shifting of lines to fit provincial needs—in place of the British predominance which had been the rule.

The final narrowing of our historical focus, in seeking out the tensions and conditions productive of the revolutionary impulse, must bring into view certain special features of Maryland's institutions and politics. We have already seen that provincial government in its nature involved a difficult reach in administration overseas, between authoritative control in the mother country and the processes of administration and law-making in the colony. In the case of Maryland, the charter of 1632 had defined the powers and privileges of the lord proprietor, the authoritative head, in uniquely feudal and reactionary language. Thus when the House of Delegates adopted the modern language and tactics of parliamentary precedent, the strain between the two sides of the provincial structure became almost more than politics could bear. With reference to the difficulties of the seventeenth century, Professor Andrews has well expressed the permanent situation:

> When the [proprietary] upper house spoke of its privilege, honor, and dignity, it was referring to a charter the terms of which are traceable to the fourteenth century; when the lower house spoke of its privileges, it had in mind the precedents and practices of the House of Commons in the seventeenth century.[2]

In the eighteenth century this continuing difference of principle

[2] Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History,* II (New Haven, 1936), 327.

was matched by an equal difference of interest. It was a plain matter of money and power.

The royal charter had conveyed to the lords proprietors legal rights which only waited on the occupation of land and the development of trade to become transformed into a vastly productive property. No proprietors were ever more insistent than Charles and Frederick, the fifth and the sixth Lords Baltimore, to have developed the machinery of administration and collection which would secure them the land revenues and other sources of income which were their right. Between 1762 and 1771 Frederick, Lord Baltimore, received from his agent in Maryland a total income of nearly £119,000, or an average of more than £13,200 annually. About two-thirds of the eighteenth-century proprietor's income derived from his rights in the soil, principally quit-rents and purchase-money; about one-third derived from minor sources and from port duties which had been enacted decades earlier and were now regretted by the assembly. Beside what the proprietor received personally, he controlled patronage offices worth about £12,000 annually, and he controlled church appointments worth about £8,000. Thus we reach a total of about £33,000 to represent the annual worth of the province to Lord Baltimore and his appointees, as of the later years of the colonial period.

In terms of any contemporary comparison, this was a great amount. In 1767 Governor Sharpe made an estimate of the annual cost to Maryland of those charges of government which did not involve patronage—the payment of county and parish expenses and the support of the courts and the legislature. In round figures the estimate was £18,000; and this makes it appear that proprietary and patronage benefits amounted to more than two-thirds again as much as public services. Or, in an economic comparison, the £33,000 of private benefits was roughly equivalent to an 18% tax on Maryand's annual purchasing power in Great Britain, as established by the export trade. In cold statistical fact, the proprietary system was expensive for the people of Maryland to maintain.

This was the interest, so well guaranteed by charter provision, which the House of Delegates faced in natural hostility. Colonial jealousy of an absentee landlord was inevitable; but the fact alone that Lord Baltimore had a very large stake in the institutional order of Maryland was something that could hardly be expressed

as a grievance. The delegates themselves were almost to a man the holders of large estates; their leaders were usually the principal lawyers of Maryland. In the common understanding of the eighteenth century, moreover, governmental office was not a public trust; it was a property right; and offices were commonly bought, sold, and inherited in Great Britain. And yet, through a long generation before the Revolution, a general consciousness of financial exploitation permeated the assembly struggle against the powers and prerogatives of Lord Baltimore. The House of Delegates seized whatever weapons it could to attack his privileges. It criticized the method of collecting quit-rents; it found grounds for objecting to alienation fines; it declared the permanent duty act of 1704 to be technically invalid; it resolved that proprietary officials had no right to collect the license fees paid by ordinary-keepers. Through long periods, these scattering attacks were supported rather by heat than by concentrated force; but occasionally, as in the case of the ordinary licenses, the lower house won a concession.

In the half-century before the Revolution two major influences did give the Delegates some real political leverage. The first we have already seen: the necessity of tobacco legislation obliged the two houses of assembly to make concessions, and the Delegates always regarded the statutory reduction of fees and the church tax as a greater political victory than it really was. The other point of political advantage was the necessity imposed by the wars with Spain and France for the governors to ask the assembly for fresh appropriations and taxes. This influence gave occasion for the most advanced proposals of the lower house: it would agree to pass the desired bills only on condition that the lord proprietor would make certain concessions.

Significantly enough, the first war year, 1739, was also the first year of a frontal political attack on the major financial privileges of Lord Baltimore. In a kind of manifesto, which followed a long period of controversy over a defense tax, the House of Delegates resolved in part that,

> The people of Maryland thinks the proprietor takes money from them unlawfully.
> The proprietary says he has a right to that money.

Accordingly, the resolutions went on, the house must appeal to the judgment of the crown for a decision which will bring order and

common agreement into Maryland affairs. Thus was launched an effort which persisted for thirty-five years, that is, until the final session of the colonial assembly in 1774. The underlying thought was that if the king in council heard and judged the practices of the lord proprietor, reform would be ordered or the proprietary government would be dissolved. Twice, namely in 1740 and in 1767, the Delegates reached the point of designating a colonial agent to plead their cause. But this political thrust never actually reached the king, and it probably would have failed if it had.

The significance of appeal to the crown is hardly less great in failure, however, than it would have been in success. This quixotic effort to destroy or transform Lord Baltimore's charter rights amply indicates that, for more than three decades before the Boston Port Act, the House of Delegates had advanced as far as possible in the assertion of legislative supremacy and of self-government. In this instance, the political aims of the lower house fully conformed with the familiar high language of parliamentary tradition and fundamental rights. And when the method of appeal to England failed, as particularly in 1767, that failure was not taken to signify that the policy of extremism was to be abandoned. Failure merely forced the impulse of political protest to flow into new channels. It did not change the objective. It compelled the House of Delegates to take its affairs out-of-doors and share them more fully with the voters of Maryland. During the French and Indian War period, when the lower house stood in the most irreconcilable disagreement with the proprietor, governor, and appointed council, the voters of certain counties began for the first time to " instruct " their members. This was a newly democratic procedure familiar in the New England townships but not in class-conscious Maryland. And in 1771 and 1773, the years of final and demoralizing conflict within the provincial system, voluntary committees took over some of the functions of government; the fee-incomes of some of the high officials were publicized in the newspaper; the salaries of many clergymen were withheld; and, generally, there was an unprecedented amount of public discussion and public participation in governmental business. If the king in council would not speak on the merits of Maryland affairs, the people themselves were ready to do so. Their sentiment was quite as anti-proprietary as the policy of the lower house.

Against such a background Maryland moved into the period of

active revolution. In common with the other colonies, the province was galvanized into protest and action by the familiar catastrophies of British policy in 1765, 1767, and 1774. We need not review that chain of events at this time. Nor would much more than an addition to the story of aggravation be gained by analysis of the peculiarly severe depression in the tobacco trade during the middle seventeen-sixties. Plainly the various stages of imperial policy represented by Grenville, Townshend, and Lord North were all of a sort to offend the doubly rooted Whiggism of Maryland political thought. And equally the political habit of resistance, led as always by the men of substance and education in the province—the Carrolls, Bordleys, Tilghmans, Johnsons, and the like—was not such as to yield because one or another of George III's ministers succeeded, for the time being, in putting a new face on Britain's policy.

From a deeper background of national history Britain had long since exported to colonials overseas an early-modern liberal view of politics. Such a view had been accompanied and supported by a kindred liberal culture, the inheritance of the governing and educated classes. To the parliamentary Britain of the Pyms and Hampdens Maryland leadership was deeply and consciously loyal. The Britain of the fifth and sixth Lords Baltimore, of Grenville and North, on the other hand, the Maryland mind knew all too well. By long conviction and fixed habit it was ready to resist that Britain. Nor would it draw back when resistance led into revolution through the familiar paths of political protest and turmoil.

WILLIAM GODDARD'S VICTORY FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

By W. Bird Terwilliger

When William Goddard,[1] who had removed from Philadelphia to Baltimore in 1772, issued the first number of the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* on August 20, 1773, it was scarcely to be expected, in view of his previous stormy career in Providence, New York, and Philadelphia, that he would long conduct himself and his business in a manner calculated to promote peace and harmony between him and his fellow citizens. It was, however, nearly four years before he was at odds with any of the citizens in Baltimore, for the simple reason that, when he had been publishing the *Journal* for only six months, he turned the business over to his sister, Mary Katherine Goddard, a very capable editor and printer, and set about establishing the Constitutional Post Office, which later became the United States Post Office, a task which kept him away from Baltimore until near the end of the year 1776. It was soon after his return to the city that there occurred the first of the incidents which involved him in difficulties with certain self-constituted authorities, and eventually drove him to seek protection at the hands of the House of Delegates, and even from Governor Johnson himself. Material which has only recently been acquired through purchase by the Maryland Historical Society enables us to piece together and verify for the first time the complete story of this unpleasant affair.

The *Maryland Journal,* which in Goddard's absence had been edited and published by his sister Mary, was continued in her name for some time after her brother's return to Baltimore, possibly because of the financial position to which William Goddard had been reduced, although he resumed the active direction of the policies of the paper. It was accordingly by his authority that there appeared in the *Journal* for February 25, 1777, the following letter:

For the Maryland Journal, To the Printer.

Through the channels of your paper, I take the liberty to congratulate my countrymen on the important intelligence, this day received by

[1] For the best account of the life of William Goddard, see Lawrence C. Wroth, *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1686-1776,* Baltimore (Typothetae of Baltimore, 1922), pp. 119-146.

Congress.—The terms of peace offered, by *Howe,* to *America,* manifest the magnanimity, generosity, and virtue of the *British* nation. The offer of peace, and, in return, to require *only* our friendship, and a preference to our trade and commerce, bespeaks the ancient spirit of love and liberty, which were once the acknowledged and boasted characteristic of an Englishman. My soul overflows with gratitude to the patriotic virtuous King, the august incorruptible Parliament, and wise disinterested Ministry of *Britain.* I am lost in the contemplation of their private and public virtues. I disbelieve and forget, nay, will readily believe any assertion, that the monarch of *Britain* is a sullen and inexorable tyrant, the Parliament venal and corrupt, and the Ministry abandoned and bloody, as wicked and base calumnies. I am not able to express the feelings of my soul on the prospect of immediately seeing my native country blessed with peace and plenty. I am almost induced to complain of Congress, for concealing one moment these glad tidings: however, I will anticipate the pleasure, and claim thanks from all lovers of peace, for thus early communicating what may be relied upon as literally true.

Your's, &c.

TOM TELL-TRUTH

Baltimore, Feb. 20, 1777.

On the opposite page of the *Journal* was printed this letter:

For the MARYLAND JOURNAL.

Many and various stratagems have already been practised by the insidious and wicked Court of *Britain,* and her artful agents, to deceive and divide the open, generous, unsuspecting *Americans.* One more attempt is made. A report is industriously circulated, that the Commissioners of *Britain,* Lord and General *Howe,* through General *Lee,* have offered to Congress honourable terms of negotiation. Be not deceived my countrymen. Expect nothing but fraud, force, rapine, murder, and desolation, from the hands of the tyrant of *Britain,* and his base and bloody partisans. Neglect not one moment to collect your forces, to drive the enemies of peace, liberty and virtue from your country. Shun any connexion with the people of *Britain* as with a common and infected prostitute. The sun beholds not a more perfidious, corrupt and wicked people. My soul detests them as the gates of Hell.

I have it not in my power to communicate the letter from General *Lee* to Congress. I have seen his letters to his friends, to whom he writes, "That, by permission of Lord and General *Howe,* he has wrote to the Congress, requesting them to depute two or three gentlemen to *New-York,* to whom he wishes to communicate something, deeply interesting not only to himself, but, he thinks, the public."

"*Timeo Danaos, et Dona ferentes.*"

"I suspect the Commissioners, nay, their *most conciliating* OFFERS."

CAVETO!

Both pieces were written by Judge Samuel Chase.[2] The irony of the first is obvious, and should have prevented any doubt as to the patriotism of the author. Moreover, the second, with its direct contradiction of the superficial import of the first, should have neutralized any suspicion of Toryism on the part of the *Maryland Journal* which might have been aroused by "Tom Tell-Truth's" letter. Only a zealot could have discovered, on the basis of these two communications, any subversive tendency on the part of either the *Maryland Journal* or the author. But zealots were then, as now, not wanting. In this instance they were found in the membership of the Whig Club, a secret organization formed early in 1777, under an elaborate set of "Rules," for the purpose of protecting the State against traitors. On the evening of March 3, 1777, this club sent a delegation, consisting of Colonel Nathaniel Ramsay and George Turnbull,[3] to require Miss Goddard to reveal the name of the author of the "traitorous" letter of "Tom Tell-Truth," completely ignoring, as they did throughout the altercation which followed, the second letter, signed "Caveto." Mary Goddard referred these emissaries to her brother, saying that the letters had been printed by his authority. Upon Goddard's refusal to reveal the name of his contributor, the delegation returned to the club, which later the same evening sent Captain John Slaymaker to Goddard, with the following summons:

Requested that Mr. William Goddard do attend the Whig Club to Morrow Evening at Six oclock at the house of Mr. Rusk [a tavern keeper], to answer Such questions as may be asked him by the club, relative to a Publication in the Maryland Journal of last Week, under the Signature of Tom. Telltruth which has given great Offense to

3d March 1777

Many of your Whig Readers
LEGION [4]

Goddard informed Slaymaker that he felt under no compulsion to appear before such a self-constituted authority, whereupon a second delegation, consisting of Benjamin Nicholson, Nathaniel

[2] Chase's authorship is asserted by an annotation in Goddard's copy of *The Prowess of the Whig Club,* Part I, now in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society. See Wroth, *op. cit.,* note, p. 136.

[3] These men, and those named below, are named in the report of the Committee of Aggrievances and Courts of Justice, *Votes and Proceedings, House of Delegates,* March 10, 1777, p. 35.

[4] Manuscript in Library of the Maryland Historical Society.

Ramsay, Robert Buchanan, Hugh Young, and James Smith "(some of them armed)," called upon the printer and led him forcibly to Rusk's tavern, where the members were assembled " in Whig Club." He was again commanded to reveal the identity of " Tom Tell-Truth," and, upon his declining to do so, the following resolution was passed:

In WHIG CLUB. March 4, 1777

Resolved, that Mr. William Goddard do leave this town by twelve o'clock to-morrow morning, and the County within three days—Should he refuse due obedience to this notice, he will be subject to the resentment of a

LEGION.[5]

Goddard complied, as far as leaving town was concerned, but went straightway to Annapolis, where the Legislature was in session, and two days later, on March 6, submitted to the Council of Safety a memorial, which was laid before the House of Delegates on March 7. This memorial, in which Goddard related the affair from beginning to end, not neglecting to state that both letters had been written by a member of Congress, was referred to the Committee of Aggrievances and Courts of Justice. This committee three days later declared for Goddard in a report which summarized the episode and concluded as follows:

Your committee are of the opinion, that such proceedings are a manifest violation of the constitution, directly contrary to the declaration of rights assented to by the representatives of the freemen of his state and tend in their consequences (unless timely checked) to the overthrow of all regular government.

All which is submitted to the consideration of the honorable house.

By order of Com.

JOHN JOHNSON, clk.[6]

Next day the Whig Club issued the following handbill:

A late affair between The Whig Club' *and* Mr. William Goddard, *of this Town, having been the subject of much conversation, and having been also, by many, grossly misinterpreted,* The Whig Club *beg leave to* trouble *the Public with the following* true *and* plain *account of it.*

In a late Paper printed by M. K. Goddard, a piece appeared under the signature of *Tom Tell-Truth;* the intention of which was, ironically to

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[5] The above narrative summarizes the report of the Committee of Aggrievances and Courts of Justice before the House of Delegates, *V. & P., House of Delegates,* March 10, 1777, p. 35.

The notice of banishment was reprinted by Goddard in *The Prowess of the Whig Club,* Part I, now in the Library of Congress.

[6] *V. & P., House of Delegates,* March 10, 1777, p. 35.

sneer, at a silly report then prevailing, that General *Howe* had offered the most eligible terms of accommodation to Congress, which they had refused, and concealed them for the people. This *we* took to be the intention of that publication. But *we,* and with *us a very great majority* of the *readers of that paper,* thought the author *rather unfortunate* in framing his piece. *We* not only supposed that the ignorant and uninformed might mistake his intention, but *we* knew that *numbers* actually had *overlooked* the irony in *Tom Tell-Truth,* and mistaken it for a serious assertion of facts grounded on the *best* authority. Anxiously concerned for the bad effects which *might* attend the spreading of this error, *we* determined to find out the author, and to inform him of the light in which his performance was viewed. Not in the least doubting that he would immediately publish his real meaning in plain terms, sign his proper name to it, and thereby counteract the bad tendency of his clumsy irony. Two members of the *Whig Club* accordingly waited on Miss Goddard; and begged to know Mr. *Tell-Truth's* real name. She informed them that Mr. *William Goddard* was the person who brought the piece to the press. Mr. *Goddard* was then applied to for the author's name, which he refused to give, and used the gentlemen applying for it in the grossest, the most impolite manner. At a subsequent meeting of the *Club,* Six members were ordered *to wait* on Mr. *Goddard* again. *They* in the gentlest and politest manner, endeavoured to *convince* him, that it was the *Public Cause* alone *they* had at heart; and *pointed* out to him the service he might do it, by procuring the author's consent for divulging his name. To *gentle entreaty* and *mild argument* Mr. *Goddard* opposed the most *mulish obstinacy* and *brutal impoliteness.* He abused the *gentlemen* present and the *Club* to which they belonged, in terms *so* injurious, that *they* determined to *carry* him before the *Club.* This was accordingly *done* without any the least injury or violence to his person. In the Club-Room Mr. *Goddard* continued to behave in a manner entirely *characteristic of himself,* in consequence of which the *Club* Recommended it to *him* to leave a Town, wherein he had so wantonly insulted a number of *gentlemen* able and determined to render his *stay* therein extremely disagreeable.

This, by evidence of the *most* undoubted *veracity* and *reputation,* can be proved to be a *true* and *impartial* account of an affair which has been painted in such horrid colours, and which has been so pompously declaimed upon, *as the most glaring infringement of domestic security and the Liberty of the Press.* Although how the *Press* and Mr. *Goddard* are connected, We cannot conceive.

Upon the whole, *we* leave this and every other part of our conduct to the judgment of an impartial Public; conscious that *any errors* we *may* commit, proceed from that warmth of zeal in the *Public Cause,* which first convened

The Whig Club.

Baltimore, March 11, 1777.[7]

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[7] Handbill reprinted by Goddard in *The Prowess of the Whig Club,* Part I, now in the Library of Congress.

Here the matter undoubtedly would have rested, except for the formality of the reading of the report of the Committee of Aggrievances before the House for the requisite number of times, had not Goddard followed up his victory, on March 17, two days before the first reading of the report, by publishing a pamphlet, *The Prowess of the Whig Club, and the Manoeuvres of Legion.* In this pamphlet (which will be republished in these pages at a later date), Goddard let loose all the powers of invective and ridicule with which he was so abundantly endowed. He referred to the members of the club as " a set of men not remarkable for their penetration and sagacity," and described Nicholson as a " Commodore, *snug in harbour,*" relating the whole affair in a manner which could only further irritate the already sensitive club members. As a result they set about once more to discipline the acid tongued printer.

On Tuesday morning, March 25, as Goddard was at work in his printing establishment, Commodore Nicholson, of the frigate *Virginia,* then lying idle in Baltimore harbor, entered the composing room and ordered the printer to accompany him to Rusk's tavern, where the club was again assembled. Goddard refused to comply, whereupon the Commodore summoned several members of the club who had accompanied him as far as the foot of the stairs, and Goddard was once more taken by force before the tribunal of the club. He made some slight resistance to their efforts, but, not being completely recovered from a recent attack of rheumatism, was no match for a single assailant, let alone half a dozen or more. He called to his journeyman, Justus Brown, for assistance, but Brown, a fellow not remarkable for courage, extricated himself from the fracas as neatly as possible, and retired to the safety of the country, whence he did not reappear for a week.

" In Whig Club," much the same procedure was observed as on the former occasion of Goddard's unwilling presence there. The sentence of banishment was again invoked, with the same terms as before.

At the outset of the struggle in the printing house, Miss Goddard sent a messenger, and later went herself, to William Galbraith, Captain of the Town Guard, to enlist his aid in protecting her brother, but Captain Galbraith was unable or unwilling to act without orders; and his superior officer, Captain Smith,

refused to issue orders for the Guard to fire on such a body of men, on the pretext that he feared they would not obey such an order, since one of their officers, Colonel Nathaniel Ramsay, was sitting " in Whig Club." Both Captain Galbraith and Miss Goddard then appealed to the Committee of Safety, but James Calhoun, then acting chairman of that committee, also refused to issue any orders, on much the same pretext as that employed by Captain Smith. Galbraith did, however, give Goddard the protection of the Guard from the time of his release by the club until noon the next day, when the banished printer set out once more for Annapolis. Before he left, however, he wrote to Rusk, the tavern keeper, a letter requesting mine host to warn any innocent members of the club that they had best sever their unholy connections therewith in order to save themselves from the wrath to come.[8]

In Annapolis Goddard went to the Coffee House, where he prepared another memorial, relating the whole affair, which he sent with a letter to Governor Johnson.[9] The Governor turned it over to the Senate, whence it was dispatched by Charles Graham, Esquire, to the Speaker of the House, who in turn referred it to the Committee of Aggrievances, with instructions that it be considered immediately.

This time the committee, desiring further evidence, summoned to Annapolis James Calhoun, Captain Galbraith, and Justus Brown, the printer, who had by this time returned from his place of safety in the country. The depositions of these three tallied with the narrative of Goddard's memorial, bearing out the truthfulness of his every statement. The Committee of Aggrievances accordingly reported to the House in Goddard's favor.[10]

The House, however, acted with less alacrity than on the former occasion. When the report of the committee was finally considered, on April 11, there were motions and counter motions, resolutions and counter resolutions. With a war in full swing, the House, faced with an act for quartering soldiers, an act for pro-

[8] There is a copy of this letter, which Goddard printed as a broadside, in the John Carter Brown Library, and one in the Library of Congress.

[9] It is not known that this memorial and letter have been preserved, but their contents are summarized in the report of the Committee of Aggrievances and Courts of Justice of the House of Delegates, *V. & P.*, April 2, 1777, p. 65.

[10] The account of the club's second attempt to discipline Goddard has up to this point been taken from the *Votes and Proceedings,* cited above, and from the depositions (in manuscript) of Calhoun, Galbraith, and Brown, in the Maryland Historical Library, which will later be published in full.

viding blankets for soldiers, an act for preventing desertion, an act to promote recruiting service, and numerous bills connected with the establishment of the new civil government under the constitution, was inclined to be annoyed by this irascible gadfly. It was moved that Goddard be afforded the protection of the law of the land; it was moved " that Mr. Goddard's memorial and letter be returned to him, and that he be desired in the future to give this house no more trouble, and that he be informed the courts of justice ever had been and still are open, where he may have his remedy, if injured;" it was moved that Goddard " and every other citizen " be protected by the governor.[11]

At last, in the words of one of the members of the House then present, " Next morning, Samuel Chase, Esq., a member of the then house of delegates, as soon as the house met, opened said *Baltimore Mob* business: . . ." [12] Goddard himself presented his memorial at the bar of the House. The sergeant at arms was sent to Baltimore, and returned next day with several of the members of the Whig Club, whose spokesman made a feeble attempt at a " quasi apology." " But," says Galloway, " *Old S. Chase,* with *that manly, that unbending firmness,* and ardent love and attachment to *Law* and *Order,* scouted, *yes, he scouted the Idea* that *it could* in *any* degree, in *any* situation, while the General Assembly were in session, be *tolerable, by that Body* to wink at such an enormity! *No! Not even when our Army had been just beaten—, kicked from Pillar to Post, from Dan to Beersheba*: . . ."

Galloway, who was sitting by Chase, then watched the latter draft a set of resolutions, which were later published, with certain deletions, in the *Maryland Gazette.* Chase also drafted " in glowing language " an apology to the " injured *Sovereigns* of the State: *The People,*" which was pronounced before the bar of the House by the chairman of the offending club.

The resolutions adopted by the House were as follows:

The House took into Consideration the Memorials of William Goddard the Reports of the Committee of Aggrievances thereon and the Depositions

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[11] *V. & P., House of Delegates,* April 11, 1777, pp. 83-85.

[12] This part of the account is to be found in a letter from Benjamin Galloway, at that time member of the House of Delegates from Anne Arundel County, written to Ninian Pinkney, Clerk of the Council, on August 19, 1812. The letter is number 45 in Volume III of the *Red Book,* in the Maryland Hall of Records in Annapolis.

referred to by the Committee and thereupon Resolved unan. That every Subject in this State is entitled to the benefit and protection of the Laws and Government thereof.

That this House highly disapprove of any body of Men assembling or exercising any of the power of Government, (without proper authority from the Constitution).

That the proceedings of the Persons in Baltimore Town associated and stiled the Whigg Club, are a most daring Infringement and manifest Violation of the Constitution of this State, directly contrary to the Declaration of Rights, and tend in their Consequences (unless timely checked) to the Destruction of all regular Government.

That the Governor be requested to issue a Proclamation declaring all Bodies of Men associating together and meeting for the purpose and usurping any of the Powers of Government & presuming to exercise any power over the persons or property of any Subject of this State, or to cary into Execution any of the Laws thereof, unlawful assemblies and requiring all such assemblies and meetings instantly to disperse.

That the Governor be requested to order the Law of the Land to be executed, for the prevention of Riots and Mobs, and that the persons concerned in the late Riot and proceedings against William Goddard, be brought to trial, and to direct the Attorney General to prosecute such high and dangerous offences against the peace and Government of the State in the General Court.

That the Governor be requested to dismiss from the Service of this State any military or civil officers concerned in the said Riot and proceedings in Baltimore Town against William Goddard.

Resolved that Mr. Speaker be requested to communicate the above Resolution & Copies of the Memorials & Depositions to the Governor.

Resolved that the above Resolutions be published in the *Maryland Gazette.*

By order G. DUVALL clerk.[13]

The fifth and seventh paragraphs of the above were struck out before the document was published in the *Maryland Gazette* on April 17, 1777. We may surmise that the fifth was omitted in consideration of the apology of the chairman of the Whig Club, or that both were omitted out of deference to the feelings of the members, some of whom were quite prominent. The state of emergency then existing in the nation may also have been a factor influencing the omission of the resolution regarding the dismissal of civil and military officers. Goddard wrote a letter to Governor Johnson on April 14, 1777, asking that a warrant be issued against the members of the Whig Club, " that they may be bound over

[13] Manuscript in the Maryland Historical Library.

to the General Court and dealt with as the Law directs," but his request was apparently ignored.[14]

In the *Maryland Gazette* for April 17, 1777, was also published the following proclamation:

By his Excellency THOMAS JOHNSON, Esq.
Governor of MARYLAND,

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS the honourable House of Delegates have unanimously requested me to issue my proclamation, declaring all bodies of men associating together and meeting for the purpose and usurping any of the powers of government and presuming to exercise any power over the persons or property of any subject of this state, or to carry into execution any of the laws thereof, unlawful assemblies and requiring all such assemblies and meetings instantly to disperse: Wherefore I have issued this my proclamation, hereby declaring all bodies of men associating together and meeting for the purpose and usurping any of the powers of government and presuming to exercise any power over the persons or property of any subject of this state, or to carry into execution any of the laws thereof on their own authority, unlawful assemblies. And I do hereby warn and strictly charge and command all such assemblies and meetings instantly to disperse as they will answer the contrary at their peril: And that due notice may be had of this my proclamation, and that no person may pretend ignorance thereof, the several sheriffs within this state are hereby commanded to cause the same to be made public in their respective counties. Given at Annapolis this 17th day of April, seventeen hundred and seventy seven.

THO. JOHNSON

By his excellency's command,

R. Ridgely, Sec.

GOD save the STATE

Goddard, back in Baltimore, free from molestation at the hands of his tormentors, could not wholly refrain from exulting at their discomfiture and his vindication. Sitting down at his desk, he again dipped his pen in acid, and composed a second part of *The Prowess of the Whig Club,* no less trenchant than the first.[15] Apparently he never published this, however, contenting himself with reprinting the first *Prowess,* on April 18, 1777, to which he added a brief postscript describing his second skirmish with the club, copies of both of Chase's letters, a copy of the Whig Club's

[14] This letter is number 43 in Volume III of the *Red Book,* cited above.

[15] The manuscript of "The Prowess of the Whig Club," Part II, is in the John Carter Brown Library.

insincere apology, the resolutions of the House, the proclamation of Governor Johnson, and the names of twenty of the members of the Whig Club. The publication of Part II of the "Prowess" in these pages at a later date will be, so far as can be learned, its first appearance in print.

Thus was William Goddard victorious in the first, as he was later to be in the second (occasioned by his publishing in the *Maryland Journal* the "Queries" of General Charles Lee), of his battles which did so much to establish and preserve the freedom of the press in Maryland and in the new nation.

CONTROL OF THE BALTIMORE PRESS DURING THE CIVIL WAR

By Sidney T. Matthews

From the very beginning of the American republic freedom of the press has been recognized as a fundamental right of every citizen. But there have been occasions in the course of our history when abuses of that right have sorely tried the legal processes of our government. Such a time was the period of the Civil War when the constitutional guarantee of a free press was brought into direct conflict with immediate considerations of military necessity. Faced with the problem of winning a desperate war, the Government was forced frequently to take measures of questionable legality in preventing the newspapers from injuring the public interest.

In this connection the control exercised over the Baltimore press during the Civil War offers an interesting object of study, replete with specific instances of vigorous Government action. During the War no less than nine Baltimore newspapers were suppressed, either temporarily or permanently, and two of these papers were forced to stop publication because of the arrest of their editors. Of the twelve instances of such action by the Government, eight were permanent suppressions and four were temporary suspensions of publication for brief periods of time. The Baltimore journals suppressed or forced to stop publication because of the arrest of their editors included: the *South,* the *Daily Exchange,* the *Maryland News Sheet,* the *Daily Republican,* the *Daily Gazette,* the *Evening Transcript,* the *Evening Bulletin,* the *Evening Post* and the *Evening Loyalist.* Only the *American,* the most loyal of all the city papers, the *Clipper* and the *Sun* were published uninterruptedly during the course of the conflict.

For the first four months of the War the Government made no attempt to prevent the publication of disloyal articles by Baltimore newspapers. During that period the appearance of disloyal utterances did not occur in a few isolated cases; they were printed daily in the *South,* the *Daily Exchange* and the *Daily Republican.* These expressions against the Government took the most violent forms and constantly evinced hostility to the administration and

its continued prosecution of the War. The three papers repeatedly defied the Government, attacked Lincoln as a " despotic and tyrannical " ruler and openly advocated Maryland's secession from the Union.[1] An editorial in the *Exchange* of April 15, 1861, is typical of the general tenor of its original expressions at that time and during the following months:

> We believe that right and justice are with our brethren of the South, and that the cause they represent and are defending is the cause of their domestic institutions, their chartered rights and their firesides. We look upon the Government which is assailing them as the representative, not of the Union, but of a malignant and sectional fanaticism, which takes the honored name of the Union in vain and has prostrated and is trampling on the Constitution. The war that Government has wantonly begun we regard as a wicked and desperate crusade, not only against the homes and rights of our Southern brethren, but against the fundamental American principle of self-government.

Although the *Exchange* had been in existence before the outbreak of hostilities, the *South* was established on April 22, 1861, primarily to further the Confederate cause in Maryland and to secure the secession of that State from the Union. Its general editorial policy is nowhere better stated than in the prospectus of its first issue:

> For the appearance of a paper especially devoted to the Cause of the South and of Southern rights, in this city and at this time, it is deemed that no apology will be necessary. . . . The present enterprise was projected, as many are aware, some time since—in anticipation of the very troubles that are now upon us—and in the hope . . . to stay and avert them. Failing in the hope—we now start with a clear recognition of the new relations and duties which the recent change in affairs have brought with it. We recognize the fact that the people of Baltimore and of the State of Maryland are at this moment in open and armed rebellion against the Government of the United States. We would have preferred, had we our choice, that what has been done, should have been done by authority of law, and in pursuance of an Ordinance of Secession, emanating from the Sovereign Power of the State. We hope that under the passage of such an ordinance we will soon sunder forever our present relations with the Federal Government and the Northern States and unite our fortunes, where all our sympathies and interests combine with those of our sister states that have already withdrawn from the Union. In the meantime, the fact that we are in a state of revolution simply makes no difference in our

[1] *Daily Exchange,* June 6, July 23, August 2, 15, September 11, 1861; *The South,* May 21, 22, August 15, September 10, 1861; *Daily Republican,* July 16, 31, 1861.

eyes, as to the justice of our cause. It is a righteous and a holy cause and we are ready to stand by it to the last. If it is rebellion we are content to be rebels—if treason, traitors—we care not under what name—we are contending for the inviolability of the soil of Maryland and her emancipation from Federal thralldom and sectional domination. . . .

The *Daily Republican* was scarcely less violent in its criticism of the Government and in an editorial entitled "The Despotism of Lincoln and Co." declared:

> The time was when such outrages as have been perpetrated by Lincoln and his tools on the people of this city would have aroused the blood of the whole state. . . . Our public and private property has been seized and appropriated to the use of tyrants; our citizens have been imprisoned . . . by the arbitrary mandate of the despot who is laboring to subjugate other states to the same condition of vassalage.[2]

Such manifestly disloyal utterances did not escape the notice of the Federal authorities. The Government actually prepared an order for the suppression of the *South,* the *Daily Exchange* and the *Daily Republican* but vigorous protests from a group of loyal citizens in Baltimore, who apparently feared that pro-Southern sympathies would thereby be stimulated, prevented the execution of the decision. General Dix, the commanding officer in the city, refused to suppress the newpapers on his own authority because he believed "a measure of so much gravity should carry with it the whole weight of influence and authority of the Government." He had, however, corresponded with his immediate superior, General McClellan, with regard to the offensive journals.[3] In the latter part of August, Montgomery Blair, the postmaster-general, became concerned about the circulation of disloyal expressions through the Baltimore papers and recommended to Generals Dix and McClellan that the *Daily Exchange,* the *Daily Republican* and the *South* be suppressed.[4]

On September 10, 1861, the Post Office department, acting

[2] *Daily Republican,* July 31, 1861. In another editorial of July 16, 1861, this paper attacked the *American* and at the same time hurled a curious, though amusing, epithet at the Government. It stated: "A few more of such statements as this must open the eyes of the most bigoted partisan to the utter recklessness of the Lincoln journal and place it alongside the *tell-lie-grams* of this lying administration."

[3] John A. Dix to M. Blair, August 31, 1861, *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion,* Ser. II, Vol. I, 590-1 (hereafter cited as *O. R.*).

[4] Indorsement of letter from J. A. Dix by M. Blair, *ibid.,* 591. Blair stated that the *Sun* was "in sympathy" with the Confederate cause but was "less diabolical" than the other papers.

through the local postmaster, denied the use of the mails to the three papers and thereby sought to check the circulation of disloyal articles.[5] The three journals made violent protests against this measure and, at the same time that they denounced the Government and urged the dissolution of the Union and the overthrow of the Constitution, vigorously demanded their constitutional rights of free speech.[6] The *Daily Exchange* was particularly defiant in its comment upon the Government's action:

> The course which a despotic and foresworn administration has pursued towards us will not in the slightest degree influence our conduct. . . . As we have violated no law we can afford to despise Mr. Lincoln's warnings or menaces.[7]

The Post Office department's action was followed on the night of September 12 and 13 by the arrests and commitment to Fort McHenry of Frank Key Howard, editor of the *Daily Exchange,* and Thomas W. Hall, editor of the *South.* The arrests were made at the order of the Secretary of War as a " military precautionary measure " to prevent the further spread of secession sentiment which was regularly and openly expressed by them in their papers. In the opinion noted in the Record Book of the State Department, the arrest of the two editors would remove much of the secessionist agitation which had been actively carried on in Baltimore since the beginning of the war.[8]

That the editors of the *Daily Republican* did not meet the same fate might be explained by the fact that the Government's action against Hall and Howard was calculated to discourage further publications of this nature in any Baltimore paper. Apparently realizing that further attacks against the Government might subject them to similar action, the editors of the *Daily Republican* soon ceased to publish original articles and employed less direct means—e. g. use of reprinted articles—of voicing their pro-Southern sympathies.[9]

The editorial and press rooms of the *Daily Exchange* and the

[5] *The South,* September 11, 1861; *Daily Exchange,* September 11, 1861.

[6] Editorials in *The South, Daily Exchange* and *Daily Republican,* September 11, 1861.

[7] Editorial in the *Daily Exchange,* September 11, 1861.

[8] Extracts from the Record Book of the State Department, *O. R.,* Ser. II, Vol. II, 778-9, 787; J. A. Dix to J. E. Wool, September 13, 1861, *ibid.,* Ser. I, Vol. V, 194; Simon Cameron to John A. Dix, September 11, 1861, *ibid.,* Ser. II, Vol. I, 678.

[9] *See Daily Republican,* September 23, and November 26, 1861.

South were searched by a force from the corps headquarters and several documents of a disloyal character were found. Among these papers there was discovered a list of Baltimore citizens who had sworn to support the recognition of the Confederacy by the Federal Government and who expressly declared themselves in favor of the secession of Maryland in the event that Virginia seceded first. Drafts of proceedings for the Maryland legislature, presumably concerned with the contemplated secession of the State from the Union, were found among Howard's papers. Although there is no conclusive proof that the two arrested editors intended to use this material for publication, the Government reached that conclusion and cited possession of this "disloyal" material as proof of their secessionist sympathies.[10]

In the arrests of the editors of the *Daily Exchange* and the *South* and the subsequent conduct of their cases an interesting feature was the part played by the State Department. Allan Pinkerton, an agent of the State Department, accomplished the arrests of Hall and Howard with the aid of a force supplied by the provost marshal of Baltimore.[11] Although the order for the arrests was issued by the Secretary of War, the cases, being of a political character, were placed under the jurisdiction of the State Department and the editors were designated as "prisoners of state." The cases were handled by the State Department until February 15, 1862, when they were transferred to the charge of the War Department.[12]

The arrest of the editor of the *Daily Exchange* did not prevent the publication of that paper on September 14, the day after his arrest. In that issue there appeared two articles strongly derogatory to the Government. Their publication promptly resulted in the arrest of W. W. Glenn, one of the proprietors.[13] One of the articles reported the arrests of the two editors by the military force as the "brutal conduct and disgraceful ruffianism on the part of

[10] The legislature was to meet in September, 1861, and it was feared that this body would pass an ordinance of secession. *See* J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States* (New York, 1895), III, 553. *See also* Extracts from the Record Book of the State Department, *O. R.*, Ser. II, Vol. II, 778-9; Copy of printed declaration with original signatures of citizens of Maryland found among the papers of F. Key Howard at the time of his arrest, *ibid.*, Ser. II, Vol. I, 676-7.

[11] *Ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. V, 195-6.

[12] Extracts from the Record Book of the State Department, *ibid.*, Ser. II, Vol. II, 778-9, 787.

[13] *Ibid.*, 779; J. A. Dix to W. H. Seward, September 28, 1861, *ibid.*, 780; J. A. Dix to W. H. Seward, September 14, 1861, *ibid.*, 779.

the vice-police"; the other vigorously challenged the authority of the Government and deliberately announced the paper's intention to continue its espousal of the Confederate cause.[14] The *South* and the *Daily Exchange* were not suppressed by the Government but, deprived of the assistance of their editors, they were forced to discontinue publication on September 13 and 14 respectively.[15]

Upon the condition that he would not edit or republish the *Daily Exchange* and would not become affiliated with any "anti-administration newspaper" as long as "censorship of the press" prevailed, Glenn was released by the military authorities on December 2, 1861.[16] But Howard and Hall were subjected to a much longer imprisonment and were successively committed to federal prisons at Forts Monroe, Lafayette and Warren.[17] During his confinement Howard constantly sounded defiance at the Government, refused to recognize the jurisdiction of a military commission which was created on February 27, 1862, to hear the cases of political prisoners and, in a spirited letter to the Secretary of War, demanded not only his release but his vindication by the Government.[18] These strictures, however, had little effect on the settlement of the cases. In fact, it was not until November 27, 1862, more than thirteen months after their arrests, that Hall and Howard were freed.[19]

The *Daily Exchange* was not republished during the War but the *South*, which had been forced to discontinue publication on September 13 because of its editor's arrest, was printed again on September 19 under the proprietorship of James M. Mills. As stated in the edition of the same date, its purpose was merely to report the news of the day without undertaking to have any editorial policy at all.[20] At first it presented little or no editorial comment but did not long adhere to this practice and began gradually to voice its pro-Southern sentiments again through the

[14] *Daily Exchange,* September 14, 1861.

[15] A. V. Colburn to John A. Dix, September 18, 1861, *O. R.,* Ser. II, Vol. II, 779; *The South,* September 19, 1861.

[16] W. W. Glenn to John A. Dix, October 3, 1861, *O. R.,* Ser. II, Vol. II, 781; John A. Dix to W. W. Morris, November 29, 1861, *ibid.,* 783; Memorandum of W. W. Morris, *ibid.*

[17] Extracts from the Record Book of the State Department, *ibid.,* 778-9, 787; F. K. Howard to Edwin M. Stanton, March 3, 1862, *ibid.,* 783-6.

[18] *Ibid.*; F. K. Howard to M. Burke, October 23, 1861, *ibid.,* 783; Charles O. Wood to M. Burke, October 22, 1861, *ibid.,* 782.

[19] J. Dimick to L. Thomas, November 27, 1862, *ibid.,* 786, 790.

[20] *The South,* September 19, 1861.

medium of editorials and reprints from other newspapers. The tone of its original articles, however, was much milder than before the arrest of its editor and could not, at first, have been termed offensive to the Government. In fact it was not until December, 1861, that the *South*'s editorials began to express again sympathy for the Confederate cause and opposition to the Government's conduct of the war. In such a vein the issue of December 3, 1861, declared:

> Can this powerful people [referring to the Southerners] be thoroughly aware of the designs of their adversaries, with every motive urging them to undying action be subdued by a warfare conducted on the principles of Attila and Tamerlane? Will a Christian and civilized nation, the most enlightened, as it has been claimed, on the face of the globe, conduct in the nineteenth century a war of extermination against those so late their brothers after the model of the most barbarous of barbarians? [21]

Through subsequent editorials on January 23 and February 17, 1862, the *South* denounced the folly of the Government in trusting to the sagacity and intelligence of military commanders without laying down a fixed rule of conduct and expressed its sympathy for the South and its belief that the Confederacy would ultimately triumph.[22] But original articles of this nature were printed much less frequently than before the arrest of the *South*'s editor in September, 1861.

Another method used by the *South* to express its own opinion was the continual publication of articles reprinted from foreign, northern and southern newspapers which stressed the justice of the Confederate cause and the "wickedness" of the war waged by the Federal Government. Of such a character was Captain Matthew Fontaine Maury's letter to an English naval officer which defended in a lengthy argument covering the entire front page of the *South* the right of the Confederate states to secede.[23] The complete lack of reprinted articles reflecting contrary opinion raises strong presumptions that the paper was using not only its original editorials but reprinted articles to express its pro-Southern sympathy.

By the publication of a number of pamphlets at its printing office, all of which openly justified the cause of secession, the *South* further supported the rebellion and gave aid and comfort

[21] *Ibid.*, December 3, 1861.
[22] *Ibid.*, January 23, February 17, 1862.
[23] *Ibid.*, January 11, 1862.

to those opposing the Government. For more than two weeks prior to its final suppression the paper advertised the sale of those pamphlets at the top of its editorial page.[24] The State Department even received a letter from a Pennsylvania citizen requesting that the *South* be suppressed for printing such disloyal material.[25]

In view of such facts it was to be expected that before much time had elapsed the paper would be the object of repressive government action. Although it is not clear whether the privilege of using the mails was restored to the *South* after it resumed publication on September 19, 1861, certainly by February, 1862, perhaps before that time, it was "not allowed to be circulated through the mails." [26]

Upon the advice of General Dix who stated that the paper's suppression was strongly desired by Union men in Baltimore and who submitted evidence of the disloyal sentiments of the *South*, the Secretary of War ordered, on February 17, 1862, the permanent suspension of publication and the arrest of the editors and publishers for "treasonable practices." [27] In pursuance of that decision S. S. Mills and John M. Mills, the proprietors, and Thomas H. Piggott, the editor, were arrested and committed to Fort McHenry, their office was seized and further publication of the paper was stopped.[28] Although the offending newspapermen were ordered released from custoday on April 30, 1862,[29] the *South* was not republished during the course of the War.

During the first year of the War action against the newspapers was taken on specific orders from the Secretary of War. But, on February 18, 1862, the commanding general in Baltimore was directed to act on his own authority in the arrest of offending editors and the suppression of disloyal journals.[30] From that time until the end of the War the commanding general in Baltimore

[24] *Ibid.*, January 29 to February 17, 1862.

[25] B. Rush Petrikin to W. H. Seward, January 19, 1862, *O. R.*, Ser. II, Vol. II, 787.

[26] *The South* had been denied the use of the mails on September 10, 1861, but shortly after the arrest of its editor (September 13, 1861), it had resumed publication. Its right to use the mails was presumably restored at that time. Cf. John A. Dix to G. B. McClellan, February 14, 1862, *ibid.*, 788.

[27] *Ibid.*; L. Thomas to John A. Dix, February 17, 1862, *ibid.*

[28] John A. Dix to Edwin M. Stanton, February 18, 1862, *ibid.*

[29] John A. Dix and Edwards Pierrepont to W. W. Morris, April 30, 1862, *ibid.*, 789. This letter is an order for the editor's release and it naturally follows that the order was carried out, as Dix and Pierrepont formed the military commission which disposed of the cases.

[30] L. Thomas to J. A. Dix, February 18, 1862, *ibid.*, 789.

exercised original and complete jurisdiction over editors and their newspapers and undertook such action against them as he thought the circumstances required.

The single exception was the arrest of Charles C. Fulton, editor and publisher of the *American*, on June 30, 1862, at the order of the Secretary of War for an alleged " violation of confidence." [31] Fulton had just returned from a week's visit to McClellan's Army of the Potomac, which was then engaged before Richmond in the Peninsular Campaign, and had prepared a detailed account of the army operations in that section which appeared in the *American* of June 30.[32] Summoned to the White House for a conference, Fulton had given an account of his observations to President Lincoln.[33] But the reason for his arrest was not his narrative of the activities of McClellan's army which predicted Union success in the immediate future but his telegram to the Associated Press agent in New York that he was writing an account " including facts obtained from Washington, having been sent by special train to communicate with the President." The claim by Fulton that he had gained certain information during his presidential interview and would publish it in an Associated Press dispatch to New York provoked the Government's action in arresting him and constituted the " violation of confidence." [34] Through an unfortunate mistake Fulton's telegram, a private dispatch intended only for Craig, the Associated Press agent in New York, was printed in the New York papers the morning of June 30. From Fulton's statements as well as those of Craig, it appears that the former never intended to embarrass the Government by the publication of unauthorized information and that the telegram would never have been printed if Fulton's detailed account of McClellan's Peninsular Campaign had been allowed to be sent to New York.[35] At any rate, the Government was soon assured of his good intentions and the editor was released on July 1, forty-eight hours after his arrest.[36]

[31] E. S. Sanford, military superintendent of the telegraph, to C. C. Fulton, June 30, 1862, *American,* July 1, 1862; see also *Sun,* July 1, 1862.

[32] *American,* June 30, 1862; telegram of Fulton to Associated Press agent in New York, June 29, 1862, *ibid.,* July 1, 1862.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *Ibid.*; E. S. Sanford to C. C. Fulton, June 30, 1862, *ibid.*

[35] C. C. Fulton to E. S. Sanford, June 30, 1862, *ibid.*; An extract of the letter of Craig, general agent for Associated Press in New York, to E. S. Sanford cited in *ibid.,* July 3, 1862; John E. Wool to E. M. Stanton, July 1, 1862, *O. R.* Ser. II, Vol. IV, 108-9.

[36] *American,* July 2, 1862.

The next instance of Government interference with Baltimore newspapers occurred on August 14, 1862, when, at the order of the commanding general, the *Maryland News Sheet* was suppressed and two of its editors, William H. Carpenter and Thomas D. Sultzer, and its proprietor, William H. Neilson, were arrested and committed to Fort McHenry.[37] The last named were released within a few days after their arrest but Carpenter was held in custody about a month.[38] The reason for the *News Sheet*'s suppression and the arrest of its editors was not stated in the official order but a study of its issues during 1862 reveals that the paper constantly reprinted from northern and foreign journals articles sympathetic with the Southern rebellion and hostile to the Lincoln administration. No better evidence of this fact can be found than in two articles reprinted in the editions of May 5 and August 2, one stating that the failure of the North to carry on the War effectively had rendered the restoration of the Union impossible and the other attacking the "despotic and tyrannical" Government.[39] As it printed no original editorials, the *News Sheet's* reprinted articles, many of them manifestly disloyal in their tendencies and none favoring the Union, could have formed practically the only reasonable basis for its suppression. The *News Sheet* was not republished during the course of the War, but its editor, William H. Carpenter, and its proprietor, William H. Neilson, again entered the journalistic field in October, 1862, and published the *Daily Gazette* [40] which, except for a brief suspension of its publication in 1863, continued throughout the War.

For more than a year after the suppression of the *News Sheet* the Government took no final punitive action against the Baltimore newspapers. But on September 11, 1863, the *Daily Republican* was suppressed at the order of General Schenck, the commanding officer of the Middle Department,[41] and its three proprietors, Frank A. Richardson, Stephen H. Joyce and Beal H. Richardson, were sent south and ordered not to return during the course of the War under the penalty of being treated as spies.[42]

[37] W. P. Jones to E. M. Stanton, August 15, 1862, *O. R.*, Ser. II, Vol. IV, 395; *Sun*, August 15, 18, 1862; *American*, August 15, 16, 1862.
[38] *American*, August 22, September 18, 1862.
[39] *Maryland News Sheet*, May 5, August 2, 1862.
[40] *Daily Gazette*, October 7, 1862.
[41] The Middle Department of the army had its headquarters in Baltimore and its commander was the commanding officer in Baltimore.
[42] Captain E. W. French to Brigadier General H. W. Lockwood, September 11,

Although the *Daily Republican* had shown a sympathy for the Confederate cause through the publication of reprinted articles which were generally hostile to the Government, the printing of a specific poem, "The Southern Cross," in the issue of September 10, 1863, occasioned its suppression and the arrest of its proprietors.[43] The poem had been previously published in musical sheets and suppressed by the military authorities.[44] Written after the style of "The Star-Spangled Banner," it breathed the very spirit of rebellion:

Oh! say, can you see, through the gloom and the storm,
More bright for the darkness that pure constellation,
Like the symbol of love and redemption its form,
As it points to the haven of hope for the nation?
How radiant each star, as the beacon afar!
Giving promise of peace or assurance in war!
'Tis the Cross of the South, which shall ever remain
To light us to freedom and glory again!

How peaceful and blest was America's soil
'Till portrayed by the guile of the Puritan demon,
Which lurks under virtue and springs from its coil
To fasten its fangs in the life-blood of freemen.
Then boldly appeal to each heart that can feel,
And crush the foul viper 'neath liberty's heel!
And the Cross of the South shall in triumph remain
To light us to freedom and glory again?

'Tis the emblem of peace—'tis the day-star of hope—
Like the sacred Labarum that guided the Roman;
From the shore of the Gulf to the Delaware's slope.
'Tis the trust of the free and the terror of foemen.
Fling its folds to the air, while we boldly declare,
The rights we demand or the deeds that we dare!
While the Cross of the South shall in triumph remain
To light us to freedom and glory again!

1863, MS Letters Sent from Headquarters, Middle Department, 8th Army Corps, CVII, 287 (Hereafter all manuscript sources cited in this manner are in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.); H. W. Lockwood to A. Lincoln, February 4, 1864, *O. R.*, Ser. II, Vol. VI, 919-20. Also see *Sun, Daily Gazette* and *American,* September 12, 1863.

[43] For typical reprinted articles, see *Daily Republican,* January 30, February 13, August 25, 29, 1863; *Check List of American Newspapers in the Library of Congress,* 85; accounts of the *Daily Republican*'s suppression in *Sun, American* and *Daily Gazette,* September 12, 1863; H. W. Lockwood to A. Lincoln, February 4, 1864, *O. R.,* Ser. II, Vol. VI, 919-920.

[44] *American,* September 12, 1863.

And if peace should be hopeless and justice denied,
And war's bloody vulture should flap its black pinions,
Then gladly to "arms," while we hurl in our pride,
Defiance to tyrants and death to their minions!
With our front in the field, swearing never to yield
Or return, like the Spartan, in death on our shield!
And the Cross of the South shall triumphantly wave
As the flag of the free or the pall of the brave! [45]

The publication of the Baltimore *Daily Gazette,* successor to the *Maryland News Sheet,* was suspended on September 29, 1863, at the order of General E. B. Tyler and Edward F. Carter, one of its proprietors, was arrested. The other two owners, W. H. Neilson and William H. Carpenter, were ordered arrested but, apparently having left the city, were not located by the military authorities. The reason for the suspension of the *Daily Gazette*'s publication was the general charge of disloyalty with the attendant specific accusation that the paper had printed articles depicting the state of affairs in the North as "desperate." [46]

Although no original editorials were published in the paper, the large number of reprints expressing opposition to the Government and filled with Southern sympathies and the complete lack of any reprints supporting the Government or justifying its measures and the conduct of the War seem to indicate a general attitude of disloyalty on the part of the *Daily Gazette*'s editors.[47]

The specific charge forming a basis for the temporary sus-
pension of the paper lay in the suspicion held by the cor-
general in Baltimore that certain articles in the Richr-
describing the "desperate state of affairs in the N-
to have been originally published in the *Daily*-
picion proved entirely unfounded, how-

[45] The *Daily Republican* of September 10, 1863,
Historical Society's collection of newspapers. But
temporary New York newspaper found among
pings in Henry Stockbridge, History of the Gr
collection of newspaper extracts at the M-
has been attributed to Mrs. Ellen Key
papers in the Library of Congress, 85.

[46] Special order of Col. William
liam E. Morris, September 29, 1863
Department, 8th Army Corps, CV
Backers, Sept. 29, 1863, MS *i*
September 30, October 2, 186

[47] For typical reprinted ar
29, 1863.

had printed no such original articles.[48] After several hearings General Tyler became convinced that in the future the *Daily Gazette* would be conducted in a manner friendly to the Government and, on October 3, Edward F. Carter, the owner, and four compositors of the paper, who had been held as witnesses, were released from custody.[49] As sole proprietor, Carter was allowed to resume publication of the paper on October 7.[50]

Coincident with the *Daily Gazette* case was the arrest, at General Tyler's orders, of Michael J. Kelly, P. J. Hedian and John B. Piet, publishers of the *Catholic Mirror,* on September 29, 1863. Their arrest resulted from the publication at their printing establishment of a pamphlet, *Fourteen Months in American Bastilles,* written by Frank Key Howard, the former editor of the suppressed *Daily Exchange.*[51] The pamphlet presented an exceedingly bitter account of the fourteen months Howard had spent in Federal prisons and attacked the Lincoln administration with all the vituperative language which the author could command.[52] Because the pamphlet was of a definitely disloyal nature and its circulation might have aroused anti-Government feeling, the military authorities suppressed it and arrested its publishers. After assurances of their loyalty to the Government had been given, Kelly, Hedian and Piet were released from custody on October 3.[53]

In the latter part of October, 1863, William H. Neilson, a former proprietor of the *Maryland News Sheet* and the *Daily Gazette* [illegible]he publication of the *Evening Transcript.*[54] The latter news- [illegible] suppressed on November 10, 1863, at General Schenck's [illegible] republished four days later.[55] No reason for this

[illegible]W. T. Fish to Joseph Backers, September 29, 1863, MS [illegible]arshal of Middle Department, 8th Army Corps, CVII, [illegible]ckers to Colonel Don Piatt, September 30, 1863, MS,

[illegible] *Sun,* October 5, 1863.

[illegible]863.

[illegible] T. Fish to Lieutenant W. E. Morris, September [illegible]vost-Marshal of Middle Department, 8th Army [illegible]3, and *American,* September 30, and October,

[illegible] *in American Bastilles* (Baltimore, 1863). [illegible]89.

[illegible]on and Co., November 10, 1863, [illegible]rtment, 8th Army Corps, CVII, [illegible] of publication on November [illegible]3.

action was given in the official order but the *American* claimed that as long as General Schenck remained the commanding officer he would not permit Neilson to publish a newspaper in the limits of the Middle Department (which included Baltimore).[56] Although the falsity of that statement can be at once concluded in view of Schenck's decision several days later to allow the *Evening Transcript* to resume publication, it seems probable that Neilson, who had been previously connected with two disloyal newspapers, was suspected of pro-Southern sympathies and for that reason his paper was the object of especial scrutiny by the military authorities.

From that time the publication of the *Evening Transcript* continued uninterruptedly until May 18, 1864, when it was permanently suppressed at the order of General Wallace, the commanding officer in Baltimore, for printing an exaggerated estimate of the Union losses in the battle of Spotsylvania Court House.[57] By attributing this information to the Washington Bureau of the Associated Press, the *Evening Transcript* sought to establish its authenticity.[58] The article which provoked the Government's action against the paper read as follows:

> Washington, May 15.—I have no further facts to send you. The report that a great battle was in progress yesterday is not believed. As to the result of the ten-day fighting, we have not lost in killed, wounded and missing less than seventy thousand men.—Associated Press.[59]

Soon widely circulated in Baltimore, the news contained in this statement intimated that the Union forces had sustained severe losses and virtual defeat in Virginia. After an investigation by General Wallace it became clear that the article had been reprinted from a Philadelphia paper (the Sunday *Mercury*) of May 15 but that the words " Associated Press " had been appended by the editor of the *Evening Transcript*.[60] The publication of this overstate-

[56] *American,* November 11, 1863.

[57] This estimate (70,000) was a great exaggeration. Rhodes gives the losses of Grant's army from May 4 to June 12, as 54,929, of which about 7,000 were casualties in the battle of Cold Harbor (June, 1864). The Federal losses in the " ten days " fighting were much less than the paper indicated. *See* J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States* (New York, 1899), IV, 441, 446-7.

[58] General Lew Wallace to C. W. Tayleure (one of the editors of the *Evening Transcript*), May 18, 1864, MS Letters Sent from Headquarters, Middle Department, 8th Army Corps, XXXII, 190; *American Annual Cyclopaedia,* IV (1864), 394; *Daily Gazette,* May 19, 1864; *American,* May 19, 1864; *Sun,* May 19, 1864.

[59] The *Evening Transcript* containing this dispatch is not available in the collection of newspapers at the Maryland Historical Society but is reprinted by the *American,* May 19, 1864, in its account of the paper's suppression.

[60] *Ibid.*

ment of Federal losses and the attempt to establish its accuracy by imputing it to the Associated Press was viewed by the commanding general as a disloyal act intended to reflect discredit upon the Government and its conduct of the War.[61]

Several days later, on May 23, 1864, Michael J. Kelley and John B. Piet, publishers of the *Catholic Mirror*—who had previously been arrested for the sale of a disloyal pamphlet and subsequently released—were arrested and committed to Fort McHenry at General Wallace's order. The ground for their arrest was the sale at their bookstore and printing establishment of Confederate articles and books.[62] From May 23 to 30 the *Catholic Mirror* was forced to suspend publication because the printing office attached to the bookstore of Kelly, Hedian and Piet was closed by the military authorities to prevent the dissemination or sale of Southern material. Upon posting bond to sell no goods objectionable to the military authorities, Kelly was released from custody on May 29 and allowed to reopen his bookstore and printing establishment. Four days later Piet was freed upon similar conditions.[63]

In July, 1864, the Baltimore *Evening Bulletin,* which had been in existence only a very short time, was suppressed by the commanding general.[64] The reasons for this action are not clear but probably were based on the suspected disloyalty of the owner.[65]

Somewhat different circumstances combined to provoke the suppression of the Baltimore *Evening Post* on September 30, 1864. The account of a riot which had allegedly occurred in Cincinnati on the night of September 24 was placed on the bulletin board of that paper and published in its first edition of September 30.

[61] General Lew Wallace to C. W. Tayleure, May 18, 1864, MS Letters Sent from Headquarters, Middle Department, 8th Army Corps, XXXII, 190; General Lew Wallace to Reverdy Johnson, May 25, 1864, MS *ibid.,* 257.

[62] Lieutenant-Colonel Haynes to General Lew Wallace, May 25, 1864, MS Letters Sent by Provost-Marshal, Middle Department, 8th Army Corps, CVIII, 695-6; The offensive articles in the stock of the bookstore included photographs and steel engravings of Southern generals, note paper stamped with the rebel flag, playing cards with the pictures of Confederate leaders, Southern ballads, songs and books. *See Daily Gazette,* May 24, 1864, and *American,* May 24, 1864.

[63] Wooley to Wallace, May 29, 1864, MS Letters Sent by Provost-Marshal, Middle Department, 8th Army Corps, CVIII, 733; Haynes to Wallace, June 3, 1864, MS *ibid.,* 775.

[64] *American Annual Cyclopedia,* IV (1864), 394.

[65] The proprietors of the *Evening Bulletin* had previously published the *Evening Transcript* and sometime after the suppression of the former paper bought the controlling interest in the *Evening Loyalist* (later suppressed). See General Wallace to editor of *Evening Loyalist,* October 29, 1864, MS Letters Sent from Headquarters, Middle Department, 8th Army Corps, XXXIV, 446-7.

Reprinted from the Cincinnati *Enquirer,* the account asserted that a mob, led on by Government officials, had fired on and killed a number of men, women and children.[66] A group of Baltimore citizens including a number of soldiers became very excited about the statement which represented the Government in an unfavorable light and threatened to mob the *Evening Post* office. To forestall such action, General Wallace ordered the newspaper to discontinue publication.[67] Although Wallace stated that his action was determined by a regard for the preservation of law and order in Baltimore, it seems probable that, had he been so minded, mob violence could have been prevented and the office of the paper protected by the effective use of the military force. There is no evidence that the article reprinted by the *Evening Post* was deemed offensive to the Government by General Wallace.[68]

The newspapers of Baltimore were under the constant observation of the military commander for the publication of false statements which might conceivably be injurious to the best interests of the administration and its successful conduct of the War. That fact was again illustrated in the suppression of the *Evening Loyalist* on October 29, 1864. That paper had placarded its bulletin board and had printed in its issue of October 26 the announcement that another draft of 300,000 men had been made by the Secretary of War and that, under the new call, the substitute system would be abolished.[69] General Wallace immediately demanded an explanation from the editor of the paper,[70] and no satisfactory one being given, ordered its suppression. The publication of the definitely false statement which was calculated to arouse opposition to the Government, was termed a disloyal act by Wallace and was offered as the reason for his action against the paper.[71]

[66] This issue of the *Evening Post* is not available in the collection of newspapers at the Maryland Historical Society. For descriptions of this particular article, *see Daily Gazette,* October 1, 1864, and *Sun,* October 1, 1864.

[67] Captain Oliver Matthews to the editor of *Evening Post,* September 30, 1864, MS Letters Sent from Headquarters, Middle Department, 8th Army Corps, XXXIV, 173.

[68] *Ibid.*

[69] General Lew Wallace to editor of *Evening Loyalist,* October 29, 1864, MS *ibid.,* 446-7.

[70] Major James R. Raf to editor of *Evening Loyalist,* October 27, 1864, MS *ibid.,* 425.

[71] General Lew Wallace to editor of *Evening Loyalist,* October 29, 1864, MS *ibid.,* 446-7.

During the final two years of the War the commanding general in Baltimore took other repressive measures to control the press. On June 20, 1863, Baltimore editors were forbidden by Colonel W. T. Fish, the provost marshal, to publish extracts from five northern newspapers: the New York *World,* the Cincinnati *Enquirer,* the Chicago *Times,* the New York *Express* and the *Caucasian.*[72] The purpose of this measure was to prevent the Baltimore press from reprinting sentiments expressed by the five papers. That those journals continued publication while the Baltimore papers were forbidden to reprint articles from them seems to indicate that a more vigorous control of the press was exercised in Maryland than in northern states less affected by pro-Southern sympathies.

The policy of the military commander to prevent the publication of material which he did not wish circulated by the press was again illustrated on November 2, 1863, when four Baltimore newspapers, the *Sun,* the *American,* the *Clipper* and the *Daily Gazette* were forbidden to print Governor Bradford's proclamation of the same date.[73] The proclamation was the result of a dispute between Governor Bradford and General Schenck over the conduct of the approaching state elections. In order to prevent disloyal persons from voting, General Schenck had ordered the provost marshals to arrest such people found at the polls and had directed that all voters take an oath of allegiance to the Government. In his proclamation the Governor instructed the judges of election to ignore Schenck's order and obey the laws of the state.[74] The order forbidding the newspapers to print the proclamation was revoked by General Schenck on November 3.[75] The following day the proclamation appeared in the papers along with a reply from General Schenck.[76]

The publication of two Confederate death notices in the *Daily Gazette* of June 16, 1864,[77] resulted in a warning from General

[72] Col. Fish to Baltimore newspaper editors, June 21, 1863, in *American Annual Cyclopedia,* III (1863), 425; also *see American,* June 22, 1863, and *Daily Gazette,* June 22, 1863.

[73] *American,* Nov. 4, 1863; J. T. Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), III, 666.

[74] *American,* November 4, 1863; *American Annual Cyclopedia,* III (1863), 618-622.

[75] Order of General R. E. Schenck to Baltimore newspapers, November 3, 1863, MS Letters Sent from Headquarters, Middle Department, 8th Army Corps, XXX, 423.

[76] *American, Sun,* and *Daily Gazette,* November 4, 1863.

[77] The death notices read: "Died, at Richmond, Virginia, on Saturday, 21st of

Wallace that repetition of such action would provoke the paper's suppression. Wallace termed the printing of the obituary items a recognition of the Confederacy because the letters " C. S. A." were used after the names of the deceased men. He further charged that the *Daily Gazette* was in communication with persons in the rebellious states because it had requested a republication of the items by the Richmond papers.[78]

The vigorous control exercised by the commanding general over the Baltimore press in the latter part of the War was shown in the order issued by General Wallace on October 31, 1864, to J. and C. Kreuzer, proprietors of the *Catholische Volkzeitung,* a weekly newspaper.[79] In this order Wallace forbade the publication of " any article, either original or extracted, against the interests of the Government, directly or indirectly," threatened the paper with suppression for violation of the command and directed that each issue be sent to the provost marshal for examination.[80]

From the study of these particular instances of repressive action against the Baltimore press certain conclusions can be drawn. A variety of measures was employed by the Government to curb the publication of statements injurious to its cause. The principal method, of course, was the military suppression of offending newspapers. Frequently the arbitrary arrest of the editors accompanied the suppression of the papers. In such cases the editors were arrested by military authority without warrants and sworn charges were not brought against them. With the exception of Hall and Howard, arrested editors were released after brief periods of confinement. Another useful method for the control of the Baltimore press was the exclusion of offensive journals from the use of

May last, from wounds received on Thursday, May 12th, in the battle of Spotsylvania Court House, William J. Steuart, of this city, Lieutenant and A. D. C., C. S. A.

" In Washington, D. C., on 12 instant, of wounds received in battle on the 9th May, Captain Augustus F. Schwartze, Company F, 1st Maryland Cavalry, C. S. A., aged 24 years.

" Richmond Papers please copy."

See Daily Gazette, June 16, 1863.

[78] Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel B. Lawrence to editors of Baltimore *Daily Gazette,* June 18, 1864, MS Letters Sent from Headquarters, Middle Department, 8th Army Corps, XXXII, 452-3. Any communication with persons in the Confederate states had been forbidden by military order. The *Daily Gazette* heeded the warning and its publication was not interrupted.

[79] In the official order the paper is designated as " Catholic paper." Scharf says the name of the paper was *Catholische Volkzeitung.* J. T. Scharf, *History of Maryland,* III, 667.

[80] Col. John Wooley to J. and C. Kreuzer, October 31, 1864, MS Letters and Special Orders from Provost-Marshal, Middle Department, 8th Army Corps, CX, 839.

the mails. Such action, twice invoked in the first year of the War, checked the circulation of disloyal publications. That this means of newspaper control was not resorted to in the latter part of the War may be attributed to the use of the more effective method of suppression. In other cases warnings were issued by the military commander in Baltimore and adherence to them by the threatened journals prevented the use of punitive measures. Occasionally newspapers were restricted in the publication of specific types of material such as reprinted articles from disloyal Northern journals and rebel death notices which were deemed injurious to the public interest.

The lax policy of the Government towards disloyal publications in 1861 formed a marked contrast to its vigorous control of the press in the final years of the conflict. During the first four months the Government made no attempt to interfere with the printing of articles injurious to the Union cause. Although the arrests of the editors of the *Daily Exchange* and *South* had the immediate effect of discouraging other papers in the publication of disloyal sentiments, the Government did not undertake at once any policy of press control. Although much less frequent and much less violent than before the arrests of Hall and Howard, original editorials denouncing the Union appeared in Baltimore newspapers without interference from the Government until February 17, 1862.

During the last three years of the War, however, the commanding general in Baltimore exercised an efficient control over the newspapers. Although no censorship of the press existed during the War,[81] the Government's policy was sufficiently vigorous to prevent the repeated publication of articles hostile to the Union or sympathetic with the South. When such articles did appear, prompt and energetic action was generally taken. A silent witness to the effective military control of the press after February, 1862, is found in the complete lack of original editorials in the Baltimore newspapers attacking the policies of the administration or uttering disloyal sentiments against the Government. In the early years of the War reprinted articles tending to discredit the

[81] The Government controlled the newspaper dispatches sent over the telegraph but there was no attempt by the military authorities in Baltimore to censor the papers before they went to press. *See O. R.*, Ser. III, Vol. I, 394-5; *ibid.*, Ser. II, Vol. II, 40; Order of E. M. Stanton, February 25, 1862, J. D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (Washington, 1899), VII, 3309-3310.

Government were published without restriction in Baltimore journals. But, in 1864, the control of the press was so rigid that the publication of such extracted material was forbidden by the military commander. The effectiveness of this press control rendered unnecessary any repressive action against the newspapers at the time of the two major Confederate invasions in Maryland—September, 1862, and June and July, 1863.

The publication of disloyal articles and misstatements of fact tending to discredit the Government formed the main basis of newspaper suppressions in Baltimore. In three instances no reasons were given for the Government's action, which probably was provoked by the suspected disloyalty of the editors.

Although an adequate treatment of the Government's interference with Northern journals does not properly lie within the scope of the article, certain facts seem to indicate that during the Civil War the Federal authorities exercised a more effective control over the Baltimore press than over the Northern papers. The fact that the Baltimore papers were not allowed to reprint articles from certain northern papers which continued publication, that no original expressions could be published in Baltimore journals in any way hostile to the Government (after February, 1862) while the northern press continually flayed the administration and its conduct of the War, that the number of newspapers suppressed in Baltimore was much larger than in northern cities, all support the belief that Government control of the press was more rigid and effective in Baltimore than in the North.

Whether the failure of the Government to invoke judicial processes in the case of disloyal editors and the substitution of military power in the sphere reserved to the civil authority can be justified on legal grounds is doubtful. At the beginning of the War the only recourse the Government had to legal action against offending editors was through libel suits. Because such a method made provision for the claims of personal injury and not the injury to the public welfare, it was entirely useless in the suppression of disloyal publications. In the arbitrary arrest of disloyal editors the action taken by the Government, for the first year and a half of the War, had no support in law. Not until September 24, 1862, was a legal basis provided for arbitrary arrests by the Government. On that date President Lincoln issued a proclamation, suspending the writ of *habeas corpus* in the case of all persons who committed

any disloyal act against the Government. Suspension of the *habeas corpus* privilege is permitted under the Constitution in cases of rebellion when the public interest demands it. It allows prisoners to be arrested without warrants and to be held without hearings. But even in the case of suspension of the writ, it is uncertain whether the authority for such action rests with the President or with Congress.

The only reasonable justification, on legal grounds, for the suppression of newspapers appears to be " the doctrine that under martial law the military rule supplants the ordinary law." But, in Maryland, martial law was proclaimed only once (June 30, 1863) and all cases of newspaper suppression occurred during a time when the civil authority, in theory and according to the law, was supreme. As the student of constitutional problems during the Lincoln administration has stated: " Though the Supreme Court has issued no opinion which covers specifically this question of newspaper suppression as a war measure, yet the underlying principle of the Milligan case, discountenancing the extension of military jurisdiction into regions within the control of the civil authorities, would seem to apply to the military seizure of the newspapers as well as to the military trial of a citizen."[82]

The Government's action against the Baltimore newspapers was primarily determined by military necessity. During the Civil War the main objective of the Federal Government was to defeat the Confederacy and to reunite the country. To the achievement of that purpose all other considerations were subordinated and even constitutional guarantees of a free press were of less importance than the public welfare which demanded, above everything else, that the Government win the War. In Baltimore, where sympathies were divided and a substantial portion of the population had joined the Confederate Army, the Government was forced to control the publication of sentiments which, if they did not actually incite rebellion, would undoubtedly have injured the Union cause. For that purpose the Government's control of the Baltimore press was adequate and, while it may have been unnecessarily severe in some instances, on the whole the public interest seemed to justify the arbitrary action of the military authorities.

[82] James G. Randall, *Constitutional Problems under Lincoln* (N. Y., 1926), Chap. XIX, especially pp. 477-81, 505-10; *American Annual Cyclopedia,* III (1863), 609; Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the President,* VII, 3299-3300.

SHIP-BUILDING ON THE CHESAPEAKE: RECOLLECTIONS OF ROBERT DAWSON LAMBDIN [1]

With an Introduction by

John Philips Cranwell

Since the middle of the eighteenth century, the Chesapeake Bay has been known among mariners and the students of maritime history as the home of fast sailing craft. Here were designed and built the great Baltimore Clippers whose exploits as privateers, slavers, opium smugglers, pirates, and, on the credit side, as pilot boats along much of the Atlantic Coast, have had no inconsiderable effect on the economic and naval history of the United States. While more famous than any other, the Clipper is not the only type of fast vessel indigenous to the tidal waters of Maryland and Virginia. Others are the log canoe, the pungy, the brogan, the bugeye, and the skipjack. The construction of nearly all these vessels has points in common, but the Chesapeake Bay log canoe probably ranks second only to the Clipper as the Bay's greatest contribution to ship-building.

It is not the purpose of this paper to trace the history of these vessels in detail or to note the technical features of their construction—that information is available elsewhere [2]—but rather to preserve some of the lesser known facts relating to the construction of wooden vessels and their builders in the Chesapeake Bay with particular reference to the log canoe. Robert Dawson Lambdin—known to his friends as Cap'n Bob—was for half a century a

[1] Robert Dawson Lambdin, the well-known ship-builder of St. Michaels, Talbot County, died in Baltimore on February 25, 1938, at the age of 90. Fortunately for the historian, a personal friend of Mr. Lambdin, John W. Crowley of Baltimore, persuaded the ship-builder to dictate his memoirs in 1935; and it is these recollections which form the basis for this article. The memoirs fall naturally into two parts, those dealing with Mr. Lambdin's memories of other ship-builders and their activities, and his own experiences, particularly in connection with the log canoe.

[2] For technical details on the history and construction of the Baltimore Clipper, the reader is referred to *The Baltimore Clipper,* by Howard I. Chapelle, Salem, Marine Research Society, 1920. For information on the building and history of the log canoes, the reader is referred to *Chesapeake Bay Log Canoes,* by M. V. Brewington, Newport News, Mariner's Museum, 1937; and to a motion picture in color recently completed by Robin S. Lanier and Dr. Alexander H. Layton of Baltimore. In addition to showing the actual construction of a canoe, this film depicts its various uses and the part it played in the lives of the early residents along the Chesapeake Bay.

builder of vessels, and constructed in that time more than sixty log canoes besides repairing some fifty others. Under the circumstances his recollections can well be considered primary source material on Chesapeake Bay ship-building.

Among the early shipyards on the Eastern Shore of Maryland were two established by Cap'n Bob's ancestors. Of three brothers who came to this country from England in 1724, one settled in lower Delaware, while the others came to Maryland, one going to Taylor's Island in Dorchester County, and the other, the forebear of Mr. Lambdin, made his home at St. Michaels, Talbot County,[3] and commenced the building of vessels. A descendant, William Neville Lambdin, the grandfather of Robert Dawson Lambdin, established a shipyard at Beverly Farm, San Domingo Creek, near St. Michaels. At this time there existed nearby a number of other yards including those of Perry Benson at Oak Creek, Talbot County; Impy Dawson at St. Michaels; William and Zachariah Skinner at Tobacco Stick, now Madison, Dorchester County; William Lambdin at Taylor's Island, and two other yards at San Domingo Creek, owners unknown. William Skinner later went to Baltimore and established the largest shipyard in the city on the site now occupied by the Baltimore Ship Building and Dry Dock Company.

In 1819, at the age of 20, Robert Lambdin, the father of Cap'n Bob, went to Baltimore and with a Samuel Butler established a yard at the foot of Jones Falls. Eleven years later, Mr. Lambdin returned to St. Michaels and set up a ship-building plant at Long Wharf and Mulberry Street, later taking into partnership with him, four of his five sons, George, William, Robert Dawson, and Samuel. This firm of Lambdin and Sons built schooners, sloops, and pungies, later adding bugeyes to the list. In 1881 the firm built the *Cynthia,* the first bugeye with a round stern. This construction carried the rudder inside the transom and gave more room on the afterdeck. Many of the firm's customers wanted scroll work and other fancy finishing and for this purpose the vessels had to be sailed to Baltimore after they had been nearly completed at St. Michaels. The last vessel built by the firm was the schooner *Bessie Reed* in 1886, " about 70 feet long and built to carry 3000 bushels of wheat."

[3] Genealogical detail omitted here for lack of space can be found in the Lambdin-Crowley manuscripts at the Maryland Historical Society and the Pratt Library.

Other important Eastern Shore ship-builders contemporary with Lambdin and Sons were: Edward Willey, whose plant was at St. Michaels; Joseph Faulkner, at Tilghman's Island; Thomas Bruff, who built on Sharp's Island, which in the middle of the last century consisted of some 250 acres but is now mostly washed away; and Thomas Kirby, who had learned his trade at the Lambdin yard. Kirby opened his own plant at St. Michaels in 1876 and later took as partner Frederick Lang. A few years earlier at Town Creek, Oxford, Md., William Benson and a Colonel Bateman established a plant and later employed Henry Sauerhoff of Baltimore to build for them the first marine railway on the Eastern Shore. There were, too, a number of other ship-builders who had no permanent yards but who built vessels wherever employed to do so. For the most part they worked on their client's property if timber were available. Among these men were Thomas Dawson of Baltimore and John W. Jewell of Philadelphia.

Besides the natural rivalry which existed between local builders of fast boats, there sprang up along the shores of the Chesapeake a sectional rivalry, which by the way is still going strong, between the Virginia builders of the log canoe and the Maryland builders. The most famous of the Virginia boats were built at Poquoson on the York River. Indeed Mr. Lambdin's earliest recollection of a properly built log canoe with washboards was one brought to St. Michaels from Poquoson in 1857 by Captain Greenbury Marshall. She was a two log, keel canoe, 20 feet long and rigged with two leg of mutton sails. Oddly enough she was called the *Baltimore.*

Other canoes owned in the vicinity, which were built at Poquoson, says Lambdin, were the following:

Length	Name	Owner
25 ft.	Good Egg	Joseph Sewell
30 ft.		Thomas Oliver
25 ft.	May	Henry May
20 ft.	Douglas Harrison	Samuel Harrison
25 ft.	War Eagle	George Summers

All of the boats were keel boats [writes Lambdin] and had 2 mutton leg sails except the 30 foot boat owned by Mr. Thomas Oliver which had a jib in addition. No clubs were used on any of the sails. The advantage of these boats became evident and a Mr. Mitchell, a native of Dorchester County about 1858, built a 25 foot 2 log canoe at St. Michaels. Later there was built at St. Michaels a 30 foot, 3 log canoe. All were keel boats.

The building of canoes at St. Michaels invited competition with the Poquoson built boats, and in 1859 Mr. Thomas Oliver promoted a race with the following results:

Name	Length	Owner	Built at	Sailed by	Order of finish
Not known	30 ft.	Thomas Oliver	Poquoson	Greenbury Marshall	1
May	25 ft.	Henry May (Villa head of Miles River)	Poquoson	Charles Bailey of Leeds Creek	
Ogle Jr.		Ogle Tilghman (of Bennetts Point)	Wye River	John Griffin of Wye	
Not known		Thomas Parsons (Pecks Point, Tred Avon River)	St. Michaels	Jesse Dobson	last
Douglas Harrison	20 ft.	Samuel Harrison (St. Michaels)	Poquoson	Samuel Harrison	2

These were all keel boats. They were rigged with two mutton leg sails and jib, no clubs on any sails. The first prize was a silver cup donated by Mr. Oliver. The second prize was a tin cup also donated by Mr. Oliver. The *Douglas Harrison,* which finished second, was awarded first prize by Mr. Oliver on account of the excellent manner in which she was sailed. This cup is still in St. Michaels in the possession of some of Mr. Harrison's descendants. The tin cup was awarded to the last boat, owned by Mr. Thomas Parsons, and sailed by Captain Jesse Dobson. During the race there was a collision between the pungy *Champion,* and the schooner, *Lap Wing.* The *Lap Wing* had her mainmast broken but no other damage was suffered by either the vessels or passengers, although both boats were crowded with spectators.

In 1860 there was a canoe race on Chester River. Captain George Summers of St. Michaels entered the Poquoson built canoe, *War Eagle,* and won first prize, a silver cup which is still owned by his descendants in St. Michaels.

Canoe racing was abandoned during the Civil War, during which several canoes made trips from points on the Eastern Shore of Maryland to York River, Virginia, with men who wished to enter the Southern army. Mr. Oliver's canoe made several trips for the same purpose until she was captured by a United States Government vessel. In one party were my brother, B. F. Lambdin, Thomas Edgar and Edward Valliant. B. F. Lambdin lost his life and was buried in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond. Thomas Edgar was killed at Gettysburg. Mr. Valliant was the only one of the three who returned.

A Partial List of Vessels Built in Talbot County, Maryland, is as Follows:

Name	Date built	Description	Built at	Owner	Builder
Farmers Friend	1848	Keel schooner	Talbot Co.	Unknown	Unknown
Sharps Island	1856	Pungy	Sharps Island	Mr. Valliant	Thomas Bruff
R. Mason	1856	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Unknown	Thos. Willey
Caroline Skinner	1857	Keel schooner	St. Michaels	Jos. & Wm. Bridges	Lambdin & Sons
Royal Oak	1867	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Satterfield More	Lambdin & Sons
Itinerant	1862	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Wm. H. Michell	Lambdin & Sons

Name	Date built	Description	Built at	Owner	Builder
Agnes Owens	1864	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Greenbury Marshall	Thos. Bruff
U. S. Grant	1865	Pungy	St. Michaels	Harrison & Walker	Lambdin & Sons
Sonora	1865	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Thos. Larrimore	G. Lambdin & Kirk
Tred Avon	1866	Pungy	Oxford		Benson & Bateman
John Wethered	1867	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Wm. Green	Lambdin & Sons
Horatio Seymour	1868	Pungy	Oxford	Co. at Easton	Benson & Bateman
Sally Anne	1869	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Joe Harrison Wm. Kinnamon	Thos. Kirby
Julia & Annie	1869	Pungy	St. Michaels	Frank Cassidy	Lambdin & Sons
Amelia	1870	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Capt. J. Harris	Lambdin & Sons
Effee Estelle	1870	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Capt. J. Harris	Lambdin & Sons
Arena Bateman	1871	C. B. Schooner	Oxford	Unknown	Benson & Bateman
C. C. Wheeler	1872	Keel schooner	St. Michaels	C. C. Wheeler	Lambdin & Sons
Bonita	1872	C. B. Schooner	Oxford	Levi Duke	Benson & Bateman
Chas. Willey	1873	Keel schooner	St. Michaels	Chas. Willey	T. Kirby
C. H. Richardson	1877	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Unknown	T. Kirby
Anna Leonard	1877	C. B. Schooner	Oxford		Benson & Bateman
Wm. O. Lowery	1877	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Green Bros.	Lambdin & Sons
Martha Jump	1877	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Giles W. Jump	Lambdin & Sons
Chesterfield	1878	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels		T. Kirby
Ida	1878	Pungy	St. Michaels	Thos. Blades	Kirk
A. Booth	1880	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Booth Packing Co.	T. Kirby
Sally A. Lambdin	1880	Bugeye	St. Michaels	Lecompte Bros.	T. Dawson
Hattie Estelle	1880	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Jos. Harris	Lambdin & Sons
Carrie Sadler	1880	Bugeye	St. Michaels	Mr. Sadler	T. Kirby
Carradora	1881	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels		T. Kirby
Josephine	1881	Bugeye	St. Michaels	Jos. Harris	Lambdin & Sons
Leroy	1881	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Tunis Bros.	T. Dawson
Maria	1881	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels		T. Dawson
Mary Vickers	1881	C. B. Schooner	Oxford		Benson & Bateman
Cynthia	1881	Bugeye (round stern)	St. Michaels	Jos. Horney	Lambdin & Sons
Alice Bramble	1882	C. B. Schooner	Easton		Unknown
Arthur Stewart	1882	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels		Lambdin & Sons
Curtis	1882	Bugeye	St. Michaels		T. Kirby
John E. Bright	1882	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels		T. Kirby
R. A. Dodson	1882	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	R. A. Dodson	T. Kirby
Sand Snipe	1882	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Bush & Warner	T. Dawson
Thomas H. Kirby	1882	Bugeye	St. Michaels	Capt. Walker	T. Kirby
Emma Wills	1883	Schooner	St. Michaels		T. Kirby
Frank Bateman	1883	C. B. Schooner	Oxford		Benson & Bateman
Bohemia	1884	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels		T. Kirby
Emma Eleonora	1884	Schooner	Tilghman's I.		Jos. Faulkner
Estelle	1884	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Jos. Harris	Lambdin & Sons
Kate Tilghman	1884	C. B. Schooner	Oxford	Unknown	Benson & Bateman

Name	Date built	Description	Built at	Owner	Builder
Mary E. Wrightson	1884	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	J. Wrightson	Lambdin & Sons
Minnie and Helen	1884	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Unknown	Thos. Kirby
Two Sisters	1884	Bugeye	St. Michaels	Chas. Jones	Lambdin & Sons
Delight	1885	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels		T. Dawson
Cygnet	1885	C. B. Schooner	Oxford		Benson & Bateman
Commodore	1885	Bugeye	St. Michaels		T. Kirby
Elsie	1885	C. B. Schooner	Tilghmans I.	Unknown	Jos. Faulkner
C. H. Fields	1885	C. B. Schooner	Oxford		Benson & Bateman
Gipsy	1885	Skipjack	St. Michaels	Lambdin	Lambdin & Sons
Bessie Reed	1886	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	John Reed Geo Cripps	Lambdin & Sons
Albatross	1887	Keel Schooner	Oxford		Benson & Bateman
Elisha	1887	C. B. Schooner	Tilghmans I.	Unknown	Jos. Faulkner
Thomas Dawson	1887	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Chas. Welby	Thos. Dawson
Fannie Lowrey	1888	C. B. Schooner	Tilghmans I.	Unknown	Unknown
Thos. Blake	1888	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels		T. Kirby
Edna E. Lockwood	1889	C. B. Schooner	Tilghmans I.		J. Faulkner
	1889	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	F. Lang	T. Kirby
Gracie	1890	Bugeye	St. Michaels	Sadler	T. Kirby
Dan	1891	Batteau	St. Michaels		John Jackson
Arthur Stewart	1892	C. B. Schooner	Tilghmans I.		J. Faulkner
Patrick Prendergast	1892	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	P. Prendergast	T. Kirby
Alexander Bond	1893	Bugeye	St. Michaels		T. Kirby
Jos. Faulkner	1894	Bugeye	Tilghmans I.		Jos. Faulkner
Carrie Marie	1896	Sloop	Wittmans		Thos. Dawson
Emily	1896	Sloop	Royal Oak	Unknown	Unknown
Ethel E.	1896	Sloop	Oxford		Benson & Bateman
Ethel	1897	Sloop	Royal Oak	Unknown	Unknown
Ella Cripps	1900	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Geo. Cripps	T. Kirby
Claude	1900	Sloop	Wittmans		Jewell
Delta	1900	C. B. Schooner	Easton		
	1901	C. B. Schooner	Oxford	Unknown	Benson & Bateman
Eleanor	1901	Sloop	Oxford	Unknown	Unknown
Emma Faulkner	1901	Bugeye	Tilghmans I.	Unknown	Jos. Faulkner
Elmer C.	1902	Sloop	Oxford	Unknown	Benson & Bateman
C. L. Marie	1902	Sloop	Wittmans		Thos. Dawson
Charlotte	1902	C. B. Schooner	Tilghmans I.		Jos. Faulkner
Agnes	1898	Pungy	Tilghmans I.		Jos. Faulkner
A. L. Barnett	1870	C. B. Schooner	Oxford		Benson & Bateman
Charles Gibson	1876	C. B. Schooner	Oxford		Benson & Bateman
Clara N. Leonard	1875	C. B. Schooner	Oxford		Benson & Bateman
Corsica	1874	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels		Kirby
Ida	1875	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Chas. Leonard	Lambdin & Sons
Jeanette	1868	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Wm. Michell	Lambdin & Sons
Kate Woodall	1874	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	A. Woodall	Thos. Woodall
Lottie & Annie	1875	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Unknown	Lambdin & Sons
Susan Bryan	1886	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Bryan Bros.	T. Kirby
Thos. H. Kirby	1871	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Capt. G. Tyler	T. Kirby

One of these craft, the *Caroline Skinner,* with about nineteen other locally built sailing vessels maintained a regular packet service in the Chesapeake prior to the advent of steam. Among these schooners were:

W. K. Dobson	plying	between	St. Michaels and Baltimore
Wm. Skinner	"	"	Wye Landing and Baltimore
B. M. Cornet	"	"	St. Michaels and Baltimore
I. L. Adkins	"	"	Easton and Baltimore
Robert Bowdle	"	"	Oxford and Baltimore
Caroline Skinner	"	"	points on Broad Creek, Bayside, and Baltimore

Until the Civil War interrupted trade, says Lambdin, these packets did a profitable business for their owners, and although many of them were used after the war was over, the rapid inroads of steam greatly curtailed their usefulness.

The rest of his story is best told in Captain Lambdin's own words:

The writer was born in St. Michaels, Maryland, November 2, 1849, and at the time of this writing is 86 years of age. I attended a one room school with 65 boys and one teacher, but I will say he was competent. Imagine a modern teacher having a number of grades in the same room, keeping them in order and teaching their lessons. But the job was done successfully and pupils were turned out who were well grounded in an elementary education.

At the age of 16 I was apprenticed in my father's ship yard. In 1869 at the age of 20, hearing of the then excellent wages of $3.25 per day, I made application and secured a job in the Washington Navy yard. I worked on a number of wooden ships, among others, the *Nipsic,* afterwards lost in the great hurricane in Samoa. I stayed at Washington Navy yard until the early part of 1872 when I returned to St. Michaels. During my stay in St. Michaels in 1872, I bought from Mr. G. W. Goodall a 30 ft. 3 log keel canoe, the *Mary,* which was built by Mr. Thomas Kirby of St. Michaels.

I believed I could improve her sailing by the installation of a centerboard, and much against the advice of a number of men whose opinions were entitled to respect, I installed the first centerboard in a canoe used in Miles River. After completion of the work, she was sailed against keel canoes which had previously been her equal in sailing. She outsailed both of them and on the return from the race, I was immediately given orders to install centerboards in the two canoes I had just raced against. That same year there was a race at Oxford, Maryland, course from Town Point up river to Tilghman's Point, thence to Benoni Point and return. The *Mary* won this race decisively.

Since 1872 I believe there have been no canoes built except those of the centerboard type. The advantages of this type of boat and the fact that it could be built of timber, of which there was a large supply locally, induced

a number of men to commence building them. Some of these men stood out as building a superior type of boat. Among others I would mention Captain Lewis Tarr, Samuel Blades, George Lambdin, John B. Harrison, and " Syd " Covington.

In 1871 Captain Jacob Morris, an ardent yachtsman, moved from Delaware and bought a farm on Hunting Creek. He brought with him two fast catboats, the *Cora* and the *Undine*. He had an idea that his cat-boats could outsail the log-canoes. It took only one race to convince him of his error. Captain Morris was a charter member of the Chesapeake Bay Yacht Club at Easton, the oldest yacht club in Maryland, to which later I had the honor of being elected an honorary member. Captain Morris was always enthusiastic and helpful to me in any matter concerning boat building or yacht racing.

In the later part of 1873 I went to Wilmington and worked at several plants; also at Chester, and Absecon, New Jersey. Learning of the illness of my father, I came home at Christmas, 1875. On my return to St. Michaels, I started to build and repair boats and built several small canoes. On September 27, 1876, I was married to Miss Salley Horney. I was then 27 years of age, my wife 25 years of age.

In the fall of 1876 I received an order from Mr. J. C. Harper to build a canoe. She was 28 ft. long and 5 ft. 6 in. beam, built of 3 logs. As this was my first order for a large canoe, I determined to apply such of the experience of others as I could obtain and to embody ideas of my own in her construction. There was still remaining a prejudice against centerboard boats on the part of some old timers. My oldest brother did not believe I could build a first class canoe. He had built several good ones and would not offer any suggestions. My father had never built any canoes. The only suggestion I got from him was, " The nearer you can keep a boat to the shape of an egg, the surer you can be that she will sail." This meant build your boat without hollow sections.

I had ideas of my own regarding the proper location of the centerboard with relation to the center of effort of the sail plan and also determined to use another idea of my own which was to make a well box in which the centerboard worked, 1 in. wider at the forward end than at the after end, in order to make the boat point higher into the wind.

I built the canoe at St. Michaels, then took it to Mr. Harper's farm on the Choptank River and placed it ashore for finishing work during the winter. She remained ashore, in the shade, until the summer of 1877. Four days before a race in Miles River, she was launched in the Choptank River and sailed to the Miles River where some finishing touches and adjustments were made.

On the day of the race she was entered with 5 other canoes. The course was from Hill Buoy to Wyetown Buoy, twice around this course. She finished 10 minutes ahead of her nearest competitor. This canoe was called *Dashaway* after Mr. B. B. Dashaway, then the leading exponent of the temperance cause. The *Dashaway* entered two more races on the Miles River and one at Oxford and was successful in all of them. In all these races she was sailed by Captain Giles W. (Bill) Jump.

In the fall of 1877 Mr. Harper sold the *Dashaway* to Mr. J. Chandler Roach of Atlantic City. She was sailed up the Chesapeake Bay to the Delaware Canal, up the Delaware River to Camden, New Jersey, where she was loaded on a railroad car for Absecon Inlet, Atlantic City. There were some fast sloops at Atlantic City; but after outsailing a number of them, Mr. Roach could not get anyone to race. He challenged any boat at Atlantic City and offered to bet $200 but could get no takers.

I was invited to Atlantic City as a guest of Mr. Roach and had a great deal of pleasure in sailing the *Dashaway* against the Atlantic City sloops and cat-boats. After two years, owing to the death of Mr. Roach the *Dashaway* was offered for sale. Hearing of this, two brothers by the name of Richardson of Oxford, Maryland, went to Atlantic City and bought her. They sailed her outside to the Delaware Capes, then up the Bay and river and through the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal to the Chesapeake Bay. She was used for a number of years as a sail boat, finally as a gasoline lunch, and as such she ended her days after a service of 52 years.

I had always been one to embody a new idea or any change in a boat which appeared good to me, and I believe I convinced many of my friends that I was not wholly the experimenter I had been called. The sailing reputation of the *Dashaway* and other canoes I had built resulted in my getting orders to build a great many canoes and I confined my work almost entirely to their construction. I was kept busy for a number of years.

In my time I have built 68 log canoes of all kinds and sizes and made alterations in more than 50. This is a larger number than have been built by any other builder in Maryland and perhaps no such number will ever be built again. This being due to the cutting down of the large pine trees necessary to their construction and also to the dying off of the men who were trained in the art of building them. I once built a 25 foot 3 log canoe complete in 20 days including selecting and cutting down the trees. My customers also brought me orders for a large number of decoy ducks and seemed to think that anything made of wood for use around the water could be produced at my shop.

The Three Masted Canoe *DAISY*

In 1891 Mr. R. A. Dodson, a resident of St. Michaels who owned and operated the Atlantic Hotel at Norfolk, Virginia, gave me an order to build a canoe in which he could leave Norfolk at any time he wished and come to his home. After several conferences it was decided to build a canoe 40 feet long by 8 feet beam, equipped with 3 masts. This was the first and I believe the only three masted Chesapeake Bay log canoe ever built. Because of her rig she caused a great deal of comment. However, she proved to be safe, fast, and handy under either full or reduced sail. She proved her seaworthiness in several blows and on one occasion made a run from Norfolk to Harris Creek near St. Michaels in 18 hours. She was finally turned into a power boat and her present owner is using her as such.

In the fall of 1892, at the solicitation of several friends and with the

personal, verbal assurance of Hon. Frank Brown, then Governor of Maryland, that I would be reimbursed for my work and expenses, I started to build what I hoped would be my masterpiece, the canoe, *Chesapeake.*

She was to represent a typical Chesapeake Bay log canoe and to be used for exhibition purposes in the waters adjoining the Maryland building at the World's Fair, Chicago, 1893. I took special care in selecting the pine trees, boring into each one with an auger to determine the amount of sapwood. Any tree containing an excessive amount of sapwood was rejected for use and was not felled. After selecting trees which were suitable, they were felled and cut into logs to the best advantage for handling, and then hauled to my yard. The logs were then hewn into shape and were chained in place, the whole allowed to season for 6 months before being finally bolted together. After being bolted together the boat was finished off in the best manner with black walnut trimmings and brass cleats and blocks. She was called the handsomest canoe ever built in Maryland.

In the later part of May, 1893, in company with Mr. George West, my helper, I left St. Michaels in the boat, sailed to Baltimore, had her loaded on a B. & O. freight car and at 9: 30 P. M. one Monday started for Chicago.

We arrived on Saturday morning. This was a personally conducted trip. We did not leave the boat for a minute. The train crew were generally interested and helpful; and as it was our first trip through that part of the country, we enjoyed the scenery very much.

On arrival at Chicago our car was shunted to Chicago Creek, then a very filthy stream. In launching the boat she shipped a great deal of this water. We bailed her out and rowed her to the mouth of the river where the water was clear; cleaned her throughly, rigged her spars and set her sails. We then sailed her to Jackson Park and made fast alongside the United States Government Fish Building. We went ashore, were directed to the Maryland Building and had a talk with the Maryland representative. He was astonished to see us, said he had no word to expect us or the canoe, and that he could give us no attention or assistance.

Although my helper and I stayed in Chicago three weeks, we never got any recognition from the Maryland representative. We did, however, during this time take occasion to race everything around Chicago which wore sails and had no trouble in outsailing them in any breeze. Confusion seemed to permeate this whole matter, as I was never paid for the boat or my expenses by either the State of Maryland or the World's Fair authorities. No one would admit responsibility. I suppose I had been too trusting in accepting men's words.

Possibly the thing which hurt worst was leaving the *Chesapeake* at Chicago. There were no suggestions to be had from the Maryland representative in making arrangements for her return. The B. & O. railroad freight agent at Chicago acted very differently from the agent in Baltimore. He wanted $100 for transportation and would only accept the shipment at owner's risk. There was no demand for this new type of boat, as it was the first of her type ever seen west of the Chesapeake Bay country and I was practically forced to sell her for the proverbial song.

As I had previously presented a six foot model canoe to the Maryland Building I was put to considerable expense. But I was young and had a good business and I was able to pocket my losses without serious results. I returned to St. Michaels and continued building and repairing boats of all kinds. I found at this time that it would be necessary to build canoes with small logs. I built the first four log canoe and later the first five log canoe.

In 1894 I accepted a position to take charge of a boat building shop in Wilmington and stayed there for two years, after which I went to work for the U. S. Government at the Norfolk Navy Yard. I stayed at Norfolk until 1919 when I returned to St. Michael's with the idea of living a life of semi-retirement.

The Building of a Chesapeake Bay Log Canoe

In building a log canoe the first step is to locate suitable large pine trees. These are of the kind known as "original" pine trees as distinguished from "second growth" trees. The trees before felling are bored with an augur to ascertain the proportion of sap wood. Any tree containing a large proportion of sap wood is not felled. After felling the tree, it is stripped of branches, the bark removed, the logs roughly shaped and then hauled to the shipyard. All sap wood is removed.

The bottom log is hewn out first. This is the bottom of the boat and is shaped at the ends in such manner that the logs which form the bilge are practically key fitted into it. After the bilge, the top log is fitted in a similar manner and shaped to give the desired shear to the deck line. The logs are then bolted together. The hull is shaped first on the outside, then holes are bored into the sides at various points and dark wood dowel pins of varying lengths driven in as gauges so that the appearance of their ends when hollowing the inside of the hull will indicate the desired thickness of the hull at various points

Canoes vary in thickness from 3½ inches at the bottom to 1 inch at the deck level. A peculiarity of canoe building is that the entire final shape is determined by the bilge and top strakes and this shape is gotten "by eye" and not by any predetermined drawing. Thus the canoe is shaped before the inside is hollowed out to the final thickness. Also, in hewing out the bottom log the base for the well box in which the centerboard works is left to a thickness of about 6 inches higher than the final bottom level; so that the water line of the canoe, when light, is below the top of the solid base of the well box. This prevents leaking when the boat is not in use.

It may be noted that in most cases the canoes are sailed by others than the owner. This is because the sailing of a boat is a gift which very few possess. A good sailing captain has an instinctive feeling which tells him when all the factors for getting the best out of the hull, sails, and crew are in harmony. It does not seem possible for one possessing this gift to impart it to another. Many instances can be cited where an expert sailing captain can win a race against a competing boat, and then transfer to the

competing boat and beat the boat he originally sailed in. Recognizing his ability in this respect, all the boats belonging to me which were entered in races were sailed by Captain Giles W. ("Bill") Jump.

Several years ago Governor Albert C. Ritchie donated a large silver cup as a perpetual trophy to be raced for yearly by Chesapeake Bay log canoes. These races developed keen interest, and in their efforts to secure more speed, the owners of the canoes added great spreads of canvas, towering spars, and larger crews. The canoe *Magic,* which had been converted to a gasoline driven boat was reconverted back to sail. She made a fine record in these races and was afterwards exhibited at the 1933 New York Motor Boat Show, where displays of all kinds of boats are made.

Two log canoes designed especially for racing have recently been built at Tilghman's Island by Mr. John B. Harrison. One of these boats, the *John D.* was built in 1931 for Mr. John D. Williams of Oxford, Maryland. The other, the *Flying Cloud,* was built in 1932 for a syndicate composed of gentlemen living at Oxford, Maryland. These boats have very sharp bilges and hollow sections. Owing to the fact that they have transom sterns, the race committee ruled them out of competition for the Governor Ritchie cup. They were allowed in the free-for-all races and made a good showing; their exceptionally tall spars and great spreads of canvas made a beautiful picture while racing.

It is questionable whether or not the older canoes gain additional speed by the use of the larger spars and sails and consequently increased crews. All this adds to their displacement and lowers their hulls into the water below the original lines on which they were designed to sail. There is no doubt that every hull has a speed limit and that it is almost impossible to drive it beyond this. It is necessary to maintain rigid restrictions in every sport. It is thought by some that this kind of competition will kill a sport which has been popular around St. Michael's and nearby waters for almost a century.

Originally the canoes were raced with the same spars and sails as were used in their daily work, and one man could handle any of the spars. Every contestant believed at the beginning of a race that he had an equal chance. In the canoe races as now conducted, the rich man can add expensive and heretofore unknown changes which may practically insure him the victory. In such a case he will soon find he has no competition, as a man of moderate means or one interested in the true nature of the sport will not enter his boat.

The Bugeye

This type of vessel is an enlarged edition of the Chesapeake Bay canoe, having practically the same outline and sail plan. Owing to its greater dimensions it is necessarily of frame and plank construction. It is of the centerboard type and suitable for the shallower waters of the Chesapeake Bay and rivers. They are in extensive use; they are fast and seaworthy; they require only small crews. They are used for oyster dredging and for general freighting. Most of them average 40 or 60 feet in length, but a few have been built considerably larger than this.

The Brogan

The brogan is somewhat similar in construction to a canoe in that it has a log bottom, but there the similarity of the hull ends. In the case of the canoe, which is smaller, the hull is built entirely of logs. In the brogan the hull has only one center log, the rest of the vessel being frame and plank. These boats are generally rough work boats in shallow waters for scraping oysters. They have never been regarded as useful for pleasure or racing purposes as in the case of the canoes. Their use has declined rapidly; the skipjack, being an easier and cheaper boat to build, has practically supplanted them.

The Skipjack

These are slightly V-bottom centerboard boats, almost peculiar to the Chesapeake Bay. Being of broad beam, they are very seaworthy and their shallow draft enables them to be used in the shoal waters, over bars for scraping oysters and in the smaller creeks for general freighting. They are equipped with one mast which has considerable rake. The rig is one leg of mutton mainsail and jib. It is " easy to handle," two men being ample for this purpose under almost any conditions. The sails can be reefed and if need be reduced to a double reefed mainsail, under which condition, owing to the rake of the mast, the vessel will work well as the center of effort of the sail plan is balanced. They are built up to 60 feet in length. The beam is generally $\frac{1}{3}$ of the overall length. Most skipjacks are built by local talent by men of no particular skill at designing. But they are generally substantially, if roughly built.

READING INTERESTS OF THE PROFESSIONAL CLASSES IN COLONIAL MARYLAND, 1700-1776

By Joseph Towne Wheeler

THE CLERGY

After studying a cross section of the private libraries in Colonial Maryland and discovering that sixty percent of the free white population owned books, it should be helpful in rounding out the picture of Maryland's early literary culture to examine the libraries of the professional classes. The clergy was perhaps the most important class in the colony from the standpoint of numbers and influence on society in general. As has already been pointed out, the smaller book collections in the colony were made up to a very large degree of religious books. Even the larger general libraries of over twenty volumes contained at least twenty-five percent religious titles.[1] It should be interesting, therefore, to turn to the private libraries of the clergy to examine the character of their collections.

The parochial libraries supplied by the Rev. Thomas Bray and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel were one of the most striking efforts to improve religious as well as cultural conditions.[2] But even during the decade after their establishment, these libraries did not completely supply the clergy with the books they needed. Many of the original clergymen whom Dr. Bray personally selected and sent over to organize churches had private libraries of their own in addition to the parochial libraries when they died.

The Rev. John Lillingston, who was selected by Dr. Bray in 1700 to compile the *Methods of God's Grace and Assistance* for the laymen's library,[3] had an estate in Queen Anne's County worth nearly seven hundred pounds when he died in 1710. He owned three pairs of spectacles, a reading glass and a parcel of books

[1] Joseph T. Wheeler, "Books Owned by Marylanders, 1700-1776" in *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXV (1940), 337-353.

[2] J. T. Wheeler, "Thomas Bray and the Maryland Parochial Libraries" in *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXIV (1939), 246-265.

[3] J. T. Wheeler, "The Layman's Libraries and the Provincial Library" in *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXV (1940), 60-73.

valued at twenty pounds.[4] Another fairly large private library supplementing the parochial library belonged to the Rev. Stephen Bordley whom Dr. Bray had selected to prepare a book entitled the *Worthy Communicant.* When Bordley died in Kent County in 1709, his total estate was worth over three hundred pounds and his inventory contained:

The anotacons on ye Testamt
the 2 Sermons preached before the King
50 books middling Size
31 lesser do
46 less do
4 large books
5 lesser do
3 old do
Grotius Works 4 Vols.[5]

The Rev. Edward Topp, who was to have compiled a *Discourse on Death-Bed Repentance,* died in 1702 and his inventory contained:

ten books in folio 2 whereof in Latine
seaventy two Octavos
Eleven 4tos and fourty Duodecimos
Old Musick books and pamphlets
a folio bible and 2 volumes of Grotius
Dr. Tillotsons Sermons [6]

Another of the early clergymen, the Rev. Benjamin Nobbs, whose estate was worth two hundred and twenty pounds when he died about 1704, had a private library in addition to his parochial library. The appraisers valued the books in his study at five pounds.[7] It would be interesting to know if among them was the manuscript of a volume on the *Christian Penitent* which Dr. Bray had asked him to prepare.

Even the Rev. Alexander Strachan of Baltimore County, apparently the poorest of the early Maryland clergymen, owned six printed books and some loose papers although his estate was worth only forty-three pounds.[8]

When the books in the parochial libraries became out-of-date and the volumes were lost owing to the carelessness of the clergy-

[4] Inventories and Accounts, XXXI, 371-377. Hall of Records.
[5] Inventories and Accounts, XXXI, 198-204.
[6] Inventories and Accounts, XXV, 97.
[7] Will Book, No. 3, 539.
[8] Inventories and Accounts, XX, 250-251.

man and the tolerance of the vestry who neglected to make the annual visitation, the ministers had to rely more and more on their private libraries. Among the clergymen who were faced with this situation was the Rev. Evan Evans. He was born in Wales and is said to have been educated in England. He received the King's Bounty, a gift of twenty pounds from the royal treasury for missionaries, clergymen and school teachers who were coming to the New World, and sailed for Maryland. He served for a time at the Christ Church in Philadelphia and, in 1716, he returned to England and received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. He then came to Maryland and was given St. George's Parish, Harford County. This benefice he held until his death in 1721, at which time the following books were in his library:

40 Small Sermon books
Concordance to ye Bible
2 new Books
1 Large quarto Containing 92 sermons
1 large Sermon Book by Jno Gaskaratts
1 Common Prayer Book
1 Book Discourses
ye Volume of the laws of Maryland [probably the Jones-Bradford edition of 1718]
Church Catechism
2 Small Histories
the History of Religion
the Life of the Duke of Marlborough
The History of K. Charles 1st & 2d & K. James
Practickle Caterhissume [sic]
1 Small Latin Book [9]

The Rev. Samuel Skippon received the King's Bounty on April 6, 1714, and came to Maryland as a clerk.[10] When he died in 1724, he was rector of St. Anne's Church in Annapolis and his total personal property was worth nearly two hundred pounds. His library contained:

some of the Acts of Assembly of the province of Maryland to ye year 1717 wanting severall Leaves [perhaps the Jones-Bradford collection of Laws, 1718]
Classick Authors Butlers Rethorick in 12°—a small Horace in Latin in 12° the same in 8° Valorius Maximus in Latin all old
Plinys Naturall History in five Vol 12°
Martials Epigrams in Latin 12° and Homers Iliad in Greek
Eight Latin Books in Large Octavo and thirty three Books in small Octavo and History Books 12°

[9] Baltimore County Inventories, liber E, folio 39.
[10] Gerald Fothergill, *List of Emigrant Ministers to America, 1690-1811*. London, 1904, p. 55. Entered as "Skippson."

Nathanll Bretz translation of ye history of Trent in folio
The second Book of the lifes of the Primitive Fathers (1 wanting)
Spotswoods History of England to the Reign of King James ye sixth
Calderwoods History of Scotland in folio
Bishop Ushers Life and letters in fol.
Cornelius Tacitus description of Germany
Ten History Books in small 8°
A parcell of Pamphletts and some small musical Books
Divinity Books and church Controversies
Cantona Auroa in foll and Index of the whole in Latin
Bishop Andrews Sermons
Richd Hookers Laws of Ecclesiasticall politie an Exposition of St. Pauls Epistle to the Colossians in Latin the grounds and contempt of the Clergy in 8°
fifty Eight Books Whereof 6 in quarto and all the rest in 8° and 12° several thereof of Church Controversies all old att 9d apiece
Chaucer's Poetry in English folio
a pockett Book
1 Large Bible in folio
2 Latin Books in folio with Comentarys on the Apostles Epistles [11]

This was an outstanding private library for the early eighteenth century. It is seldom indeed that the classics are found in the original and the edition of Chaucer is the only one discovered in this survey of colonial inventories. His library bears out Commissary Wilkinson's description of him to the Bishop of London as " A Whig, & an excellent scholar & good liver." [12]

The Rev. William Tibbs was one of the small number of clergymen in the colony whose character and actions were such that the entire establishment suffered thereby. He received the King's Bounty in 1701, and was appointed rector of St. Paul's Parish in Baltimore County. In 1715, the vestry complained of him to the Commissary and the charges were sent to the Bishop of London.[13] At the annual visitation of the clergy in 1717, he refused to answer accusations brought against him by the vestry. The relations between the minister and the parishioners remained in this state until his death. In 1731, the vestry again protested against him claiming that he was living outside his parish and had appointed a clerk who had been convicted of felony to read the service. Tibbs was accused of failing to come to church, of refusing to bury the

[11] Inventories, X, 370-373.
[12] William S. Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church,* IV, *Maryland,* 128.
[13] *op. cit.* 79-80.

dead and of setting a bad example to his congregation by his swearing and drunkenness.[14] In 1724, he replied to a query about his parochial library that:

I have a small parochial Library. The Books are preserved & kept in good condition. I have no particular Rules and orders for the preserving of them.[15]

His inventory shows that his interest was more in the revenues from his parish than in improving himself and his parishioners through reading and study. His estate when he died in 1733, was valued at over one thousand pounds and he had a mere handful of books:

2 Bibles & 5 Common prayer books
2 old Arithmatick & Clerks Guide Books
19 do of Divinity and a parcell of other do
a parcell of old Law Books [16]

In 1747, the aged and beloved Rev. Daniel Maynadier died. He had been rector at St. Peter's in Talbot County for many years and was described in 1722, in a report to the Bishop of London, as " A Whig of the first rank, and reputed a good liver, but a horrid preacher." [17] His estate was valued at a little over one thousand pounds and his books which were not enumerated were valued at seven pounds.[18]

His successor was the Rev. Thomas Bacon who had arrived in Maryland only a few months before Maynadier's death. Practically nothing is known of his early career except that in 1737, at the height of the interest in Irish finance, he published in Dublin a book entitled *A Compleat System of the Revenue of Ireland.* While he was rector at St. Peter's Parish, he established a charity working school for poor children and urged his parishioners to take an interest in converting their slaves. When a cargo of unfortunate Acadians was landed in Maryland, the Rev. Thomas Bacon and his friend, Henry Callister, were foremost in providing for them. He began a compilation of the laws of Maryland about 1753 and, after more than ten year's labor, the *Laws of Maryland at Large* was published in 1766 by Jonas Green in a fine folio

[14] *op. cit.* 309-310.
[15] *op. cit.* 190-192.
[16] Baltimore County Inventories, liber E, folio 454.
[17] Perry, *op. cit.,* 129.
[18] Inventories of Estates, volume unmarked, 275-281.

volume which holds first rank among the products of the colonial press. In the meantime, he was rewarded by the Proprietor for his loyalty by appointment as domestic chaplain and later as rector of All Saint's Parish in Frederick County.[19]

Bacon's love of music and his personal charm which endeared him to his friends without causing his parishioners to lose their respect for him will be mentioned in a subsequent article. It is the purpose here to describe his library and to indicate that it was probably one of the outstanding collections of a Maryland clergyman. His correspondence with his friends frequently contained allusions to the books he was reading.[20] In spite of his classical knowledge, which many men would have used to impress their friends, Bacon preferred the speech of the common man, particularly in his sermons. In a letter to Walter Dulany, in 1760, he rephrased a quotation from Virgil and then in apology wrote:

> You may see by this Speciman stollen from Virgil how readily I can snatch at a Thought of anothers [sic], and by disguising it in a home-Spun Dress make it look somewhat like my own. But, Pedantry apart, (for I'm not very fond of Latin Quotations, notwithstanding the Air of Profundity which they give a Discourse in a Country Pulpit) . . .[21]

Bacon died on May 26, 1768, and his friend, John Cary, who attended him during his last hours, wrote Walter Dulany that he was deeply in debt to his curate and clerks and " Sundry poor tradesmen such as Butchers Bakers Smiths taylors, and also those from whom he had his fire wood." He added that the property was not worth very much and that:

> . . . there are a great many books belonging to the Estate most of which are not of any use to any body this way, not being understood—those must be sent Elsewhere for Sale . . .[22]

Mrs. Elizabeth Bacon, the widow, requested her husband's creditors to have patience until the estate could be settled and added:

> Those Gentlemen who have Books belonging to the Estate, are requested to

[19] For the best account of his life see L. C. Wroth, *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland,* pp. 95-110. Also see William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit,* New York, 1859, pp. 117-121.

[20] His correspondence with Henry Callister, Eastern Shore tobacco factor, will be treated more fully in a subsequent article.

[21] Dulany Papers, I, 6. Rev. Thomas Bacon to Walter Dulany. Maryland Historical Society.

[22] Dulany Papers, I, 20. John Cary to Walter Dulany, Frederick Town, " Thursday 15 minutes after 3 Oclock in the morning 26th May 1768."

send them to Mr. Jacques, in Annapolis, or, if more convenient, to Elizabeth Bacon, in Frederick-Town.[23]

The estate was appraised that same year and Bacon's personal property was worth three hundred and eighty pounds. One of the largest items, valued at twenty-six pounds, was "The Medicine Instruments and shop Utencils." The books in his private library were:

Synopsis Criticorum 5 vol.
James's Medicinal Dictionary 3 vol.
Foresti Opera 2 vol.
Acta Regia
Stanley's History of Philosophy
Stypes Annals 4 vol.
Quincy's Dispensatory
Aytiff's Commentary
Bastii Fabri 2 vol.
Hammond's Works 1, 2 & 4 vol.
Frederici Huffmanni Opera Omnia 6 tomes
Quincy's Chymical Lectures
Blancords Lexicon
Oper. Nich. Mattaire
Vansweetens Commentarys 3 vol.
Jones's Opium Revealed
Edinburghs Essays on Physic 2 vol.
Observations de Acre et Morbis
Cheyne on Health
Tharmacopoia by Peter Shaw
Saviards Surgery
Pharmacopia Mediana
Sharps Surgery
Sydenhams Works
Whitton on Vital Motion
M. de La Vaugion on Surgery
Cockbourne on a Cenorhoea
Quinceys Medicina Medica
Pembertons Dispensatory
Cheyne on Health
Monro's Anatomy
Monro on Dropsys
Simpsons Chimistry
Greek Lexicon
Homer with the Clavis 3 Books
Demosthenes
Stackhouses History of the Bible 2 vol.
Chillingworth on Religion
Raleigh's History of the World 2 vol.
Bayles Dictionary 5 vol.
The House of Morning 47 sermons.
Whitby's Paraphrase and Commentary of the new Testament 2 vol.
Stillingfleets Works 7 vol.
Chomatts History of Drugs
Keisters Surgery
Boerhaves Chymistry
Disaguliers Philosophy
Lowthrops Philosophical Transactions 5 vol.
Palmer on Printing [Samuel Palmer, *General History of Printing*, London, 1732]
M. Tullie Ciceronis Orationes 7 vol.
Newtons Principia
Heisters Surgery 2 vol.
Smellys Midwifery 3 vol.
Shaws Practise of Physick 2 vol.
Epidemics pr Jaune Huxham 2 vol.
Stephenson Consumptions
Strothers Materia Medica 2 vol.
Sedran on Surgery 2 Books
Allens Synopsis 2 vol.
Sharps State of Surgery
Turners Works 3 vol.

[23] *Maryland Gazette*, July 14, 1768.

Physical Tracts
Medical Observations 2 vol.
Friends History of Physick 2 vol.
Cheseldons Anatomy
Verdue on the Human Body
Willsons Chemistry
Medical Essays 6 vol.
Diseases incident to Children
Boerhave de materia medica
Anachrion Greek and Latin
Longinus
Zenephon
Stackhouse Body of Divinity
An exposition of the 5 Books of Moses
Synopsis Canonium Ecclesia Latina
Saundersons Sermons
Brays Lectures
Brunts History of the Council of Trent
Tirells ancient Constitutions
Drydens Satires
Puffendorfs History of the Principal Kingdoms and States of Europe
Common Place Book to the Holy Bible
Rutherford on Natural Philosophy
LeEstranges Alliance
Rapines History 2 vol.
Medleys
Mercers Abridgment of the Laws of Virginia
Teples Life
Bradleys Gardening
Shaftsbury Characteristick
Eight Hale's Ventitators[?]
Bacons Laws Bound
Stanhope on the Epistles 3 vol.
Harvey's Dialogues 3 vol.
Clerk on the Attributes
Cowpers Anatomy with cuts
Blairs Sermons 3 vol.
Enticks Evidence
Chamberlaynes Arguments 3 vol.
Fosters Sermons 2 vol.
Du Bois Works 8 vol. in French
Elements of Algebra 2 vol.
Scarboroughs Euclid in Fol°
Nolls Atlas
a Treatise on fortification
History of Pennsylvania
an Exposition of the Creed
Pamphlets
Sacheverels Sermons
Wares History of England
Hookers Works
Kennett's Antiquities
Deism Revealed 2 vol.
Cruders Concordance
Elihu on an Enquiry into the Book of Job by W. Hodge
Claude on Reformation
Caves Lives &c 3 vol.
Lucans Pharsalia
Gentlemans Dictionary
Stiths History of Virginia
Essay on Trade
Derhams Physico Theologia
The 1st 2d 5th & 6th Annals of King George the 1st
Millers Gardening Dictionary
Ainsworths Dictionary
Bacons Laws of Maryland Stitch'd
an old Common Prayer Book
an old Description of England
Historical Geography 3 vol.
Lally's Christian Religion 3 vol.
Family Instructor
Sherlock on Prophesy
Collyers Interpreter 2 vol.
Maps of Germany
Memoir of the Academy at Paris 9 vol. in French
a parcel of old Books Greek Latin Italian French and Dutch
a parcel of Manuscripts valued at £ 1
Tom Jones 4 vol.
Amelia 4 vol.
a parcel of old Books dissorted [24]

[24] Inventories of Estates, CI, 113-119.

One of the most interesting features of his private library is that thirty percent of the books were on medicine. From his obvious interest in medical literature and from the fact that he had in his possession a valuable collection of medical instruments, it seems apparent that Bacon ministered to the bodies as well as the souls of his parishioners. Records are not available to show whether this was a usual practice of clergymen in the eighteenth century. However, the Rev. William Brogden, of All Hallow's Parish in Anne Arundel County, read and took notes on a medical work in his commonplace book. It contains abstracts from *Epistola Clericana Contra Dodwell*; " some reflections on that part of a Book called Amyntor, or the Defence of Milton, which relates to the Primitive Fathers, and the Canons of the New Testament, by Mr. T."; and *Robinsonii Theosis Medicina et Merborum Abbreviata.* This last item was a book on the nature and causes of diseases and a description of the human body. Brogden took over fifty closely written pages of notes and abstracts including the prescriptions for some " choice Medicins referr'd to in ye Cure of ye forgog. Didd." [25]

Bacon's library reflects his wide interests. Nearly a quarter of the books, as might be expected, were on religion. About twelve percent were on history, biography and travel. A somewhat smaller number were classics and he had a few volumes of recent literature. He owned a collection of music entered as " Medleys " and he had a copy of Mercer's Abridgment of the Laws of Virginia and one bound and one unbound copy of his own compilation of Maryland laws.

Another distinguished clergyman living on the Eastern Shore was the Rev. James Sterling.[26] He was born in Ireland and attended Trinity College where he received his Bachelor's Degree in 1720 and his Master's Degree in 1733. He began writing poetry early in his youth and before he was twenty-one, he wrote *The Rival Generals,* a tragedy, which was performed in the Dublin theatre. Encouraged by his success, he went to London as a hack

[25] This is the only early Maryland commonplace book discovered. The recording of reading notes in the bound notebooks was a common practice of serious readers from Elizabethan days until the middle of the nineteenth century. Those commonplace books which have been preserved are an invaluable source of information on early literary culture. In box marked Mss Sermons of Old Maryland Clergymen in the Maryland Diocesan Library.

[26] Lawrence C. Worth. " James Sterling: Poet, Priest, and Prophet of Empire," in *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings* XLI (1931), 25-76.

writer and, in 1728, published *The Loves of Hero and Leander,* a translation from the Greek. Several other works came from his pen including his *Poetical Works* in 1734, and *The Paracide* in 1736.

He was disappointed in not receiving the appointment as lecturer in King's Chapel in Boston which he had requested of the Bishop of London. But, in 1737, he was sent to Maryland and the Governor gave him All Hallow's Parish in Anne Arundel County Later he received the rectorship of St. Paul's Parish in Kent County which he occupied until his death in 1763. In 1751, he returned to London and after skillful lobbying through an influential friend, the position of Deputy Collector of Customs for the District of Chester was created and he was appointed to hold it. That this was done contrary to the express wishes of the Governor and the Maryland merchants reveals either his ability at politics or the influence of his powerful friends. Before leaving Maryland, he wrote *An Epistle to the Hon. Arthur Dobbs, Esq.,* a patriotic poem in honor of the leader of the expedition which was to search for the Northwest Passage. It was written in the elevated style characteristic of English verse at that time and shows a close familiarity with contemporary English literature.

After his return to Maryland, he published several poems in the *American Magazine* from 1757 to 1758, and a sermon which he had delivered before the Maryland Assembly in 1754. The most interesting of his later poems was " On the Invention of Letters and the Art of Printing." [27] William Bradford, the editor of the magazine, prefixed a note to it: " The author is a gentleman of acknowledged taste and learning, in a neighboring government." He added:

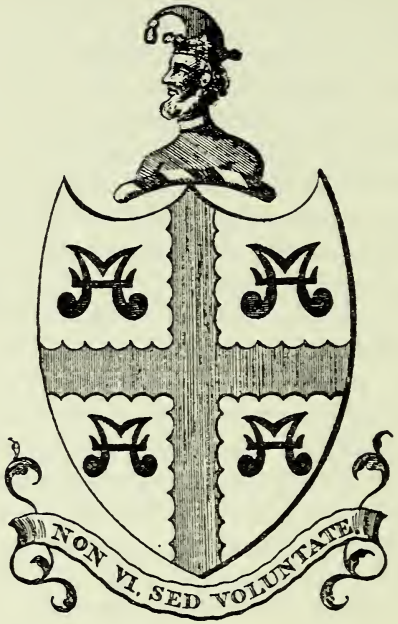
> His intimacy with Mr Pope, he says, obliged him to tell that great Poet, above twenty years ago, that it was peculiarly ungrateful in him, not to celebrate such a subject as the Invention of Letters, or to suffer it to be disgraced by a meaner hand

The poem is amply footnoted and the references show the wide range of his reading:

Lucan
An. de Solis, History of the Expedition of Cortez
Pecock's *Travels to upper Egypt*
Old Testament
Aristotle
Ellis's article on printing in *Transactions of the Royal Society*
Dr. Warburton's *Div. Lega*

[27] *American Magazine* (1758), 118-121.

Sterling, like many of his contemporaries, believed that Laurens Coster was the inventor of the art of printing and attempted to show that those who supported Fust's claims were mistaken. Gutenberg was relegated to a footnote. Possibly Sterling had a copy of Palmer's *General History of Printing,* or, if not, he may have borrowed one from his colleague, the Rev. Thomas Bacon.



Bookplate of a famous Tory divine

When Sterling died in 1763, his estate was valued at fifteen hundred pounds. He owned twenty-five negro slaves, and the walls of his house were decorated with many paintings and engravings. His books were valued at seven pounds but, unfortunately, they were not listed individually.[28]

The Rev. Jonathan Boucher owned a valuable library which was advertised for sale by his attorney in the *Maryland Gazette* on June 5, 1777, several months after he was forced to flee because of his loyalist sympathies.

[28] Inventories of Estates, LXXXIV, 256-264.

On Monday the 21st of July next will be exposed to Sale by auction, at the Lodge near the Ferry-House, opposite Alexandria, the valuable and well choosen Library of the Rev. Mr. Boucher, containing a complete set of the Greek and Latin Classics, Dictionaries, Lexicons, and a Variety of other school-books, entertaining Miscellanies and Novels, a choice collection of English and French poets, the most approved writers on Agriculture, Biography, Chronology, History, Geography, Mathematics, Philosophy natural and moral, Law, Physic, and Divinity. Should the Library be disposed of by wholesale, before the day appointed, the public shall have timely notice.

This was an unusually fine library for this period. In his memorial to the Commission of Enquiry into the Losses and Services of American Loyalists, Boucher claimed that his books were worth £500, or one eleventh of his total estate.[29] His career in Maryland will be treated at greater length hereafter.

Those clergymen whose libraries have been mentioned were all members of the Church of England. Another religious movement which was rapidly gaining strength in Maryland at the close of the colonial period was Methodism. Although the Methodists had not yet separated from the Anglican Church, the tactics they used and their entire mental outlook differed so completely from that of the Anglican clergy that they were considered a class by themselves. The first Methodist came to the colonies about 1760, and shortly after this a society was formed in Baltimore under the leadership of Robert Strawbridge.

William Duke, a boy of sixteen, was living in Baltimore County at this time and became deeply interested in the movement. In spite of his youth he was licensed to preach by Francis Asbury and was given a new circuit every few months. He travelled through Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, exhorting the people to repent and to lead a more devout life. From 1773 to 1779, he was a travelling preacher and reformer but he was forced to retire from this strenuous life because his health threatened to give way.

He kept a private journal containing a record of his religious experiences, his reading and his travels from 1774 until 1825.[30] The record of his early career is particularly interesting because

[29] Transcripts from the Public Record Office, XXXVI, 134. In the New York Public Library.

[30] Unpublished manuscript Journal in Maryland Diocesan Library. The Journal is lacking for the following years: Feb. 3, 1776 to Jan. 1, 1787; Apr. 6, 1787 to July 2, 1789; and Aug. 3, 1789 to June 5, 1790.

during these years he strictly adhered to the early Methodist doctrine that one's entire thoughts should be concentrated upon a contemplation of God and anything which diverted this interest was wrong.

A few excerpts from his journal help to show his early attitude toward reading and study.

. . . I Read a Melancholy Narrative of a Plague in London although many years ago yet it is related in a very affecting Manner.[31]

The book he read was probably Daniel DeFoe's *Journal of a Plague Year* (1722) which purported to be a narrative of the great plague in London in 1664 and 1665. The gruesome scenes described by DeFoe in such vivid detail caused him to see in his dreams that night visions of the image of God surrounded with light. A few days later his spiritual nature again revolted against his reading:

I found that Constant Reading was of a bad Effect fixing My Attention so strongly on it Caused me to be very Cold and Dead it Dimed the Eyes of my Faith . . .[32]

Later that same month he read a life of a Quaker, the title of which unfortunately he did not record:

. . . in the evening I was reading an account of the Life and transactions of a Quaker it seemed that The Man was very bold and faithfull in the Cause of the Lord but there was some Passages in it very odd which is apt to divert the mind than really to profit the understanding.[33]

The following year his attitude toward learning underwent a change:

In the Morning I felt Much Desire after Human Learning which I would strive to attain if I was favoured with an opportunity for which I depend on the providence of God.[34]

He bought a Latin grammar and two or three Latin titles and began to learn the language.[35] He soon saw in a new light the follies committed by those who carried their religion to excesses, whether consciously or not. While he was preaching at Penn's

[31] William Duke Journal, No. 1. May 6, 1774.
[32] *Ibid.*, May 12, 1774.
[33] *Ibid.*, May 23, 1774.
[34] William Duke Journal. No. 3. February 14, 1775.
[35] William Duke Journal. No. 5. March 2, 1775.

Neck in New Jersey, he recorded an interesting recurrence of the fear of witches which had haunted the early colonists.

How industrious is the Devil to pull down the Work of God By his artful Insinuations he has almost distracted the People They think a certain Person amongst them is a Witch and their ground for it is that they think it so But I have better ground to think the contrary.[36]

Word soon reached Duke's superiors that he was becoming so interested in reading and study that he was neglecting his duties. He received a letter from Thomas Rankin, expressing his displeasure that this promising young man was allowing himself to be distracted from his calling by books.

I was Surprized when John Byrns told me that you had not met the classes; as also, that you had not given the different Societies Notice, when, and where you would hold the quarter day. Any kind of Study, or attention of mind, that takes up our thoughts, So as to hinder us from paying proper attention to the great end of our calling; certainly becomes Sinful. It ought to be your bounden duty to guard against every thing of the kind. Let the whole bent of your Soul be employed how to convert Souls to God. This is a Methodist Preachers calling, and ought to be his alone business.[37]

This letter concisely expresses the attitude of the early Methodists toward learning.

Duke rebelled against this interpretation of his duties but he decided to ignore his critics rather than to leave his calling at that time. Most of his leisure time was spent reading and studying:

I studied in the forenoon rather more Than my Head could bear, indeed intense Application to study would soon it is my opinion Destroy the whole Human Frame.[38]

He usually studied in the morning; in the afternoon and evening he delivered two sermons, frequently to congregations ten or twelve miles apart. It is no wonder that under this tension he sometimes had to restrain himself from bursting forth with laughter during a hymn or while he was preaching:

When I began I was beset with a spirit of laughter in an extraordinary Manner while I was singing there was such strange Ideas Suggested to me that I was forced to Desist before I had half Done the hymn but when I began to speak I found the assistance of the Divine power . . .[39]

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[36] *Ibid.*, January 24, 1776.
[37] Thomas Rankin to William Duke. Allen collection of letters of Maryland Clergymen, Vol. I, 140. Maryland Diocesan Library.
[38] *Ibid.*, June 3, 1775.
[39] William Duke Journal, No. 1. May 10, 1774.

He was undoubtedly suffering from a severe mental strain. The dizziness he felt after reading probably was due to this cause rather than eye strain.

Occasionally his conscience was bothered at wasting so much of his time reading:

I spent the forenoon chiefly in my studies but I am afraid of myself lest I should too anxiously pursue human Knowledge and so neglect that which is Divine but I do not find that studying is a hurt to my soul when I moderate it by intervals of humble prayer.[40]

He very seldom actually mentioned the titles he was reading, but the few references in his early journal indicate that they were probably religious books:

In the evening read Mr Wesleys Journal How indefigable in the glorious pursuit of proclaiming the everlasting Gospel animated with Love stronger than Death.[41]

In the morning I read a little in that valuable Book Mr. Clark' general Martyrology. What conflicts did the poor Christians undergoe surely it was an almighty Arm that supported them.[42]

I read the Life of Colonel Gardiner What an Example of Piety and Devotion although in Military station Not unworthy of the Imitation of our Ecclesiastical Officers.[43]

Later he began the study of literature, but here again he fails to specify the titles he read:

In the morning I was checked with a fear lest I should damage my Soul by my Study of Literature. Nevertheless after waiting before God in earnest Prayer he greatly comforted and strengthened my Soul . . .[44]

This conflict between the Methodist conception of religion and his interest in reading and study went on in his mind for many years. As late as 1779, his conscience again reacted against his intellectual interests:

The Enemy of my Soul would have me spend my precious moments which should be improved for my advancement in Grace and Holiness in useless speculations and studies which rather tend to improve the Head than the Heart. I believe certainly that I ought to exercise my Reason for intellectual improvement but the Exercise of Faith which immediately tends to my Improvement in the Knowledge of God is of greater Importance.[45]

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[40] William Duke Journal, No. 5. September 6, 1775.
[41] *Ibid.*, October 9, 1775.
[42] *Ibid.*, October 31, 1775.
[43] *Ibid.*, November, 27, 1775.
[44] *Ibid.*, January 6, 1776.
[45] William Duke Manuscript, January 1, 1779. Loose paper in Diocesan Library.

During the winter months of that year he withdrew from his labors as a travelling preacher and studied Greek and Latin. When the Methodists established a separate church in 1784, Duke refused to give it his support and he remained an Anglican during the rest of his life. He published several books including *Hymns and Poems* in 1789.[46] He continued his early studies, and in 1789, when he was considering a mission to Kentucky and the West, Bishop Clagett testified:

> Mr. Duke was a good and faithful minister of Jesus Christ, well learned in Divinity, and in the Latin and Hebrew Languages.[47]

In 1799, he opened a classical school in his home and, in 1803, he was appointed Professor of Languages at St. John's College. He died in 1840 after a long and useful life in the church and educational fields in Maryland.

Duke, like most of the other clergymen in the Middle Colonies, was acquainted with Parson Weems, the itinerant preacher and bookseller. Although this grave and "sad-hued divine" never became entirely reconciled to some of the mannerisms of his more volatile friend, they frequently travelled together and visited one another, and remained warm friends throughout their lives. Duke recorded in his journal that one evening he had difficulty in getting to sleep because Parson Weems and his friends "engaged in the conflict of paste-boards, with a preserverence that sadly interferred with my repose." While they were visiting together in 1790, Duke happened to read aloud from Wilson's *Account from the Pelew Islands,* and his listeners were so much interested that they made him read from the same book on the following evenings. Three years later, Parson Weems, the shrewd and energetic bookpeddler, had Samuel and John Adams print an edition which he could sell through the middle and southern states.[48]

His library in 1792 contained at least five hundred titles of which the following is a selected list showing his wide interests

[46] Joseph T. Wheeler, *The Maryland Press,* 1777-1790. Baltimore, 1938 No. 524. Among Duke's early publications were the following: *A Methodist's Remonstrance* (Wheeler, 525); *Thoughts on Repentance* (Wheeler, 497); *Observations on the State of Religion in Maryland* (Evans 28593); *Remarks on Education* (Evans, 28494); and *Clue to Religious Truth* (Evans, 28592).

[47] Sprague, *op. cit.,* pp. 309-314. The biographical sketch of Duke was written by Ethan Allen. L. C. Wroth has also written on Duke in the *Church Standard.*

[48] Lawrence C. Wroth, *Parson Weems, a Biographical and Critical Study,* Baltimore, 1911, p. 38.

in the classics, history and literature. Nearly all of these books were collected during and after the Revolution, so, strictly speaking, they do not belong in this study except in so far as they show his early intellectual development.[49]

Selected titles omitting religious works

Universal History 17[?] vol.
Cave's Historia Literaria
Kenelm Digby's Philosophy 4to
Greek lexicon
Latin dictionary
Hebrew Grammar and lexicon
Homer in Greek
Virgil in Usum Del.
Horace ditto
Guthries Geography
Rowning's Philosophy
Cicero's Orations Lat.
Kennett's Antiquities
Gibson's Surveying
Justin's General Hist. Eng. & Lat.
Xenophon's Hist. of Cyrus Gr. & Lat.
Longinus on the Sublime Gr. & Lat.
Eschinef and Demosthenes Orations
Pope's Homer's Iliad
Minor Poets 1 v.
Ovid Latin
Rollin's Belles Lettres
Parnel's Poems
Milton's Poetic works
Art of Speaking
Duncan's Logic
Locke on Understanding (abridged)
Hill's Arithmetic
Pomfert's Poems
Young's Night-Thoughts
Horace
Trap's Virgil
Burke on the Subl. and Beautiful
Lowth's Eng. Grammar
Constitutions of the United States
Mair's Introduction to Latin Syntax
Mela's Geography
Historical Mirror
Thompson's Seasons
Addison's Evidences of the Christian Religion
Hutcheson's Metaphysics Lat.
Ruddiman's Grammar 2 cop.
Terrence Lat.
Tuly's Offices Lat.
Greek Grammar
Two of Isocrates's Orations Greek and Latin [Same in English]
Elements of Rhetoric: Lat.
Anacreon Gr. & Lat.
Edwards on Free Will
Addison's Travels
Aristotle's Art of Poetry Gr. and Lat.
The Task a Poem and Tyrocrinum with French Grammar
Goldsmith's Deserted Vill, and Young's Last Day
Cicero de Finibus Lat.
Watt's Hymns 2 cop .
Sleidan's Four Monarchies Lat.
Select Epistls of Cicero
Sallust Lat.
Demosthenes's Orations Fr. & Lat.
Steele's Christian Hero
Eng. Dictionary
Pilgrim's Progress
Select Poetry 1 v.

[49] Catalogue of Books, January 26, 1792. Maryland Diocesan Library.

Epictetus
Bailey's Exercises
Anthologia Greek
Lives of the Fathers
Juvenal & Persius
Vocabulary
Hist. of Sir F. Drake
Select Stories &c
T. a Kempis's Imitation of Christ Lat. Same in English
Virgil Lat.
Robinson's Heb. Dictionary
The Poetical Epitome
Cicero's Letters Lat.
Curiosities of Literature
French Grammar
Bossuet L'Histoire Universal
Biographical Dictionary
Boerhaave's Materia Medica
Travels of Cyrus
De L(orS) olme on the Constitution of England
Paxton on the Human Body
Xenephon's Memorabilia
Backmair's German Grammar
Hoadley's Original & institution of civil government
Wotton's Reflections upon antient & modern learning
Virgil (small)
Jer. Collier's Essays
History of the 5 Indian Nations
Oldmixon's Critical History of England
Art's Treasury
Euclid's Elements
America Tutor's &c Arithmetic
Locke on the Human Understanding
Pindar's Olympiaes Gr.
Lucian's Dialogues
Mason on self Knowledge
Flowers of History
Tacitus (Lat.)
The Mirror
Walker's Dictionary
Brookes's Gazetteer
Biography, Dr. Johnson's Life &c
Hume's History of England 8v.
Armstrong Aikenside and Beaties poems
Juvenal
Watt's Lyrical Poems
Lexicon Homericum
Lyttleton's Dialogues of the dead
British Nepos
Plato's Dialogues
Seneca's Morals
Geography of Maryland and Delaware 1v.
Euripides Tragedies
Royal Dictionary of Arts &c 2v folio
Gregory's Dictionary of Arts and science
Guttiries Geography by Carey
French translation of Iliad
Ovid's Epistles Lat.
Comedies of Moliere
Ward's Mathematics
Life of Jno Newton
(NB some of his books were imported for him with the Balto Lib Cos. Books)
Caesar's Commentaries
Sallust
Boyer's Fr. Dictionary
Martiall Epigrams
Clark's Travels
Livy's Roman History
Plutarch's Lives 8v.
Fenelon's Dialogues
Smart's Horace
Humbolts personal narrative
Voyage to Abessinia by Salt
Caesar's Commentaries New York
Lucretius de rerum natura
Seneca's Works (Latin)
Translation of Greek tragedies
Wilson's Sallust
Leland's Demosthenes

THE HAYNIE LETTERS

Introduction and Drawings by
Doris Maslin Cohn

There are certain family names of early Maryland which for lack of sons after the second or third generation have passed entirely from our State rolls and their part in our history becomes lost and forgotten. Such a name is Haynie, a family who migrated from Northumberland County, Virginia, to the Eastern Shore in 1764. They were Samuel, the son of Richard Haynie Esq., originally from England, and Sarah Ball, a cousin of George Washington, (who left her the large sum of "three hundred dollars"), and Samuel's wife Judith James, and they settled on or near the Wicomico River west of Salisbury, probably near Rock-a-Walkin and then still part of Somerset County. Here two daughters were added to the group of four sons born in Virginia, Mary who died in infancy, and Lydia who married a Mr. Maddux. The sons were

1. Samuel Jr., 1756-1795. Died single.
2. Richard, 1758-1789. Married Leah Byrd of Virginia and had Leah B. and Martin Luther II.
3. Ezekiel, 1760-1799. Married Betsy Bayly, daughter of Esme and Sinah Polk Bayly, and had Esme B., Henrietta B., Charlotte, Richard Hampden, James Warfield, and Betsy B.
4. Martin Luther, 1763-1814. Died single.

But enough of family trees. In a little brass studded box, Dr. Ezekiel's Revolutionary medicine chest, sometimes called "Great-great-grandmother Charlotte's box that was strapped on the gig," lie bundles of letters tied with colored strings. Some of these are printed here for the first time. Most of them are from Dr. Ezekiel Haynie to his brother Martin, some to others of his family and a few stray replies.

Ezekiel was four years old when his family moved across the Bay. Of his early schooling there is little record, but he studied medicine with his uncle, Dr. Ezekiel James of the Western Shore, and we know that he entered the Continental Army, Maryland 2nd Regiment, in August 1779.[1] In January and also in June,

[1] *Archives of Maryland,* Vol. XVIII.

1781, he is mate to R. Pindell, surgeon and in January, 1783, he is in the Maryland Line as surgeon with John Ebert as his mate. He was mustered out in November, 1783. A charter member of the Society of the Cincinnati and a founder of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland.[2]

The first letter refers to his being in the army, then a gap of three years and we find him practicing in Snow Hill. The Pindell

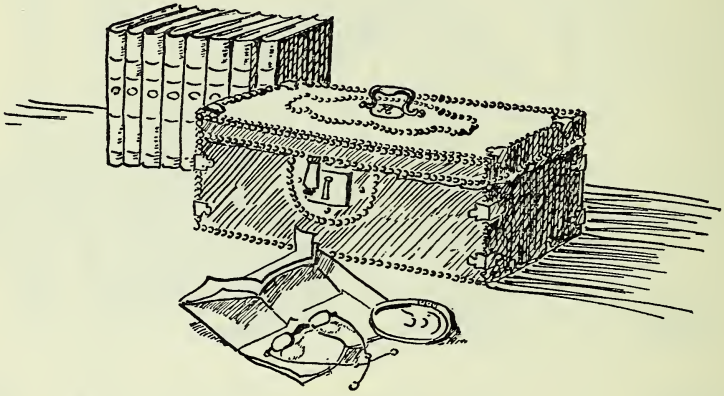
Olney Built in 1798 by Dr. Ezekiel Haynie, As It Appeared in Its Hey-Day

letter would show that like other veterans he is restless and feels a dissatisfaction which would probably have existed in any location. Local tradition says he was a successful doctor and after he moved his family to Princess Anne he built quite a nice home on the edge of the town, called Olney. The house still stands but with no trace of its former beauty, for it was once gutted by fire. It is the oldest and plainest of the buildings of the Eastern Shore Branch of the University of Maryland for the Higher Education of the Colored Race.

[2] Cordell's *Medical Annals of Maryland,* where an incorrect birth date is given.

Dr. Haynie's last letters show his failing health and spirits. His death followed soon after that of his wife, cutting short what promised to be a happy and useful life, and left his " orphaned Babes " to be brought up by their Bayly relations.

Doctor Martin Luther Haynie, the bachelor brother, was different in disposition, evidently of a bilious and depressed nature. He was said to bear a striking physical resemblance to Henry Clay. We find him first as an instructor at Washington Academy, that ancient seat of learning on Back Creek which was sponsored by



Dr. Ezekiel Haynie's Chest, Spectacles, Burning Glass, and Set of Hume's *History of England*

Samuel Wilson, and had so many famous men pass through its doors, Luther Martin, Brackenridge, Laird and others. But his gown grew irksome and he failed when a candidate before Presbytery. Next we hear of his studying medicine in Philadelphia, then there are records of his taking holy orders in the Episcopal Church but never having a charge. Years later a niece writes that he was a very religious man but a member of no denomination. Unhappy soul, he seems to have taught school, practiced medicine in various towns and never to have been satisfied. Having decided anti-slavery ideas, he ran counter to the current in most places.

The letters will speak for themselves, and reveal the likeness and the unlikeness of those times and these. If dear reader, you are an Eastern Shoreman, do not take to heart the criticisms of one hundred and fifty years ago!

[Addressed]
Martin Haynie
To be left until he comes
up from School.

Oct. 11, 1782.

Dear Brother,

I have determined to accept your kind offer respecting a settlement with Dr. Wilson. I acknowledge it one of such a nature, as I am by no means entitled to from you, but the consideration of my having to provide myself with Camp acquipage & must be at some expense in getting to the Detachment has induced me to intrude or rather impose on your brotherly goodness.

Inclosed is an account of the time which I was with Dr. Wilson which if necessary you may Show him. I hope to be able and in place to reimburse you before you stand in need of it. I am not less hurried than I was when we parted (it being now the Silent watches of the night) & can therefore only wish you all the happiness that this life can afford, & that God, on whom I depend for the Satisfaction of being restored to your company in a Short time, may bless & prosper you in everything in which you may be engaged. Farewell,

E. HAYNIE

T. T. Enclosed is a Dialoge which you may make what use of you think proper. So you don't Shew it to Critics.

[Memo on back of letter:]

April 20th 1773, began Going to School to Mr. Crow, and boarding at Mr. Kings.
August 2nd went up Home—Came down do. 29th.
June 2nd borrowed of Mr. Wilson thirteen Dollars or £ 2.7.6. Present at the time Mrs. S. Wilson.

Mr. Martin L. Haynie
Washington Academy

Dr. Brother;—

I confess I have been a little disappointed in my expectations of having your company part of this last week. Perhaps it was not altogether convenient to you to come—I know your situation and therefore cannot censure you upon reflection. But, as I told you before I scarcely expect to see you here now during my stay; for, (to own the truth) I grow every day more weary of this dull and unhappy place; which has for its chief characteristics Discord in Society, Stagnation in Business, and Infertility of Soil. None of which can ever prove Sources of either comfort or happiness.

I know not whether dissapation is a necessary consiquence of the properties I have mentioned as belonging to this place or not, but this I know that the incentives to it are more numerous and irresistable here, than I

have met with elsewhere. I see, I feel that I have not the same power of application to reading that I once had. And surely this is a Rock that must prove as destructive to a person in my indigent condition, as Scylla and Carybdis were fabled to be to the Marriners of old.

At the time I settled here I had motives for doing it, which I think will cease to operate in a short time—Those objects that are attainable will be accomplished and those that are not, will, must, and ought to be relinquished.

Since I saw you, I have been reading Blair's Lectures—They are certainly preferable to any writings on the subject that I am acquainted with so far as my Judgement is consistent with Truth and Taiste. As soon as read them through I propose begining Pope's works (which are to be had in Town)

When I shall go to Annapolis is yet uncertain, but I must go soon.

Adieu—

E. HAYNIE

Snow Hill Sunday 29th May 1785

Mr. Martin L. Haynie
W. Academy

Snow Hill June 14th 1785

Dear Brother.—

As I hate to be always complaining of the barrenness of my mind in puerile apologies for the want of something to write about, I am determined in future, to send you just what vague Ideas happen to be uppermost in my brain at the time I have an opportunity of writing. And I would have you take notice, that I am not now studying Nouns, Verbs, &c. as you are, and therefore I expect any blunder in that way will be faithfully overlooked; but you are not to look for the same indulgance from me, as it is not to be expected that an inferior Scholar will lose an opportunity of catching at an error in a Superior and taking occasion to be vain upon it.

I was at our old Mamma's last Sunday week and found the family nearly in the State you left them. Brother Richard told me he was to have gone down to meet you at P. Anne that day but could not do the business he had intended and of course it was not worth while but I am still a little surprised he did not go down last week, as he told me he had great hopes of getting the money he wanted either from Brother Samuel (who went the day I left Vienna to sell his Tobacco) or from Mr. M——x.

I did think to have set out to Annapolis this week, but could not get money to bear my expences up; nor am I certain I shall ever get as much from these vile people while I stay among them without Legal Assistance. Your indisposition I suppose you would willingly have me think to be either Vapours, as great Wits and very studious persons are said to be subject to them, but I hope it is not so bad as that. For tho' complaints of that Class are seldom dangerous, yet they are plain indications of a discontented, peevish, petulant temper of mind, which is a great bar to that internal complacency and quietude that is perhaps the only true source of happiness. Or it is rather that happiness itself.

If at any time you should need, in your Judgement the assistance of Medicine, you have only to let me know it. And I particularly desire you not to be backward in doing so. For how-ever unable I may be to assist you in any other respect, I shall never be to busy to afford you my assistance in this way.

The unhappy misunderstanding between your President and some of the Trustees, is now in the knowledge of almost everybody. I wish it may not undermine the Academy, or at least injure it considerably in the event, by giving occasion to some people to think there is Caprice where it ought not to be.

I hope by the next opportunity to be able to send you *Toga Virilis,* 'thou not the same that was worn by Maro, or Ovid, or Tully, I imagine not unlike theirs, as they are described to have been plain, without fringe, which differed from the *Toga Puorilis* that having a purple fringe. So it will just Suit you, a dignified Precepter.

But my paper's full. Adieu.

E. HAYNIE

Mr. Martin L. Haynie
Washington Academy.

Snow Hill June 24th 1785

Dr. Brother,–

You no doubt expected me at the Academy this week, and I thought to have gone, but having a little business here and none of equal consequence there, I declined it. Mr. Handy told me he saw you and Brother Rich'd both at Princess Anne: but I scarce think you were there in the middle of the week. As I intend up to Salisbury tomorrow, and from there to Mamma's I write this and leave it to be sent to you by Benny Martin who says he is going down Sunday or Monday. I have also left out a Gown to be sent by him. You will I think find it a very agreeable Academic dress, and they are not very dear, not so much as Summer Coats.

I can yet determine upon no particular time to set out to Annapolis—but it must be in about ten days, if that certain *pocket-necessary* can be obtained by any means. I wish very much to see you before that time, and must if possible take a day or two for that purpose.

My chief business up now, is to see our Relative who is my patient—Tho' for aught I know She may be in Virginia before this time.—If She is, it will be a matter of concern to me that I did not see her again before she went, not that I can do anything more for the complaint that I have already, but because perhaps she thinks I could and besides this, I wanted to write to that dear old Sister of ours, whose real affection for us, I dare say makes her anticipate with fine anxiety the pleasure she will have in receiving testimonies of ours for her, by this conveyance.

There are several things on my mind which I would be glad to impart to you, but I must defer it till we meet. In the meantime write me the first opportunity. Adieu,

E. HAYNIE

What a difference a year makes! Where now is the boredom of "stagnation of business," evidently revived enough to warrant setting up housekeeping even in a meagre manner? Fear and hope, timidity and courage, the same age-old approach to matrimony. He was married to Betsy Bayly on May 11, 1786.

Snow Hill Apr. 29 [1786]

Dr Brother–

If you have any desire to know how disjointed and incoherent a person's Ideas are, in so anxious a State as I am in at this time, this Letter will probably gratify it. My mind, you may readily suppose, is employed almost all my time in anticipating the important event which awaits; and whether my sensations are agreeable or not you may easily ascertain, by bringing the matter to the test of your own feelings when you were pretty certain of accomplishing a very desirable and interesting object. Tho' I must own even in this, I find the truth of the saying, that nothing comes to us unmixt. The difficulty of providing those necessaries without which there is no housekeeping, and the impatience and hurry the spirits are thrown into, are at least sufficient to keep a person from being happy to excess. I believe I have given it as my opinion, that such was the cloying nature of most of our pleasures and enjoyments, and happiness so much confined to the Mind, that we generaly enjoyed a thing more in anticipation than fruition. I still think it generaly true; but am much inclined to think it will not prove so in this instance.

I know of no alteration in the arrangements we had made before I left Somerset; so that I have nothing particular to request you to do in the matter; except that I want you to come here towards the last of next week if you can conveniently, as it is likely you may be useful to me about that time.

I have not yet made any preparation for the approaching event, only in putting my Garden in better order, and bespeaking some trifling articles of furniture.

I think if there is any alteration in my Spirits, it consists in their being a little depressed, by reflecting on the vast importance of the matter before me.

Tell Mamma, Brothers, and Sisters my love and good wishes always attend them.

E. Haynie

A few months pass and here speaks the master of a home. Food, the all important item to every generation, upsets the holiday visiting. Fickle winter weather must be endured and plans changed to meet its whims.

Mr. Martin Haynie
near Salisbury
favd. Capt. Smyly.

Snow Hill January 18 1787

Dear Martin–

We left Wicomico in so great a hurry that it was altogether out of our power to take Mamma's in our route here. The reason of it was this, I had got a quantity of Pork Fryday in Christmas week; and not expecting such a continuance of warm weather I went to Somerset and left it unsalted. On Sunday we intended up to the Forest, but I was sent for early in the day to go to Mr. W. Polk, and before I returned from thence I had a message from Col. Josh. Dashiell; I then was obliged to give up all the thoughts of going to Mamma's & Sot out on Monday in order to prevent my Pork from Spoiling. I assure you it was no very agreeable disappointment to us for we wished to have spent a day or two at least, with our Friends there, before we left the County, especially as we shall not have it in our power to do it very soon now.

We have been constantly on the lookout for you since we came home, and we are certainly entitled to expect you from your promise to us viz, That if we could not call at Mamma's "you would come down as soon as you heard we had come away." So that if you do not come soon I shall begin to fear you are actuated by some unworthy principal or passion or other, or else that you are more engaged than I think you to be. I know I have found Relations whose Suspicians about the Sincerity of my esteem for them are easily excited; but I hope I have also found those whose esteem for me will induce them to make the necessary allowance for the peculiar circumstances attending my Proffession & Situation in other respects. I think there are not many people who feel a more earnest wish for the happiness of their Relations or who enjoy their company when in it more than I do, and always did. But it has so happened that my affairs did not admit of my being often or long with them. I have often lamented but cannot alter it without great inconvenience.

If you Spoke to B. Dickey about his Pork, I will be glad if you will let him know that I am supplied. I hope he has not kept them up longer than he intended on my Account.

I neglected to bring Euclid with me from Wicomico but I shall probably have an opportunity of getting it very soon so that we may not only spend our time agreeably but profitably if you can tarry a month or two with me. If you should have an opportunity, you may get my Cheseldon of Doct. Irving and bring with you, if you wish to study it.

This is a leisure Season with me, and our family has no children in it to interrupt Studious people, tho' there are none such here now; for I read very little.

Give my most affectionate wishes to Mamma & all friends.

Adieu

E. Haynie

Martin Haynie has started the first of his moves to other pastures. Far away, measured by the slow travel of those days, Doctor Ezekiel writes to him at such length that the next letter has been much condensed. It exhibits concern over his brother's health, suggesting cold baths as a remedy for nervous weakness provided it is not "the effect of Atony or Debility." The good Doctor seems not to approve of careless mirth but thinks cheerfulness a sweetener of life, and encourages indulgence in "the Gaity of Georgetown to dispell the mists of too much thought and pensiveness."

Mr. Martin Haynie
George Town Montgomery County
fav'd by Mr. Irving.

Snow Hill May 27th 1787

Dear Brother–

Next to the presence and conversation of a Friend, his letters administer the most pleasure to an affectionate heart. Nor are you to think that this observation is the effect of a knowledge merely speculative, for I am happy to assure you, that it has grown out of the feeling which a sight of three of your letters before me, has excited.

In your last by Mr. Irving you tell me you were at great pains to get a conveyance here for your letters.

* * * * *

I have, however, delayed writing for a few days longer than I should on this occasion, in expectation of being able to tell you I had a SON or daughter; but that event has hitherto been looked for in vain. I must therefore reserve it for my next.

I took the earliest opportunity of forwarding the information your letters gave me, to our very dear Parent and other relations; but while I have been telling them what befel you, I have not collected anything from them to tell you. At Easter I was at Salisbury Fair, where I saw All our brethren; since that time I have not been in Somerset, or had any particular account from them. Mrs. Bayly who is here tells me she saw some of the family a few days ago and heard no complaint.

I wished to have seen you before you left Somerset for many reasons, and among others to give you the information I had of Gen'l Roberdeau's character, that you might not confide too implicitly in him. I am glad however, that you found him hospitable and Friendly. Perhaps my information of his being a *Designing Mercenary* was false. It was a just preference, I think that you gave to G. Town before Alexandria. I have been at both places, and am sure the former tho' not so populous and regular, is more agreeable and much healthier than the latter.

I cannot say that I am entirely satisfied with the prospect your school affords. Tho' if it should be augmented to the number you mention it will

be much better: and perhaps equal to any business you could engage in at this time of general embarrassment and stagnation of every kind of business.

* * * * *

You as well as myself could relish Society a little better. It would—but I must break off from this strain to tell you the Domestic (or rather Social) news. Rider Henry and Mrs. Nelly Horsey are dead. And now to take it in the order the publishers of Magazines generally do, after the Bill of Mortality comes the Marriages, not that there have been any, but your old friend Jemmy Wilson Senr. is to be united to Miss Kitty Morris next Wednesday week, no reconciliation having yet taken place between him and his unfortunate Daughter and Son in Law.

I have several Army acquaintances about G. Town among whom are Captains Beall, Lemarand Bell, and Messrs Saml. Hamilton, Boyd, Murdock, McGruder and Williams. If these or any of my old fellow-sufferers enquire tell them what has become of me, and that I wish them well.

* * * * *

Betsy directs me to speak for her as well as myself, when I tell you I love you and will always while I am

E. HAYNIE

The school at G. Town evidently was not " augmented to the number you mention " for here is Brother Martin back in Somerset and being scolded for the useless attempt to teach his personal opinions to those who do not care to learn.

Mr. Martin L. Haynie
Mr. James Wilson's Junr.
Manokin by Mr. Morris.

Snow Hill June 18th '88

Dear Brother,

I received your's by Doct. Rownd the day after it's date, and I was very glad to hear from you in that way. Tho' I had much rather have seen you either here or in Somerset, as I thought myself entitled to expect. It would not, perhaps, be very easy for me to ascertain the cause, but it is no hard matter to discover that my friends will not be at much pains to give me the pleasure of their company. One will come within a few miles of my dwelling and not call on me, another will not tarry a day or two to see me when he hears I am to be in the place where he is; while the rest will never come one mile towards the place where I live. This is I own the language of complaint, and I think it is not without good grounds. You will say many inconveniences are in the way, and should be considered, I answer that

I have not suffered small inconveniences to hinder me from going to see my friends. If I did I should never go.

You heard in Salisbury that we were to be up in a few days, we went up on Wednesday and you had returned on Monday. We heard at Mamma's that you intended down here in 3 or 4 weeks, but you say nothing about it, so that we are at liberty to conclude you have declined it. I hope however, you have not, and shall expect you. I believe I should not quarrel with you either, as *you* are the only one who has been to see us. You do not tell me whether you got your Rasor from Mr. King or not, or the letter that accompanied it.

I did not hear Josiah Bayly say anything about your having offended Mr. Denwood Wilson, but if I recollect you told me what you said to him & his remark upon it. How he came to suppose you meant Mr. Jones I cannot guess; I never heard the most remote hint of his driving his people so hard, or that he was charged with too much Industry. You know my sentiments upon the *Matter* of your dispute with Mr. Wilson, and will easily Judge what my opinion is of your Conduct. I am not of the most ductile Metal, but I do not know whether I should voluntarily engage in a difference of this kind with a people who would not be likely to hear Reason, or even the pathetic voice of *Human Misery,* when it tended to diminish their *Idol* Property. But considering the accidental manner in which you were drawn into it you are certainly in the right to defend yourself, even against the most dignified Characters in the State, if you had such to contend with. The mention of your dispute reminded me of a story I saw not long ago in the Museum. A number of Gentlemen were at a Dinner in Philadelphia, when one of them happened to say he thought it right to hold Slaves. Another immediately 'rose from the Table in a violent passion and Stamped about the floor, declaring a person of his sentiments was not fit to live &c &c. The Host who was a sensible Scotchman, laid hold of him, and exclaimed " Ho'd, Ho'd Man, ye cannot set the World to rights, set down to your Soup." It is necessary a reflecting Mind should be supplied with a good deal of Patience and forebearance to enable it to resist the numerous temptations that it must often be under to inveigh against the flagrant vices and excesses of the times. As to the sacrifice you make of a friendship of a certain Person, I esteemed it less than none at all; for abstracted from property, He is as insignificant as I think any Man can be. I hope, as it has happened that it will be productive of some good; and I really think it likely to be so. For people do not like for their crimes to become too public.

I send by my friend *Mr. Morris* The articles you mentioned. You know how to use them all except the Mercurial Water for Ring Worms, which is to be used as a wash once a day while necessary.

Will you come down to see us in a week or two? I will send a horse if that should be an obstruction.

Yrs, Affectionately

EZEK. HAYNIE

Mr. Martin Haynie
Somerset
by Mr. Ross.

Snow Hill Oct. 10th 1788

Dr. Brother,

From the information Mr. Ker gave me I have been expecting you down here several days past. You will find business enough here for you as soon as you will. The Presbytery is to meet at Blackwater the 21 Inst. and for your amusement in the meantime, Mr. McMaster has appointed you a Latin Exogesis (for so he and Mr. Tull call it) which is to be executed by that time as a part of probation. I have a letter for you which Mr. McMaster left here that will give you further information on the subject when you come down. I would have sent the letter but expecting you down every day, I thought you might not get it. We are not quite well Esme has the Ague, and I have been indisposed a week or two. My love to all friends.

Yrs.

E. HAYNIE

In the five years between this and the last letter the versatile Martin seems to have abandoned preaching and starting practicing. This is the only letter addressed to him as "The Rev.," and from now on they are from doctor to doctor.

The Rev.
Martin L. Haynie
Salisbury

Geo. Purnell Esq.

Snow Hill 9th Nov. '93

Dear Brother,

I got my return from Baltimore some days ago, and was agreeably surprised to find that the prices of medicine (a few articles excepted) are lower, instead of higher than usual. I have enclosed the Bill for your inspection. If you have not yet sent for your Medicine I will be obliged to you to add zii of Magnesia Alba and the same quantity of Saccharum Saturni to your order on my Acct.

We are much as you left us & it remains healthy in the neighborhood. I shall be at Court next week, and if I have time at Wicomico.

I shall expect you down to get a dividend of the Medicine last received, but it will be the best to defer it till Wednesday or Thursday next, on account of my going to Somerset the first of the week. I shall want the enclosed Bill again. You will bring it down when you come.

I am Affec.y, Yrs.

E. HAYNIE

Doctr. Martin L. Haynie
at Salisbury

Snow hill 14 Dec. 1793

Dear Brother,

I had no opportunity of speaking to Mr. Ball on the subject of his Sulky till a few days ago. He says that he has made a tender of it to his Father, but if he should not accept it will be for Sale. When he is to get his answer he did not mention. He however, observed that as you were the first at Salisbury he should have an opportunity of talking with you on the subject. From which observation I drew the conclusion that he perhaps would be determined pretty much by the price he was likely to get.

Old John Smith is no doubt impatient to get his medicine, if you see him you may let him know that I will send it to Salisbury on Tuesday if the weather will permit. You may also tell Major Bayly that I shall try to procure a load of Oysters at the same time (Tuesday) when I think of sending my Cart for Flour. I think I shall be at Salisbury about Christmas.

Yrs. Affectionately

E. HAYNIE

BALTIMORE COUNTY LAND RECORDS OF 1687

Contributed by Louis Dow Scisco

These entries of 1687 are to be found on pages 9 to 79 of the original Liber F No. 2 and on pages 211 to 247 of the transcript in Liber R M No. H S of the land records. In the original record three papers of 1688 and one of 1689 were interpolated in the sequence at later dates. These are given as they appear in the original liber.

Deed, June 6, 1688, Christopher Shawe and wife Elizabeth, for love, good will, and affection, conveying to John Ashes, planter, the 30-acre tract " Shaws Choice," adjoining to the tract " Planters Paradice." Witness, Nicholas Rogier. Grantors acknowledge in court. Deputy Clerk Nicholas Rogier attests for Clerk Thomas Hedge.

Deed, January 4, 1686-87, George Gouldsmith, gentleman, and wife Martha, for 10,354 pounds of tobacco, conveying to John Walstone, gentleman, two tracts on the south side of Swan Creek, first, the 200-acre tract " Procters Hall," adjoining to land of James Roberts, and second, the 200-acre tract " The Enlargement " adjoining to land formerly granted to Gouldsmith and Procter. No witnesses recorded. Gouldsmith acknowledges and wife Martha consents February 26 before George Wells and Edward Beadle. Sub-sheriff John Hall receives on March 30 from Walstone 12 shillings alienation money.

Bond, February 26, 1686-87, George Gouldsmith and wife Martha obligating themselves to John Walstone, gentleman, for 30,000 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, George Wells, Edward Beadle. Gouldsmith and wife acknowledge before same.

Deed, May 9, 1685, Thomas Richardson, planter, and wife Rachel as administratrix, for 3,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Michael Judd the 150-acre tract " Hogg Neck " on the south side of Bush River, which tract was taken up by Mr. Nathaniell Stiles, who sold to Lodwick Williams, who sold to John Towers, now deceased, who left it to his wife Rachel, now wife of Richardson. Witnesses, Anthony Drew, Edmond Stansley. Richardson acknowledges and wife Rachel consents March 3, 1686-87, before George Gouldsmith.

Letter of attorney, November 8, 1688, William Osborn, Junior, planter, appointing James Phillips, innholder, his attorney to act in all things concerning him. Witnesses, Nicholas Rogier, Thomas Dalby. (*Not in transcript.*)

Deed, October 26, 1686, Anthony Demondideer, planter, for 2,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Thomas Morris, planter, for 89 years,

with annual rent of one grain of Indian corn if demanded, 50 acres at George's Pond, as laid out September 1, 1686, by Thomas Lightfoot the deputy surveyor, said land being part of the 300-acre tract " Timber Neck " on the north side of Patapsco River and adjoining to Lewis Bryan's tract " The Hope," it being formerly possessed by Richard Ball, deceased, and on June 14, 1678, being possessed by Thomas Taylor, esq. Witnesses, John Robinson, Francis Poteet, Randall Jones. Grantor's attorney Charles Gorsuch acknowledges in court before Capt. Henry Johnson and George Goldsmith, commissioners. Clerk Hedge attests.

Letter of attorney, February 15, 1686-87, Anthony Demondidier appointing Charles Gorsuch his attorney to acknowledge a deed of 50 acres. Witnesses, Thymothy Ryly, Robert White.

Deed of gift, February 10, 1686-87, Anthony Demondideer freely giving to Thomas Jones 10 or 15 acres by guess on north side of George's Pond at Patapsco River, it being part of " Timber Neck " tract and adjoining to lands of Francis Potteet and Thomas Morris, to hold said land for the same period that grantor has it from Col. Thomas Taylor. Witnesses, Martha Demondidier, Randall Jones.

Deed, February 24, 1686-87, Charles Gorsuch and wife Sarah of Patapsco River, for 14,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Roger Newman, merchant, of London, the 260-acre tract " The Range " at Denton Creek, on the Bay side near Patapsco River mouth. Witnesses, Thomas Scudamore, Susanna Osten.

Bond, February 24, 1686-87, Charles Gorsuch of Patapsco River obligating himself to Roger Newman, merchant, of London, for 30,000 pounds of tobacco as security that Gorsuch and wife Sarah will fulfill covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, Thomas Scudamore, Susanna Osten.

Letter of attorney, February 24, 1686-87, Sarah Gorsuch appointing John Boring her attorney to acknowledge conveyance of 260 acres. Witnesses, Thomas Scudamore, Susanna Osten. Appended memorandum that on March 1 Charles Gorsuch and Sarah Gorsuch's attorney John Boreing acknowledge in court. Clerk Hedge attests.

Deed, December 24, 1684, (*sic*), Jenkin Smith planter, of Calvert County, for 5,400 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Richard Robeson (or Robinson) planter, the 100-acre tract " The Narrows " on north side of Stony Creek on south side of Patapsco River, as patented September 9, 1679, to Francis Leafe, bricklayer, of Calvert County, by an assignment from George Yate, gentleman, of Anne Arundel County, and deeded December 29, 1680, by Leafe and wife Sarah to Jenkin Smith. Witnesses, Francis Downs, John Meriton, Joseph Tilly.

Bond, December 24, 1685, Jenkin Smith, planter, of Calvert County, obligating himself to Richard Robinson, planter, for 10,800 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, John Harrison, Joseph Tilly, Francis Downes, John Merriton. Smith acknowledges March 2, 1686-87, and wife Ann consents to deed.

Deed, June 8, 1687, Thomas Thurstone of Bush River, for love, good will, and affection, conveying to Stephen Gill, son of Stephen Gill, planter,

late of Severn River, 182 acres out of the "Littleton" tract. Witnesses, George Goldsmith, John Hathway. Grantor acknowledges at court. Deputy Clerk John Hathway attests for Clerk Hedge.

Deed, June 6, 1687, James Mills conveying to James Phillips his interest in the 100-acre tract "Galiarbe" on the west side of Bush River, adjoining to John Collier's land, the tract belonging formerly to Joseph Gallion and afterward to George Gunill. Witnesses, Thomas Dalby, Robert Bengar, Francis Robinson. Grantor acknowledges before Capt. Henry Johnson, Mr. George Goldsmith, and Mr. Francis Watkins. Deputy Clerk Hathway attests for Clerk Hedge.

Deed, April 6, 1687, Thomas Lightfoot, gentleman, for £65 sterling, conveying to James Greeniff, planter, of Anne Arundel County, the 350-acre tract "Harbourrough" on the south side of the southwest branch of Patapsco River, excepting 5 acres lying on Holly Run. Signed by Thomas Scudamore as attorney. Thomas Lightfoot and Rebecca Lightfoot sign as witnesses. Scudamore acknowledges in June 7 court as attorney for grantor and wife and gives bond for them. Deputy Clerk Hathway attests for Clerk Hedge. Lightfoot acknowledges and wife Rebecca consents April 25 before John Boreing and Francis Watkins.

Bond, April 25, 1687, Thomas Lightfoot, gentleman, obligating himself to James Greeniff, planter, of Anne Arundel County, for £130 sterling as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. Signed by Thomas Scudamore as attorney. Witnesses, John Boreing, Francis Watkins. Scudamore acknowledges in June 7 court. Deputy Clerk Hathway attests for Clerk Hedge.

Letter of attorney, April 20, 1687, Thomas Lightfoot and wife Rebecca appointing Thomas Scudamore their attorney to convey land. Witnesses, Daniell Palmer, Joshuah Aurrikon.

Deed, June 7, 1687, Edward Douse and wife Elizabeth, with Emanuel Ceely and wife Sarah, conveying to William Deane of Kent County the 200-acre tract "Forest" at head of Saltpeter Creek and adjoining to "Ebinezers Park" tract. Witnesses, John Hathway, Edmond Hansley, John Purnall. Acknowledged by two grantors and consent given by wives. Deed delivered to Robert Benger. Deputy Clerk Hathway attests for Clerk Hedge. Roger Mathews notes blanks in original record.

Letter of attorney, April 18, 1687, William Deane of Kent County, carpenter, appointing Robert Benjar, planter, his attorney to recover debts and give receipts. Witnesses, Sydack Whitworth, Edward Douse. (*Not in transcript.*)

Deed, June 7, 1687, James Phillips, innholder, conveying to Thomas Tench, gentleman, of Anne Arundel County, 1,000 acres at Susquehanna River out of the 2,000-acre tract "Phillips Purchase." Susanna Phillips signs with grantor. Witnesses, John Hathway, Clerk Thomas Hedge.

Bond, June 7, 1687, James Phillips, innholder, of Bush River, obligating himself to Thomas Tench, merchant, of Anne Arundel County, for 20,000 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, Edward Bedell, Thomas Hedge.

Clerk's memorandum, June 7, 1687, that James Phillips, before Mr. Edward Bedell and Mr. John Boring, acknowledges to Tench's attorney Capt. Henry Johnson. Wife Susannah consents before Bedell. Clerk Hedge attests. Supplemental memorandum that Phillips and Tench agree that Tench will bear rent arrears, alienation fee, and transfer costs.

Deed of gift, November 7, 1688, John Fuller, planter, of Gunpowder River, assigning to his son John Fuller one heifer. Witnesses, Edmond Hensley, John Bevans. Fuller acknowledges in court. Deputy Clerk Rogier attests for Clerk Hedge. (*Not in transcript*).

Bond, June 7, 1687, Edward Douse and Emanuell Ceely, planters, obligating themselves to William Deane of Kent County for 10,000 pounds of tobacco as security that they will perform covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, John Hathway, Edmond Hansley, John Pornell. Douse and Ceely acknowledged in court and delivery of bond made to Robert Benger. Deputy Clerk Hathway attests for Clerk Hedge.

Deed, July 19, 1687, John Fuller of Middle River (for 6,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Henry Enloes, Jr., of same river, the 100-acre tract "The Swallow Forke" at head of Senigoe Creek. Witnesses, Andrew Andersone, Deputy Clerk Nicholas Rogier. Grantor acknowledges in August 2 court and wife Easter consents before George Ashman, commissioner. Clerk Hedge attests.

Bond, July 19, 1687, John Fuller, innholder, obligating himself to Henry Enloes, Jr., for 12,000 pounds of tobacco as security for observance of agreements in deed of same date. Witnesses, Hendricke Enloes, Andrew Andersone. Fuller acknowledges in August 2 court. Clerk Hedge attests.

Deed of gift, May 2, 1689, Susana Philips, widow of James Phillips, assigning £20 each to her daughters Mary and Martha, payable when 18 or when married, and £10 to her son Anthony, payable when 21, trustee therefor apparently being James Phillips, heir and executor of her deceased husband. (*Not in transcript and partly illegible in original record.*)

Deed, July 25, 1687, Thomas Scudamore, gentleman, of Back River, for 3,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Joseph Strawbridge of same place the 200-acre tract "Westwood" on the north side of Back River and on west side of the northeast branch. Witnesses, John Hall, Charles Greene. Grantor acknowledges in August 2 court. Clerk Hedge attests.

Bond, July 25, 1687, Thomas Scudamore, gentleman, obligating himself to Joseph Strawbridge, carpenter, for 6,000 pounds of tobacco as security for observance of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, John Hall, Charles Greene. Acknowledged at August 2 court. Clerk Hedge attests.

Deed, September 6, 1687, John Walston, gentleman, conveying to Col. George Wells, gentleman, the 81-acre tract "Walstons Addition" at Delfe Creek, lying in the woods at Muddy Branch and near grantee's tract "Timber Proofe," said deeded tract being patented July 14, 1679. Witnesses, Edward Bedell, George Goldsmith. Grantor acknowledges before Bedell and Goldsmith, commissioners. Deputy Clerk Rogier attests for Clerk Hedge. Undated receipt, Sheriff Thomas Long having received from Wells 3 shillings 2½ pence for alienation.

Bond, September 6, 1687, John Walston, gentleman, obligating himself to Col. George Wells, gentleman, for 10,000 pounds of tobacco, as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, Edward Bedell, George Goldsmith. Acknowledged before Bedell and Goldsmith, commissioners. Deputy Clerk Rogier attests for Clerk Hedge.

Deed, October 31, 1687, George Ogilsby, tailor, for 6,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Edward Dowce, planter, the 200-acre tract " Ogilsbys Chance " at head of the main branch of Middle River. Witnesses, Archibald Burnet, Michael Judd. Johanna Ogilsby signs with grantor. Grantor acknowledges and wife Johanna consents on November 1 before George Goldsmith. Deputy Clerk Rogier attests for Clerk Hedge.

Bond, October 31, 1687, George Ogilsby, tailor, obligating himself to Edward Dowce, planter, for 12,000 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, Archibald Burnet, Michael Judd. Acknowledged in November 1 court. Deputy Clerk Rogier attests for Clerk Hedge.

Deed, October 28, 1687, Robert Lockwood, planter, of Anne Arundel County, for £60 sterling, conveying to John Willson, planter, of same county, the 1,000-acre tract " Freindshipp " on east side of the middle branch of Bush River, as patented July 1, 1685. Witnesses, Thomas Knighton, Lenard Coles. Grantor acknowledges and wife Elizabeth consents before the Anne Arundel County commissioners Thomas Knighton and James Ellis. Receipt, November 1, from Sheriff Thomas Long for alienation in full received from Willson.

Deed, December 1, 1687, Richard Johns, merchant, of Calvert County, and wife Elizabeth, sister and heir of Paull Kinsey, deceased, for 4,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Richard Gwyn, planter, the 250-acre tract " Brandon," formerly in Anne Arundel County, on the northwest side of Deep Creek at Brandon Bay, on the south side of Patapsco River, as formerly laid out for Kinsey. Witnesses, William Tymis, John Gadsby. Grantor acknowledges and wife Elizabeth consents before John Boring and George Ashman.

Survey certificate, August 17, 1663, the deputy surveyor Francis Skenner having laid out for Paul Kinsey, planter, 250 acres called Brandon, in Anne Arundel County, on the south side of Patapsco River at Brandon Bay and on the northwest side of Deep Creek. Reference to Liber AA, page 382. James Cullen, registrar, signs.

Bond, December 1, 1687, Richard Johns, merchant, of Calvert County, obligating himself to Richard Gwyn, planter, for 8,000 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, John Boring, William Tymis.

A LETTER FROM THE SPRINGS

A letter written nearly a century ago from York Springs, Adams County, Pennsylvania, by Laura Jane Hooper, of Baltimore, has been made available for publication by Mr. George G. Buck, a member of the Society and grandson of the writer. Miss Hooper was a daughter of William Hooper, of the firm of Hooper and Hardester, cotton duck importers on Bowley's Wharf. At the date of the letter she was 22 years of age. The addressee was her future mother-in-law at whose home, Bristle Hill, in the present Walbrook, Miss Hooper was living following the death of her mother. She married George W. Grafflin.

The tunnel mentioned in the letter is known as the Howard Tunnel, cut in 1841 through solid rock between Glatfelter and Brilhart, both in Pennsylvania, on the Northern Central Railroad, then the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad. " Dr. Fisk " doubtless was Dr. Wilbur Fisk, clergyman, author and first president of Wesleyan University. The Kettlewells were neighbors of the Hoopers in the 900-block East Pratt Street. The brother who accompanied the writer was James A. Hooper, importer, shipchandler and owner of the clipper ship, *Kate Hooper,* reputed to have been the first ship of the type built here (1853). Another brother, not referred to in the letter, was William E. Hooper, founder more than a hundred years ago of the cotton duck firm that still bears his name.

" Lawyer Preston " was no doubt William P. Preston, of Fayette Street. " Mr. Lurman " if Gustavus W. Lurman, was not a bachelor but the husband of Frances Donnell, and founder of the well known family of that name and member of the firm of Oelrichs and Lurman. The Hoffmans need no identification. " Mr. Beatty " was James Beatty, one of the original directors of the Union Manufacturing Company, resident in Calvert Street north of Lexington.

[Addressed]
Mrs. Jacob Grafflin
Care of Hooper & Hardester,
Baltimore.

York Springs, Aug. 22nd, 1842

Dear friend:

Thinking perhaps you would feel some anxiety to hear how I am getting along, I have seated myself to try and give you some account of my journey here and of my enjoyments since I have been here, you will find them not quite as interesting as Dr. Fisk's, but perhaps you will prize them more, coming as they do from your adopted daughter. Well, to begin, I left the depot with a smiling face but a sense of desolation at my heart, never having traveled before without a female companion. This however soon wore away, for no one could ride through the beautiful country which lies between Baltimore and York without being delighted. It is so varying in its beauty that you never tire in looking; at this season the country is particularly beautiful, every thing looking so plentiful. I never saw such large barns and most of the houses not much larger than our Log Cabin. The passengers in the car were all so ugly that I turned from them gladly to contemplate the works of nature. I must not forget to mention the tunnel we went through. It was about the length of our long lane, dug (I suppose) through the rock. Only think of going through that dismal place with the locomotive; it is horrible to think of. We reached York about ½ past 12, got into an omnibus and rode to the hotel where we got a tolerable dinner, we had peaches and cream for desert. There was but one lady at the table beside myself. Having an hour to spare we walked over a considerable portion of the town, which is much larger than I expected to see. It has a very handsome court house, a very small market house and 3 or 4 pretty churches. We left York at 2 o'clock in a hack with one other passenger, a gentleman from Baltimore who said he had sojourned there for 13 years: rather a long sojourn I think. If the country between Baltimore and York was beautiful, how much more so is that between York and here, and we moved at a rate so much slower than what we did in the morning that I had a better opportunity seeing all the fine country through which we passed. We reached this place about ½ past 6 o'clock and was much disappointed to hear that the Kettlewell family did not stay at the springs, but at a place about 2 ½ miles from here. The proprietor of this house is father to the one who lives next to father's. Well to proceed; I was shown to my room where I smoothed my hair. The supper bell ringing soon after, I joined brother in the ball room, from thence proceeded to the table, at which I found, already seated, four ladies and about ten gentlemen. We took our seats; after the company had surveyed and found we looked like other people, we all went to work and ate our supper. After I had finished my supper, I lade my knife and fork down and returned the compliment of staring. Opposite to me sat lawyer Preston of our city, and next him a Miss Stout of a very uncertain

age, certainly past sweet seventeen. Well, he was talking very earnestly to her and she listened like a modest maiden, with down cast eyes and averted head. Next to Miss Stout sat Miss Stout's brother, who resembles our friend Mr. Raymond very much. Next to him was the wife of Judge some body of Wilmington. Next came the nobility of our city, Owings Hoffman, wife and daughter. Next Mr. Lurman of Baltimore, a rich old bachelor, and then a Mr. Stiles, another rich old bachelor; that finished one side of the table. The other commenced with two old Frenchmen, both unmarried; then Mr. Beatty of Baltimore; then old George Peters, wife and son and then our honourable selves. This made up the party the night of our arrival. After supper we adjourned to the ball room. After sitting for about half an hour very quietly, the musicians came in, gave us some tolerably good music, but finding none of the party disposed to dance they soon left the room. Feeling tired, I left the room and went to my chamber, where, after undressing I got into bed but not sleep, for the Mosquitoes were so annoying that it was almost impossible to sleep. Before I was dressed in the morning brother came to my door to say that Mr. & Mrs. Kettlewell were waiting to see me. I went to them and after a great deal of shaking hands we walked to the spring and drank some of the water which is horrible. The taste is nothing to the smell. It is a composition of sulphur, magnesia and iron. I drank but one glass. After drinking, Mrs. K and I walked around to see the place which is pretty. I felt very chilly after drinking the water which is generally the case, I believe, the water having a tendency to thin the blood. We then went back to the house where the gentlemen left. Mrs. K and I sat there some time when two of the company, Miss Stout and the other lady, came in prepared for a start. After breakfast four of the party left, and the next day five more left which leaves but a small party, only two ladies, Mrs. Hoffman and myself. If you want to know how I like being at the springs, I would only say in those memorable words " that it is not what it is cracked up to be " and I shall not be sorry when we leave, which I trust will be tomorrow. We will return by the way of Philadelphia. Brother James has improved very much. I must now conclude. Give my love to all, not forgetting self. So kiss the two Harrys for me. It will take me a month to tell you all I have seen and done for the last few days.

I remain,
Yours,
LAURA.

BOOK REVIEWS

Maryland during the American Revolution. By ESTHER MOHR DOLE. [Chestertown, Md., the Author, 1941] xi, 294 pp. $2.50.

This is an interesting, well-proportioned work on the causes and the course of the American Revolution in Maryland. The hope of the author, who is professor of history at Washington College, expressed in the preface, " that the account may be of real historical value and of special interest to Marylanders," has been realized. The grievances of Maryland are skillfully woven into the narrative of the general complaints of the thirteen colonies. However, sufficient emphasis is not given to the difficult problem of the constitutional relationship between parliament and the British empire after the Glorious Revolution of 1688-9 in England. Foremost scholars in this field, such as Charles H. McIlwain, in *The American Revolution: A Constitutional Interpretation*, and Robert L. Schuyler, in *Parliament and the British Empire: Some Constitutional Controversies concerning Imperial Legislative Jurisdiction*, have reached opposite conclusions.

The organization of the provisional government of Maryland is clearly and effectively presented. The military and naval contributions of Marylanders are given due emphasis, but are not exaggerated. The chapter on " Loyalists in Maryland " is a distinct contribution, and is marked because of its sympathetic and judicious approach to the " Oliver Wiswells " of Maryland. The author should have used and cited Judge Edward S. Delaplaine's *Life of Thomas Johnson* in dealing with " Conditions in the State During the War " (Chapter IX). The reviewer is in entire agreement with the opening sentence of Chapter X on " Then and Now—A Comparative Study ": " The History of the past is of comparatively little value unless it enables us to understand the present and to live better and more intelligently in the future." This theory of History is applied cogently and forcefully in the chapter. The illustrations of George B. Keester, Jr., are very appropriate and add much to the attractive format of this volume. The index is adequate both with respect to names and topics.

This book presents an excellent political and military narrative, but it would have been more realistic if a greater emphasis had been placed on the economic motivations of the revolutionists and of the loyalists. The references to Maryland in Arthur M. Schlesinger's *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, 1763-1776* and his chapter on " The American Revolution " in *New Viewpoints in American History* should have led to an analysis of the attitudes towards England of the merchants, the eastern farmers, and the frontiersmen in Maryland. The narrative of events could have been further enlivened by characterizations of leading citizens such as Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Thomas Johnson, William Paca, Samuel Chase, and William Smallwood, similar to the author's sketches of the naval heroes, Joshua Barney, James Nicholson, and Lambert Wickes.

A number of minor slips were noted: "1938" should be "1939" (p. 3), "six days after the repeal" should be "four . . ." (p. 27), "1767" should be "1768" (p. 32), "1777" for "1775" (p. 89), "1782" for "1783" (p. 116), "1793" for "1783" (p. 249); the Declaration of Independence is referred to as taking place "Before America actually took up arms" (p. 56); Silver's "Provisional Government of Maryland" is cited as "Provincial" (p. 267, n. 70 and p. 268, n. 8); the last indicated note (57) of Chapter VI (p. 178) is not given in the notes (p. 274); the citations from the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (pp. 255, 259) are given sometimes by date, at other times only by volume and number.

James Byrne Ranck.

Hood College.

Aeronautics in the Union and Confederate Armies, with a Survey of Military Aeronautics Prior to 1861. By F. Stansbury Haydon. Volume I. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. 421 pp. 45 plates. $4.00.

With aviation playing so vital a part in the present war, Mr. Haydon's comprehensive study of the long neglected subject of aeronautics in the Union and Confederate armies has a timely as well as an historic interest. Aeronautics in this instance means, of course, the use of balloons.

The balloon made its appearance in Europe toward the close of the eighteenth century and no sooner had the first successful flight been accomplished than thoughts turned to its possible uses in military combat. Conspicuous among the uses suggested was bombing the enemy from the air, though more than a century passed before such use was realized in its most hideous form. The French used balloons in their revolutionary wars, but Napoleon had little faith in them, giving a sarcastic reply to the proposal that they be employed to transport his army to England. However, balloon ascensions proved a popular form of entertainment and adventure and such progress was made by balloonists both in Europe and in the United States that, prior to the outbreak of the American Civil War, trans-Atlantic flights were seriously contemplated.

Thus it came about that both in the North and the South, upon the opening of hostilities, there were experienced balloonists, each dignified by the title of "Professor," willing and ready to volunteer their services. In this first volume Mr. Haydon confines himself to an account of individual balloonists and the first balloon corps to serve the Union cause. Balloons were used successfully for observation and directing the fire of artillery near Washington, and at Fortress Monroe in the early days of the war, and later in the Peninsula campaign and around Culpeper and Fredericksburg. Generally the balloons were captive and messages were transmitted from the observers aloft to the ground by telegraph or by weighted notes attached to the cable. But La Mountain, a pioneer in the service, waited for a wind to carry him over the Confederate lines and,

after he had completed his observations, released his balloon and rose to great heights to be blown back by an east current which, according to his theory, prevailed at high altitudes.

Though the balloons led to no vital decisions, Mr. Haydon is of the opinion that they were, on the whole a success. They would, he believes, have played a more important part if they had not been handicapped by unfavorable weather, the indifference and ignorance of commanding officers and bad administration.

This work, which was prepared for a doctor's thesis, is distinguished by its scholarly thoroughness. It is heavily annotated and every page gives evidence of the conscientious research made into the smallest detail. Yet the author manages to avoid dullness and to present a volume which should appeal to the laymen interested either in the Civil War or in aeronautics, or both.

FRANCIS F. BEIRNE

Father Tabb, Poet, Priest, Soldier, Wit: Memories and Impressions of a Personal Friend. By GORDON BLAIR. Richmond, Whittet & Shepperson, 1940. 69 pp. $1.50.

Mr. Blair, as a young man, knew Father Tabb in the last decade of the Virginia poet's life—during the years when Father Tabb's graceful resignation in the face of approaching blindness was expressed in finely wrought verse which captured the attention and sympathy of many throughout the nation. At this time, Father Tabb was stationed at St. Charles' College, founded by Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and situated near historic Doughoregan Manor in Howard County. This association gives Maryland some distinction, too, in claiming and sharing Father Tabb with Virginia. But one of the principal Maryland interests in the Virginian has been because of his devoted friendship with Sidney Lanier, the Georgia-born symphonist in verse who made Baltimore his adopted home. And, strangely enough, Mr. Blair first met Father Tabb through their mutual enthusiasm for Lanier. Mr. Blair's little book does not pretend to be a full biography of Father Tabb, but is, as its sub-title indicates, rather a series of glimpses set down with mellowed and reverential feeling. There are new views of Father Tabb in his old family home, "The Forest," in Amelia County, Virginia; of a trip with him on the old bay-steamer *Charlotte* on the Chesapeake, and of a visit to St. Charles' College. There are published for the first time ten letters from Sidney Lanier to Father Tabb, dated between 1877 and 1881, which had been given to Mr. Blair in 1904 because, as Father Tabb said, "Your love for us both is your claim" to them. It is believed that the rest of the many letters from Lanier to Father Tabb (the two poets had met during their imprisonment as Confederate soldiers in the Federal "Bull Pen" at Point Lookout, Maryland) were burned in the fire of March 16, 1911, which destroyed old St. Charles' College. Of the ten letters thus saved from that fire, the most engaging is the one containing Lanier's comment upon learning that

Father Tabb, who had been an Episcopalian, had become a Catholic. Lanier wrote: "As for your adoption of the Catholic form of belief; pray fancy me as far as possible removed from any thought of *that* as coincident with death, or in any way like it. I long ago outgrew the possibility of such narrowness. An earnest belief is always beautiful to me; the circumstance that it does not happen to be my own never makes it less so."

Mr. Blair had given Father Tabb the hospitality of his home in Richmond; and he also shared with him the hospitality of his tomb, for Father Tabb is buried in the Blair lot in Hollywood Cemetery, in Richmond. With this book of memories, Mr. Blair hopes that "in black ink my love may still shine bright."

JOHN S. SHORT

The Delaware Loyalists. By HAROLD BELL HANCOCK. Wilmington, Historical Society of Delaware, 1940. 76 pp. $1.50.

Already much intrigued by the subject, I read the book, not only with enthusiasm, but with a feeling of gratitude to the writer. Treating a much needed topic, the author pictures, ably and in scholarly fashion, the background and activities of Delaware Tories, along with reactions to them by American patriots. Nor is this historian content to dismiss his subject without considering the part played by clergymen in the Revolution. Furthermore, he heightens the reader's interest by clearing up erroneous concepts held regarding Cheney Clow's Rebellion.

Thanks are due the author of *The Delaware Loyalists* for what he has done to familiarize lovers of historical research with Tories in a neighboring state. I hope his well-documented book will find a place in many libraries.

JANET BASSETT JOHNSON

Assembling the Homewood Site. By W. H. BUCKLER. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. 20 pp. 50c.

It became apparent, after the Johns Hopkins University had spent almost a quarter-century in its first rather plain red-brick buildings on Howard, Monument and Eutaw Streets, that they were wholly inadequate with respect to size, location and possibilities for expansion. Around 1899, there was "land-hunger" for a new site. A group of six Baltimoreans, William Wyman, William Keyser, Francis M. Jencks, Samuel Keyser, Julian LeRoy White and William H. Buckler, undertook to meet this need, and their joint foresight and generosity led to the acquisition of the several tracts comprising the present Homewood site. Daniel Coit Gilman, "Creator of the Johns Hopkins," had the satisfaction of making the first public announcement of this promising gift on February 22, 1901, the day upon which he, too, resigned as president of the university. Last February, the fortieth anniversary of that gift was observed by the showing in Gilman Hall of various documents and photographs relating to Homewood.

During the forty-year period the present university plant, gathered about the memorial hall to its first president, had grown from dream to stately reality. President Isaiah Bowman requested Mr. Buckler, now the only living member of the group of six, to set down the little known facts leading to the purchase and gift of the properties. Mr. Buckler has done so, modestly and briefly, in a little book which indicates that Mr. Wyman took the first step toward making Homewood the university's future location and credits Mr. Keyser with energetic leadership that brought success to the undertaking. Mr. Buckler's account will have prominent place in the annals of the university.

JOHN S. SHORT

Three Virginia Frontiers. By THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY (Walter L. Fleming Lectures in Southern History), Louisiana State University Press, 1940. 96 p. $1.50.

Three Virgina Frontiers challenges the popularly accepted theory of the democratizing influence of the frontier in American history. Indeed, the thesis of the author seems to be that " the democratizing influence of the frontier was largely offset by such countervailing factors as European customs and traditions, British legal systems, and the methods by which the public lands were disposed of." This last warns the reader of the author's reliance upon the economic interpretation of history. That Professor Abernethy is not carried away by a blind sympathy for the common man of the frontier is patently shown. " The vulgarization of the judiciary and of office holding in general was one of the chief accomplishments of that frontier leveling spirit of which so much has been said by historians of the West." Or again, " It should be noted in this connection that democracy is not necessarily the same thing as liberalism. During the early years of statehood in Kentucky it was really the reverse."

The chief merit of this book must be found in the disclosure of class-conscious groups—sometimes but not always antagonistic—on the frontier and in the admonition not to indulge in ready acceptance of generalities however persuasive they may appear.

THEODORE M. WHITFIELD

Western Maryland College

Montesquieu in America, 1760-1801. By PAUL MERRILL SPURLIN. Louisiana State University Press, 1940. 313 p. $3.00.

Willing readers of doctoral theses grow fewer with the years, many falling victims to the merciless bombardment of footnotes, and more fainting from dearth of simple, digestible English. To the tough, heroic remnant, it is possible to recommend Dr. Spurlin's *Montesquieu* where in return for their seemingly inevitable suffering, they will at least be rewarded with a modicum of interesting knowledge.

With sound strategy the writer first presents the fascinating question of Montesquieu's influence and illustrates its difficulty by an array of

discordant verdicts. Having shown the quicksands that surround Golconda, Dr. Spurlin limits his explorations to the borderlands. His purpose is merely to determine how widely and deeply Americans read the great Frenchman during the critical years between 1760 and 1801. Facts gathered with scholarly thoroughness are methodically presented and made more accessible by an excellent index. The evidence shows that many if not most educated Americans knew their Montesquieu well and regarded him as an authority, sometimes as an oracle, Whether this was because Montesquieu converted Americans to his ideas, or merely because their ideas happened to coincide, Dr. Spurlin firmly declines to say. He will supply no future scholar with a trophy to set beside the juicy examples of historical rashness that adorn his own Introduction.

Since Golconda remains undiscovered, is there advantage in knowing the borderlands? If Montesquieu was widely and deeply read in this country from 1760 on, does that add a leaf to his laurels, or is it America whose reputation is enhanced by evidence of her appreciation of Montesquieu? To the reviewer, it seems that both claims can be justly made and that Dr. Spurlin has rendered a service to history on both counts. Many will feel that the minds of Montesquieu and America were made for each other, and be glad to know that they met.

For members of the Society, the book has special interest. It began as a Johns Hopkins dissertation, and Maryland sources figure prominently in the footnotes. Numerous references to persons and events in the history of the State create an impression that Marylanders knew their Montesquieu as well as any Americans, if not better.

St. Julien Ravenel Childs

Brooklyn College

Letters of Robert Carter, 1720-1727. The Commercial Interests of a Virginia Gentleman. Edited by Louis B. Wright. San Marino, Calif., Huntington Library, 1940. xiv, 153 pp. $2.50.

Virginia—and Maryland—may congratulate themselves on the publication of these letters of "King" Carter. The small and readable book they make up is next best to having here the original, now in the Huntington Library in San Marino. Indeed, for all who are not incurable lovers of manuscript, the book is better, since they can read it in armchair and slippered ease. The historian will wish that the spelling of proper names had in all cases been left as Carter wrote them, for the prevailing form could have been given in square brackets after the written form; but that is a minor objection. Outside of that, the editing and the introduction have the thanks of the reader, for the editor has the gift of words.

The prime importance of these letters lies in the evidence they give of the relations between the Virginia and Maryland gentleman and his London factors. Historians have long been well aware that the picture of the lordly planter, preceded and followed by trumpeting slaves, coming down from his house to his wharf and getting into his yacht for a pleasure sail,

gave a one-sided picture of the man. Philip Bruce shows, in his studies of the economic and social history of Virginia, that he was different from that and more than that. This volume lets even the runner read how much of his attention the planter gave to his business affairs. The temptation to quote largely from the letters is strong, for the matter and the manner of them are alike crackling with interest. If we, who live on the other side of the Potomac, must resist that temptation, all of us who can read should read this book.

ELIZABETH MERRITT

Adventures in Southern Maryland, 1922-1940. By ALICE L. L. FERGUSON. [Washington, D. C., the Author, 1941.] 179 pp.

Ostensibly telling the story of the acquisition of an old home near Accokeek, the inevitable remodeling, planting and farming against odds, and of the experiences that saddened (only momentarily) and enlightened her, Mrs. Ferguson has given us at once a brief social study of a Maryland community, a bundle of folk tales, and a collection of grand yarns. Like the artist she is, she knows how to paint with few but telling strokes. As an author she knows when to be serious, as readers of the March, 1941, *Magazine* will remember.

Down in the lower corner of Prince George's, bordering the Potomac, is her Hard Bargain—" rather a nice name after you get used to it, but it is no name to use when you take apples to market." The place, now graced by a modern dwelling because the old one tumbled down during attempted repairs, is not to be confused with Hard Bargain in Charles County. Building and gardening, farm animals and eccentric humans, week-end parties, and a wedding, volunteer firemen and the church, tournaments, bootlegging, relief, archaeology—these are some of the topics in a racy book. May it inspire some one to dig deeper in the inviting soil of Southern Maryland, filled as it is with history, legend and individuality—soil long and regrettably neglected. Mrs. Ferguson's pen and ink sketches add much to the enjoyment of her book, which was prepared solely for private circulation.

J. W. F.

The Life of Ira Remsen. By FREDERICK H. GETMAN. Easton, Pa., Journal of Chemical Education, 1940. 172 pp. $2.50.

This book written by one of Remsen's students and dedicated " to those alumni of the Johns Hopkins University who were privileged to come under the inspiring teaching of Ira Remsen " is indeed a labor of love.

The author was fortunately in possession of all possible data bearing on every phase of the life of Remsen from childhood to the end. A book on the life of Remsen was begun by the late Lyman C. Newell but was never completed. The material accumulated by Dr. Newell was made available to Dr. Getman together with everything in the files of the

Chemistry Department of Johns Hopkins and most important of all he was greatly assisted by Dr. Charles M. Remsen.

The author divides the book into the following chapters—Youth and Education, Teacher and Scientist, University President and Public Servant, Private Life, Public Addresses, A Chemist Again and Closing Years.

The author has produced a splendid work and one which should appeal strongly to Remsen's friends, scientific associates and students. The chapters on Remsen's Youth and Education are of unusual interest as most of this material is made available for the first time. However, Remsen is remembered largely as a teacher and scientist as his work in these capacities served to initiate a new era in American Science. It is an excellent book and will doubtless be found on the shelves of large numbers of Remsen's students and friends.

J. C. W. Frazer.

The Johns Hopkins University

The Foreign Policy of Thomas F. Bayard, 1885-1897. By Charles Callan Tansill. New York, Fordham University Press, 1940, xxxix, 800 p. $5.00.

Professor Tansill has performed a valuable service for all students of American diplomatic history in tracing in this study the foreign relations of the United States in the two Cleveland administrations during the first of which Bayard served as Secretary of State and during the second as the first Ambassador of the United States to Great Britain. Called from his post as Senator from Delaware to the Cabinet of the first Democratic president since the Civil War he directed American foreign policy during a period when the War was still a vivid reality and party rancors unprecedentedly bitter. His problems of foreign policy are here treated topically under the following headings: the Samoan Question, the Chinese Question, the Fisheries' Question, the Hawaiian Question, the Corean Question, Canadian Questions, the Mexican Question, and the Venezuelan Question. Bayard appears in this study as an astute, fair-minded, and Christian statesman always zealous to protect if not to extend American interests but never sacrificing any of his humanitarian and anti-imperialist principles. He performed his duties ably, conscientiously, and always creditably to the United States, and was, as Professor Tansill convincingly shows, a true prophet of the present in his steadfast advocacy of Anglo-American unity. "Through his efforts the basis of an Anglo-American entente was established, and the way was prepared for the close political concert of the present day" (vii). It was small wonder that he so often aroused the ire of the Republican politicians.

The author has almost definitively exploited the rich collection of Bayard Papers and has also utilized other incidental source materials both published and unpublished. It is important that these materials from such a highly genetic period of American diplomatic history should be published. Professor Tansill's work is rather a compilation than a fresh study,

valuable principally as a collection of source materials rather than as an interpretation of Bayard's problems.

DONALD MARQUAND DOZER

University of Maryland

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

The Vestry Book of St. Paul's Parish, Hanover County, Virginia, 1706-1786. Transcribed and Edited by C. G. Chamberlayne. Pub. by the Virginia State Library Board. Richmond 1940.

West Virginia Revolutionary Ancestors, Whose Services Were Non-Military and Whose Names, Therefore, Do Not Appear in Revolutionary indexes of Soldiers and Sailors. Compiled by Anne Waller Reddy. 1930.

Dukehart and Collateral Lines, Antes, Dotterer, Latrobe, Von Blume, Murphy. Compiled by Morton McIlvain Dukehart. 1940. (mimeographed).

A Private Journal of John Glendy Sproston, U. S. N. Edited by SHIO SAKANISHI. Tokyo, Sophia University, 1940. *Monumenta Nipponica Monographs.* Edited by Sophia University. Series of Early American-Japanese Relations. (Note: Sproston was born in Baltimore).

The Blackburn Genealogy with Notes of the Washington Family through Intermarriage. Compiled by Vinnetta Wells Ranke, Washington, D. C., 1939.

Centennial History of the South Carolina Railroad. Columbia, S. C., 1930. Presented by the Southern Railway Co., 1940.

NOTES AND QUERIES

LANIER'S HOUSE ON DENMEAD STREET

The exact location of 33 Denmead Street, the house in which Sidney Lanier lived during the winter of 1877-78, has for some time been a matter of speculation among students of the poet's life. Denmead Street was in Baltimore County until 1888, and had a system of house numbers different from that of Baltimore City. Until 1889 no detailed plat was published for this section. The "Street Directory" parts of the *Baltimore City Directories,* so useful in locating old addresses, do not list Denmead Street numbers. However, there are several sources of information through which the Lanier house can be identified.

Denmead Street has had three names. In 1882 it was renamed First Street, and in 1892 it became Twentieth Street, the name it still bears. It has also had three sets of house numbers. The first numbers were used as early as 1876. In 1887, when the new numbers were introduced in the city, Denmead Street (at this time First Street) received a new numbering system. The following year Baltimore annexed this section and a third and final set of numbers was provided. In several instances names of residents appear in Thompson's *Plats.*[1] Names are also given in a survey made October 30, 1889, of this area.[2] By tracing these names in the

[1] Thompson, Winfield W. *Plats of the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Wards of Baltimore City.* 1889.

[2] Drawer 12, plat 287. Bureau of Archives, City Hall, Baltimore.

directories the original numbering system of Denmead Street can be reconstructed. The numbers began at Oak Street and ran eastward; the odd numbers were on the north side. As no street divided east and west, there were no duplicate numbers. The survey shows, with the help of the 1887 directory which gives old and new numbers, that Number 33, Lanier's address, was at the northwest corner of Lovegrove Alley and Denmead Street. This house became 610 in 1887, and finally 20 E. Twentieth Street.

It had been surmised that the poet lived in the block west of Charles Street. The original numbering of these houses can also be established. The Hopkins *Atlas*[3] designates the property at the northeast corner of Denmead Street and the alley between Charles Street and Maryland Avenue as R. M. Johnson's [*sic*]. Colonel Richard Malcolm Johnston was Lanier's friend. The association of their names and the opinion that Lanier lived at about this location made the site worthy of investigation. A sub-lease of this property dated June 3, 1878, from Richard Malcolm Johnston to W. C. Dimmock is recorded in the land records of Baltimore County.[4] The directories of 1879 and 1880 list W. C. Dimmock as having a dairy at 9 Denmead Street, a number in accord with the original numbering system.

Further and very reliable evidence that 33 Denmead Street became 20 E. Twentieth Street is shown in a survey that was made May 20, 1879, for the Baltimore Equitable Society.[5] This gives the numbers of the houses on the north side of Denmead Street, between Charles and St. Paul Streets. Five houses were west and five east of Lovegrove Alley. They were numbered west to east from 25 to 43. Number 33 stood at the northwest corner of Denmead Street and Lovegrove Alley. This nine room brick house remained standing until October, 1939, when it was demolished to accommodate a parking lot.

FREDERICK KELLY

GARRETT COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

In the westernmost county of the State there was recently organized the Garrett County Historical Society, Captain Charles E. Hoye, president; Marshall G. Brown, first vice-president; Viola Broadwater, second vice-president; Crystall Elliott, secretary, and Dr. Joseph E. Harned, treasurer. Mr. F. A. Thayer, Sr., served as executive during the months devoted to organizing. The Society issued in March the first number of its bulletin which contains eight pages of information about the beginnings of Garrett County, organized 1872, and statements of plans and activities. Mr. Hoye is a member of the Maryland Historical Society.

[3] Hopkins, G. M. *City Atlas of Baltimore, Maryland, and Environs.* Vol. I, plate R. Philadelphia, 1876.

[4] *Liber* 107, *Folio* 305. Court House, Towson, Md.

[5] *Record of Survey.* Book G, p. 157. Baltimore Equitable Society.

Historical Society of Carroll County, Inc.

Interest in the Historical Society of Carroll County has continued, this being helped by having meetings of other organizations held in the home of the Society, 206 East Main Street, Westminster. Many articles of historical interest have been either given or loaned to the Society. The meetings have been well attended, particularly that on January 3rd, when Senator George L. Radcliffe was the guest speaker. An important step forward has been the formation of junior membership for school children. Col. T. K. Harrison, executive secretary of the Alumni Association of Western Maryland College and a member of the Kiwanis Club; Dr. Theodore F. Whitfield, of the department of history of Western Maryland; and Prof. Raymond S. Hyson, Superintendent of Schools of Carroll County, form the committee to arrange for this through the schools of the county. The children will gather local historical data and submit it for the files of the society.

An important committee appointed by Mrs. M. John Lynch, chairman of the History Committee and approved by the president, J. David Baile, is the Filing Committee, composed of Dr. Whitfield, Miss Ada Belle Robb and Dr. Edwin Mirise, all members of the Faculty of Western Maryland College. The annual meeting was held in November, 1940, when all officers were re-elected.

Worthington—I would be grateful for any information, no matter how slight, or any clue that might lead to a discovery, about the birthplace and parentage of my grandfather, Charles Thomas Worthington. In the Bible he bought at the time of his marriage, he wrote that he was born 8 April, 1855, but gave no place of birth. He married, in Baltimore, 10 December, 1878, Mary Virginia, daughter of Carey and Anne (Robinson) Southcomb; she was born, in Baltimore, 12 January, 1859, and died, in Baltimore, 23 December, 1889. Mr. Worthington died in December, 1885. They had three children: Eugene Carey (b. 18 September, 1880; d. 21 December, 1936); William Alexander (b. 13 January, 1882; d. 6 March, 1883); and Clara Mary (b. 4 February, 1884). There are eight grandchildren and seven great-grandchildren.

A family tradition makes either Virginia or West Virginia Mr. Worthington's birthplace and assigns him a brother who was a doctor, but we know of no basis for this. There may, however, be a clue to his identity in the following: he is buried in Mount Olivet Cemetery, Baltimore, in a lot which contains the following persons:

1. Thomas J. Worthington, died 8 January, 1858, aged 60 years.
2. Henrietta Worthington, died 5 April, 1871, in her 73rd year.
2. Nicholas Worthington, died 20 December, 1856, aged 32; his wife, Nannie, erected the tombstone.
4. John A. Worthington, born 27 April, 1821; died 21 October, 1851.
5. Sarah and Willie G. Worthington.

Perhaps one of the above might be known to someone who could furnish

me with information or ideas about Charles Thomas Worthington. Any information will be most welcome.

Mrs. Leslie J. McIntosh
2055 Jarvis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois

Simmons—"Wanted: Connection of Jonathon Simmons, who married Elizabeth van Swearingen, in Prince George's Co. (I believe), June 20, 1734, to George Simmons, or the immigrant to Maryland."

May F. Smith (Mrs. Geo. E.),
Granville, Ohio

Swann—Can any one give me the connection between Thomas Swann of Eagleton, who died 1740/1741, and Edward Swann who established the plantation of Eagleton, Charles County, Maryland?

T. E. Swann,
Route 1, Statesville, N. C.

Inlow—Information is sought concerning Henry Inlow (Inlows, Enlow, Enlows, etc.) born 1740, died 1828 in Fleming County, Kentucky. May have served from Maryland during the Revolutionary War.

James L. Pyles,
Maysville, Kentucky

Handy-Hopkins—Information wanted to complete my genealogy. Ancestors of Mary King Handy who died February 23, 1834 (first husband Dr. George Gunby), and of her second husband Benjamin Burton Hopkins, born January 4, 1795, and died December 18, 1828, and married at Snow Hill, Maryland, August 17, 1820.

Jennie Waters Abercrombie,
10 Whitfield Road, Baltimore

Welsh—From Miss Frances Houston Irwin, of the Irwin Clan, I learn that the first comer to this country of the Welsh family settled in Maryland. I have traced my line to William and Mary (Morton) Welsh, whose son John was born Aug. 1, 1770, in White Clay Hundred, Delaware. Their daughter Mary, born 1762, married John Irwin, and these were my great-great-grandparents. According to Miss Irwin, the Delaware Welsh's were descendants of the first comer (name unknown to me), who settled first in Maryland. Any data concerning early members of this family will be welcomed.

Edith S. Caughron (Mrs. G. L.),
203 Wisconsin St., Neodesha, Kans.

Widow Atkinson, Baltimore clockmaker—Anna Maria Atkinson, widow, according to the directories of 1796-1819, was listed as watch and clockmaker at 33 Market Square, Baltimore. She died 1823. Her grandson, Le Roy Atkinson, was Assayer of Baltimore 1824-1829. Abraham Le Roy, Swiss clock and watchmaker of Lancaster County, Penn., tended the Court House clock 1757-1765. Le Roy had a daughter, Anna Maria Le Roy, who is credited with having been a gifted clockmaker in her own right. About 1748 Wilmer Atkinson a cutler by trade (not a clockmaker) came from Baltimore and settled in Lancaster County and married Anna Maria Le Roy.

In 1750 Abraham Le Roy visited Switzerland and left his daughter, Mrs. Wilmer (Le Roy) Atkinson in charge of his shop, during which time she made a tall clock with the name Wilmer Atkinson on the dial. That is the only such clock known. Was Anna Maria Le Roy who married Wilmer Atkinson one and the same as the Widow Anna Maria Atkinson, clockmaker of Baltimore? What were the names of children of Wilmer Atkinson and Anna Maria Le Roy? Was one of their children Sophia Atkinson, who married Jacob Gorgas the clockmaker of Ephrata, Pennsylvania?

Lockwood Barr,
60 E. 42nd St., New York, N. Y.

Eden—Wells—Want information concerning William Eden, who married Sarah Wells of Kent County, Maryland. Had ten children; a daughter, Ann, married Benjamin Armitage, at Zion German Lutheran Church, Baltimore, Aug. 31, 1805. Benj. Armitage died in 1824 and his wife Ann in 1857.

Mrs. Edmund S. Boice,
534 Falls Road, Rocky Mount, N. C.

Tamanend (Tecumseh)—Mr. Louis H. Bolander of the Naval Academy library, a member of the Society, draws attention to an error in the review of Pauline Pinckney's book, *American Figureheads,* on page 86 of the March *Magazine* where the wooden bust of Tamanend, commonly called Tecumseh, is mentioned as having once adorned the prow of the *Constitution*. The Naval Academy's " Tecumseh " is a replica of the figurehead of the ship-of-the-line *Delaware*.

Contributors to this Number

Author of *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland*, reviewed by Dr. Charles M. Andrews in the *Magazine* last March, Charles A. Barker is assistant professor of history at Stanford University. He is a native of Washington, D. C., was educated at Yale, and has served on the faculty of Smith College. ☆ An occasional contributor to these pages, W. Bird Terwilliger is a student of the literary history of Mary-

land. He holds the Ph. D. degree from the University of Maryland and is headmaster of the Franklin Day School, Baltimore. ☆ SIDNEY T. MATTHEWS, a native of South Carolina, is completing requirements for the degree of Ph. D. in history at Johns Hopkins. During 1941-1942 he will be an instructor at the University of Richmond. ☆ JOHN PHILIPS CRANWELL, who assisted in preparing the Lambdin-Crowley account of Chesapeake Bay shipbuilding, is the author of a new work, *Spoilers of the Sea* (New York, Norton, 1941), as well as joint author with William B. Crane of *Men of Marque* (1940). ☆ Another Baltimorean, though he is now living in Minneapolis, JOSEPH T. WHEELER, son of the librarian of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, is author of *The Maryland Press, 1776-1790*, published in 1938 by the Maryland Historical Society. ☆ DORIS MASLIN COHN (Mrs. E. Hermann Cohn) lives at Princess Anne where she helps to keep alive interest in matters of local and state-wide history. The letters which she has transcribed for the *Magazine* came down to her possession through her family. ☆ Long a contributor to the *Magazine* and associate editor of Volumes LIII, LIV and LVII of the *Archives of Maryland*, LOUIS DOW SCISCO is known as a deep student of county records of Maryland, especially court records.

School Discipline in 1792—Among papers once the property of the late Rev. Edwin A. Dalrymple, Episcopal churchman, educator and for 24 years corresponding secretary of the Maryland Historical Society, now in the possession of his great niece, Mrs. Richard H. Collins of Chestertown, has been found the original of the following set of rules drawn up apparently by the pupils of a country school. The document is not signed.

Regulations, Rules and good Orders, We Scholars and Subſcribers
Promiſe and perform all what is hereunto
Mentioned . . . June the 4th 1792.

1. for coming to school with unwaſhed Hands and Face. 5 laſhes.
2. Hair uncombed. 3 laſhes.
3. in coming or going from School playing on the Road. 10 la[shes].
4. Running or Racing, Chumping or Rasslen. 15 laſhes.
5. Telling a lye of any Body, or of our Fellow Scholars. 12 la[shes].
6. Macking game of one another . . . 10 laſhes.
7. Talking and Laughing in School. 15 laſhes.
8. coming in School with Hat or Bonnet on his or her Head. 4 laſhes.
9. coming in School without making Bow, or Curtesy. 4 laſhes.
10. by Meeting any Person on the Road and not macking Bow, or courtesy, and tacking of our Hats. 8 laſhes.
11. for going out of our Pounds, which is fare of the School House . . . 12 laſhes.
12. if any of us ſent to School, and Stray away for idolness Sake . . . 24 laſhes.
13. Telling Tales out of School . . . 12 laſhes.
14. Every one to ask Leave to go out, if not ask to go out of the School Room . . . 12 laſhes.

15. Cursing or Swareing . . . 30 la/hes.
16. in any Comblaints heart by being not Obedient to our Parents to do what the Command us, without Murmuring. 30 la/hes.
17. if we not Combly with this Regulations and good Orders we are Liable to be punished, as above Written, without any Complaint to any Body, for it is our own Carelessness.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

March 10, 1941—The monthly meeting of the Society was held tonight at 8:15 o'clock, with President Radcliffe in the chair. The President announced that due to the honor of having Dr. Archibald MacLeish, the Librarian of Congress, as the guest speaker of the evening all formal business would be deferred, with the exception of the election and nomination of new members.

The following were elected to membership:

Active

Mr. Charles B. Bosley
Mr. John W. Bosley
Mr. James R. Edmunds, Jr.
Mrs. Eben C. Hill
Miss Rachel Minick
Mr. George M. Radcliffe
Mr. John L. Swope
Mr. Raymond S. Tompkins
Mr. Barclay H. Trippe
Mr. Frank C. Wachter

Associate

Mr. Mangum Weeks

President Radcliffe introduced Dr. MacLeish who gave a very interesting address.

Hon. Henry D. Harlan moved that a rising vote of thanks be extended to Dr. MacLeish for his most interesting talk. The motion was unanimously carried.

April 14, 1941—At the regular meeting of the Society Senator Radcliffe presided. A partial list of recent donations to the library was read. The following persons were elected to membership:

Active

Mrs. Harry J. Baker
Dr. John McF. Bergland
Mrs. John McF. Bergland
Mrs. S. A. Dodds
Mr. Paul Harris
Miss Nell Dennis Jones
Mr. Arthur Koppelman
Mrs. H. Benthall Marshall
Mr. John M. Nelson, Jr.
Mr. Neal A. Sibley
Mrs. Gertrude Smith
Mrs. R. Tinges Smith, 3rd
Mr. J. Paul Slaybaugh
Mr. Clifton Kennedy Wells, Jr.

Associate

Mrs. Edmund S. Boice
Mrs. Kline d'Aurandt Engle

The deaths of the following members were reported:

Miss Anna E. B. Clark, on March 29, 1941.
Mr. Henry Fletcher Powell, on March 24, 1941.
Mrs. Edward Simpson, on January 18, 1941.

Mr. Charles Stevenson Smith gave a very interesting talk on General Smallwood and of the efforts now on foot to restore "Smallwood's Retreat" in Charles County, Maryland. On motion of Dr. Norman Bentley Gardiner a rising vote of thanks was extended to Mr. Smith.

May 5, 1941—President Radcliffe occupied the chair at the regular meeting of the Society. In announcing recent donations to the library, Mr. Raphael Semmes urged the members of the Society to renew efforts to obtain old manuscript materials as gifts or deposits. The following persons were elected to membership:

Active

Miss Helen R. Branin
Mr. Donaldson Brown
Mr. Frank Markoe Dugan
Mr. Leonard V. Godine
Miss Elizabeth S. Gordon
Mr. William Belt Ingersoll
Mr. Michael Oswald Jenkins
Mr. A. Carroll Jones
Judge Emory H. Niles
Miss Louise E. Pickell
Mr. Van Rensselaer Saxe
Mr. Joseph Sherbow
Rev. John J. Tierney, S. S.
Mrs. Miles White, Jr.

Associate

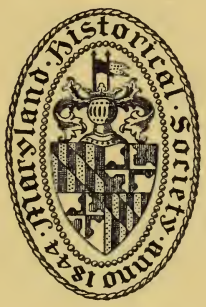
Mr. John S. Biggs
Mrs. Ellouise Baker Larsen
Mr. Carroll G. Stewart

The death of Mr. Percy G. Skirven, on May 4, 1941, was reported. The President stated that Mr. Skirven had been a member since 1914 and had won a wide reputation as author and genealogist. A devoted son of Maryland, he was particularly interested in the history of Kent, his native county, and of the Eastern Shore.

Dr. Charles McLean Andrews, of Yale, gave a most interesting talk "On the Preservation of Historical Manuscripts." Senator Radcliffe, Hon. Carroll T. Bond, Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, Mr. B. Howell Griswold and Mr. Louis H. Dielman expressed the Society's gratification at having had the opportunity to hear Dr. Andrews on this important topic, and their interest in his suggestion that an inventory of manuscript materials in private hands be undertaken as a preliminary step toward securing the gift or deposit of additions to the present collections.

olume XXXVI Number 3

The Maryland Historical Magazine



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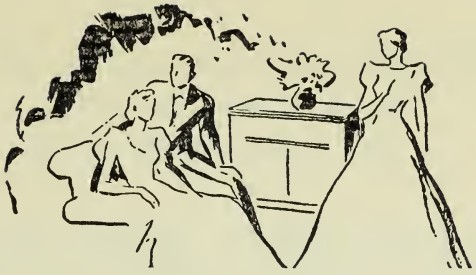

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The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1843, has been engaged in collecting, preserving and disseminating information relating to the history of the State. Through its services to scholars and others in making available collections of research materials, and through its publications, the Society has occupied and always should occupy an important place in the cultural life of Maryland.

Since 1906 the Society has published *The Maryland Historical Magazine.* There are monthly meetings from October to May, inclusive, at which addresses of a historical or literary nature are given. Those interested in the objects of the Society are invited to have their names proposed for membership. The annual dues are $5.00, life membership $100.00. Subscription to *The Maryland Historical Magazine* is included in the membership fee of five dollars, as well as the use of the Society's collections and admission to the monthly lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open on every day of the week except Sundays.

The Society depends on the people of Maryland and its friends elsewhere for its maintenance. The gift of documents and books and donations or bequests to the endowment fund, have made it possible to build up a notable historical library. The collections include not only manuscripts dealing with the social, political and military history of the State, but also letters, diaries, business accounts, maps, newspapers, pamphlets, prints and photographs. Only by a continuance of interest in the Society will it be possible to preserve and catalogue its present collections and, of equal importance, to acquire new documents recording the rich history of the people of Maryland. In short, the usefulness of the Maryland Historical Society depends not only upon the number of its members, but upon their generosity as well.

The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

MARYLAND
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POLITICS IN MARYLAND DURING THE CIVIL WAR

By CHARLES BRANCH CLARK

INTRODUCTION

In any study of the American Civil War, and especially of the period just prior to the opening of hostilities, considerable attention must be focussed upon the activities of the "Border States." In fact, the very nature of the struggle between the North and the South depended in large measure upon the stand taken by those states. The beginning of armed conflict, occasioned by President Abraham Lincoln's call for troops on April 15, 1861, forced the eight slave states that remained in the Union to decide whether they would secede, or remain loyal to the Federal government. Four of them quickly joined the seven[1] that had already seceded: Virginia on April 17, Arkansas on May 6, North Carolina on May 20, and Tennessee on June 8. This action was taken despite the fact that a strong Union sentiment existed in each of the states. In the remaining slave states, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and, to a lesser extent, Delaware, Union sentiment, determined by economic interests and aided by arbitrary arrests, military force, and other factors, was sufficiently strong to prevent secession. In all except Delaware, however, there was considerable indecision, and the question hung in the balance for many days. These four states, by virtue of their geographical position, man power, and economic resources, were to be of inestimable value to the section they decided to support.

[1] These seven were South Carolina on December 20, 1860; Mississippi on January 9, 1861; Florida and Alabama, January 11; Georgia, January 19; Louisiana, January 26; and Texas on February 23, 1861.

Maryland attracted the attention of the whole country and, in the light of events that developed, her decision seemed to have a greater bearing upon the conflict than that of any other Border state. This was true, not so much because of her wealth, for that was not great; not because of her population, for that was comparatively small; nor yet because of her representatives in public life, for they, with two or three exceptions, were men of no unusual ability or prominence. Rather, it was because of her geographical position. John G. Nicolay and John Hay, Lincoln's biographers, have written: "Of more immediate and vital importance . . . than that of any other border slave state, was the course of Maryland in this crisis."

Between Maryland and Virginia lay the District of Columbia containing the seat of government, and the public archives of the United States. In Baltimore, the chief city of Maryland, converged three of the great railroad routes by which loyal troops must approach Washington. Should Maryland secede from the Union and cast her fortune with the Southern Confederacy, Washington would be surrounded by enemy territory and cut off from communication with the North.

Pressure of unusual degree was brought to play upon Maryland from both Northern and Southern states. Divided sympathies and honest divergence of views, as well as a great emotional susceptibility during such a crisis, so delayed the final charting of the course of Maryland that outside pressure was employed to force the State to openly declare itself.

It was the good fortune of the Union that the Governor of Maryland in the early days of the war, Thomas Holliday Hicks, was a friend of the Union, though he was hardly of that unflinching fearlessness needed in revolutionary emergencies. There has been much difference of opinion concerning this man. His contemporaries disagree as to his real part in saving Maryland for the Union. During the period he stood out in great prominence in the State, not because of any brilliancy or any consistency in his policies and statements, but because in the end he was an adherent of the Union and took advantage of his position as Governor to follow a course momentous in its results. He refused to call the legislature into special session until it was nearly certain that Unionism would prevail. He took that course for fear the legislature would authorize a convention that in turn would secede from the Union.

When once the lot of Maryland was definitely cast with the Union, the State settled down from the wild confusion that prevailed throughout the latter part of 1860 and the greater part of 1861. The people of Maryland, however, were not fully subservient to the Federal government. A sharp division of opinion and sentiment continued to exist even until the end of the war. Only by constant watchfulness and the actual presence of Federal military power was Maryland saved for the Union and kept in step with its major purposes until the end of the conflict.

I. Sectionalism in Maryland

Geographical factors had an important bearing upon the sentiments, thoughts, and actions of the people of Maryland during the Civil War. No state in the Union, perhaps, is more divided by natural physical features. These features are all the more noticeable in Maryland because of the relatively small size of the State. And the people, at least in 1860, were no more uniform in background, interests, sentiments, occupations, and culture than were the physical features.

The flow of immigration to the State prior to 1860 contributed much to the life of Maryland. German and Irish immigrants came in large numbers and settled in Baltimore and on the upper Western Shore. These elements were easily assimilated; they aided in the economic development of the State; they themselves prospered, and they bestowed benefits upon others by virtue of their progressiveness, their industry, and their new ideas. The Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland, largely agricultural, were the more conservative sections. Economically they lagged far behind the sections settled by the foreign groups. The homogeneous Eastern Shore, practically isolated from the much more populous and diversified Western Shore, did not develop new practices and economic activities as readily as the latter. And Southern Maryland, closely bound to the South by interests and occupations, failed to match strides with Baltimore City and the upper part of the State in diversification. The foreign and out-of-state groups that came to Maryland were searching for new economic opportunities or for political freedom; they were people of action who did not hesitate to proclaim their political views. Differing from the people of the Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland in race and occupation, the people of the upper Western Shore differed also on the political issues of the day.

It is true, of course, that differences in the make-up of the population of the sections of Maryland did not alone account for the diversity of political ideas. W. Jefferson Buchanan, a contemporary writer who wished that Maryland might secede from the Union, declared that the character of the population within the State was the most important reason why Maryland could not join the Confederacy.[1] He believed that other obstacles caused by commercial and agricultural differences might have been overcome. He thought that fifty years earlier Maryland would have joined a Southern Confederacy. At that time peddlers, petty manufacturers, and day laborers had not "polluted her soil with their penurious feet," and merchant princes and "lords of agriculture" were then in control. But in 1860, "Her population . . . is mixed, the ancient stock having absorbed much bad blood."

A surprisingly high percentage of the people in Maryland in 1860 were not native born. Of the total 599,860 free population in that year, 118,799 were born outside the State.[2] Of the latter number, 40,694 were born in other states or territories, and 77,536 were born in foreign countries. The Northern states furnished 24,386 of those born in other states. Pennsylvania contributed 18,457 people and New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts accounted for all but 1,176 of the remainder. From the Border states came 4,954 persons, and the District of Columbia furnished 1,925.

It is reasonable to conclude that this migration to Maryland influenced political thought in the State. And since it was predominantly a Northern group that came to live in Maryland, chiefly for economic reasons, the trend of political interests was pro-Northern. Actually, this out-of-state group allied itself with the Union during the war. Of the 77,536 foreign born persons living in Maryland in 1860, many were favorably inclined toward the North. The German states alone furnished 43,884 immigrant aliens to Maryland, Ireland 24,872, England 4,235, and Scotland 1,583.

Political nativism in Maryland played a far more important role

[1] *Maryland's Crisis, A Political Outline*, pp. 14-15. This is a sixteen page pamphlet printed in Richmond in 1863. The author, "Through a Glass Darkly," surveys "facts and speculation, existing and contingent, concerning the past, present and prospective of Maryland, in connection with the war now waging."

[2] For these and subsequent figures for 1860 see *Census of 1860*, Volume on Population, p. 215.

than would appear on the surface. The great diversification of the population naturally led to a variety of political opinions and thus to the indecision and inability of the State as a whole to agree upon the issues of the Civil War. A united political front was impossible. Just how political thought was affected by the immigration, from abroad and from other states, can easily be shown.

In Southern Maryland, the earliest settled part of the State, tobacco early became the chief money crop. Values were expressed in tobacco and the labor policy was determined by it. This section with a white population, English in blood and custom, had very early developed a characteristic society. There were only a few small towns and no contact with the routes of travel from the seaboard toward the West. Both Southern Maryland and the Eastern Shore escaped the rush of foreign immigration. Cecil, the most northern county on the Eastern Shore, with 1,343 persons of foreign birth, was the only county that experienced immigration worthy of mention. The other seven counties on the Eastern Shore, all slave counties and containing together five times the population of Cecil County, had but 641 foreigners in 1860. Slavery was a barrier to immigration. The growth of population in the coastal region was therefore largely by natural increase and people remained remarkably true to the type of original settlers. In fact, as late as 1910, ninety-two per cent of the 200,000 whites on the Eastern Shore were native born, of native parents, and in most cases of old English stock.[3] The homogeneous population of the Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland was a decided contrast to the heterogeneous population of the upper Western Shore and Baltimore City, and only about half as great.[4]

After 1732, inducements were offered to anyone who would settle in the western part of Maryland and many wealthy citizens of the Tidewater region acquired large tracts of land in that region.[5] Likewise, Irish Protestants and Germans settled there,

[3] Mary St. Patrick McConville, *Political Nativism in the State of Maryland,* (Washington, 1928), pp. 45-46.

[4] The Eastern Shore counties had 145,128 inhabitants in 1860, while the five Southern Maryland counties, Calvert, Charles, Prince George's, Anne Arundel, and St. Mary's, had 89,404, a total of 234,532 persons. This was little more than Baltimore's population of 212,418. The upper Western Shore, including Baltimore City, boasted a population of 452,567.

[5] Thomas J. C. Williams, *History of Frederick County, Maryland,* (Frederick, 1910), p. 1.

bringing in new methods and types of agriculture. Already tobacco was exhausting the fertility of the soil of Southern Maryland. And old lands were abandoned for the new—a process that could not go on indefinitely. The Irish and Germans in the upper region of the colony began to raise such crops as corn, wheat, and cereals. In Southern Maryland, where tobacco continued to be raised, the provincials neglected the production of cereals for which slave labor was less adapted than free labor.[6] In 1859 these five counties raised 94.7 per cent of the tobacco crop of the State, and only 18 per cent of the wheat and 17.5 per cent of the corn. Meanwhile, the Germans from Pennsylvania and directly from Germany were developing the soil of Western Maryland for the food crops.[7] Truck farming was beginning to prosper in Baltimore and Anne Arundel counties, with the cities of Baltimore and Annapolis as the chief markets. Strawberries and vegetables were grown in large quantities. Dairying, too, and the raising of hogs and chickens, were taking a good portion of the farmers' time.[8]

Previous to the influx of the Irish and Germans there had been no doubt of Maryland's alliance with the South in economic and political life. The new alien influence, however, joined Maryland closer to Pennsylvania; and as Western Maryland became more and more populous and Baltimore City grew in commercial importance, a doubt began to arise whether Maryland was a Middle or Southern state. Life in Western Maryland differed from that on the plantations of the Chesapeake Bay region, where one found slaves, large landowners, and the Church of England. In Western Maryland one found small farms, worked chiefly by free labor, and producing wheat, corn, and livestock rather than tobacco. The population was a heterogeneous one, and religious toleration for all but Catholics was practised. The Maryland legislature encouraged German immigrants to settle in this part of the State.[9] It came about, therefore, that ties with Pennsylvania instead of with Virginia were being formed by Maryland after 1750.

In addition to dominating Western Maryland agriculture, the

[6] John Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland,* (Baltimore, 1879), II, 46.
[7] McConville, *op. cit.,* p. 46. See also *Census of 1860,* Volume on Agriculture, p. 73.
[8] Avery Odelle Craven, *Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606-1860,* (Urbana, Illinois [1926]), p. 155.
[9] McConville, *op. cit.,* pp. 47-48.

Germans established themselves in Baltimore. Between 1820 and 1850, a total of 134,266 Germans reached the City. There is no way of determining how many remained, yet it is known that in 1850 the Germans composed sixty per cent of the immigration into Baltimore. Of the 53,750 Germans in Baltimore in 1850, approximately fifty per cent, or 26,936, were born in Germany.[10] After the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, many German political exiles came to Maryland, a large part of whom settled in Baltimore. They played an important role in Maryland politics. In the old country they had been zealous republicans; in America they became Democrats of the Jeffersonian type, advocating the principles of liberty and equality, and upholding the common man against the wealthy. The native Democrats sympathized with this group and gave them a warm welcome because like themselves the Germans were poor and of similar economic interests. The conservative Whigs on the other hand opposed German immigration. The foreign element, however, could not long maintain harmony with the Democrats. Abolitionist to the core, it broke its tie with the Democratic party when that party became the champion of the property rights of the slaveholders.[11]

Three German newspapers, radically anti-slavery and strongly abolitionist, were printed in Baltimore. They were the *Wecker,* a leading daily that vigorously upheld Lincoln; *Die Fackel*, a monthly paper; and *Turn Zeitung*. The Germans did not conceal their views on abolition, although aware of the dangers that attended the expression of such sentiments in a state with a slave population. In the 1850's Baltimore attained to an unenviable notoriety because of the violent outbursts of hatred in the Know-Nothing party, which must be ascribed in no small measure to the fear these bold German abolitionists had inspired in the pro-slavery population.[12]

There was a persistent struggle between the planters of the coastal region and the farmers of the interior of Maryland from 1750 to 1850 for political control.[13] The tidewater counties retained their political power by refusing to reapportion representa-

[10] Richard S. Fisher, *Gazetteer of the State of Maryland,* (Baltimore, 1852), p. 29. In 1860 there were 52,497 foreign born citizens in Baltimore.

[11] McConville, *op. cit.,* pp. 51-53.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 54-55. The three German newspapers were the only anti-slavery papers published in Maryland.

[13] See Fletcher Melvin Green, *Constitutional Development in the South Atlantic States, 1776-1860,* (Chapel Hill, 1930), pp. 240-248, 272-287.

tion in the Maryland General Assembly on the basis of numbers. With this control they protected their slaves and wealth against the dangers of a democracy interested in internal improvements, and capable of imposing a tax upon slave property in order to promote its own ends. Internal improvements were needed in the State in order to secure for Maryland the growing trade of the West, and for developing the mineral resources of Western Maryland. For these improvements, the capital and credit of the State were required. The slave interests, maintaining their control of the legislature, would not let it be used.[14] By the Constitution of 1776 all counties were given a quota of four delegates, with two each to Annapolis and Baltimore City. In 1824, Baltimore City was given four delegates. The City was restricted to as many delegates as the largest county, fixed at five by amendment to the Constitution in 1836, and assigned to Baltimore and Frederick counties. Thus in 1850 Baltimore City, including one-fourth of the entire population of the State, had but one-sixteenth of the total representation in the House of Delegates.[15]

Baltimore City and the larger, more populous Western Shore counties had protested in vain against the control the small counties held in the General Assembly, but the latter would not give up their rights and privileges guaranteed in the Constitution of 1776.[16] They argued that to base Baltimore's representation on population would enable her to absorb all the political influence of the state. Their determination to keep the balance of power was controlled by their interest in the institution of slavery. In the small counties of both the Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland, slave labor was productive and all attempts to interfere with it, internally or externally, were jealously guarded against. The people of these counties were opposed to the calling of a state convention that might reapportion representation, cause the loss of their controlling voice, and possibly even change the relation between master and slave.[17] They were fearful lest the large foreign population in Baltimore might control the State and, because of its determined opposition, legally abolish slavery.[18]

[14] James Warner Harry, *Maryland Constitution of 1851,* (Baltimore, 1902), p. 394.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 396.
[16] Article 59. See Francis Newton Thorpe, *The Federal and State Constitutions,* (Washington, 1909), III, 1701.
[17] Harry, *op. cit.*, p. 403.
[18] McConville, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17; Harry, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

In 1851, however, pressure became so great that a convention was called which adopted a new constitution. Representation in the House of Delegates was based on proportional population, and Baltimore City was to have four more delegates than the most populous county. All counties and Baltimore City were to have one member in the Senate. The counties that had opposed the call of the convention were either on the Eastern Shore or in Southern Maryland, and opposition to the adoption of the constitution came from the same quarters.[19]

This constitution recognized and protected slavery, however, and provided that "The Legislature shall not pass any law abolishing the relation of master or slave as it now exists in the state." [20] Unsuccessful attempts were made to restrict suffrage to immigrants until ten years after they had declared their intention to become naturalized. This, of course, was aimed against the foreign influence by the slave interests and by those believing in strict nativism for other reasons. The victory in 1851 of the larger and Union supporting counties should have assured strong support of the Federal Government by Maryland in 1860-1861, but other factors, opposition to coercion and state rights, stood in the way of a united front for the Union.

It has been suggested that the factors of geography and people were accountable for Maryland's divided feelings on the question of slavery, but a fuller explanation is necessary to show just how the State forces were aligned in regard to this all-important issue. The State was in a favorable geographical position for some of its inhabitants to carry on the slave trade, and this was done extensively. On the other hand, Maryland always had a group of churchmen, moralists, humanitarians, and a few rabid abolitionists, who worked for emancipation. Another group, composed of the industrial and commercial interests of Baltimore and the upper Western Shore, was not vitally interested in the question. To the industrial and commercial interests slavery was incidental to their support of the North from which section they derived great material gains.

A brief sketch of the history of slavery in Maryland is necessary for a clear understanding of the issue in 1860. A statute of the

[19] These counties were Anne Arundel, Charles, Calvert, Kent, Montgomery, Prince George's, Somerset, and St. Mary's. See Harry, *op. cit.*, pp. 424-425, 463-464. The constitution was adopted by a vote of 29,025 for, and 18,616 against.

[20] Article III, Section 43. See Thorpe, *op. cit.*, III, 1726.

Maryland Assembly of 1639 declared "That all the Inhabitants of this Province being Christians (Slave excepted Shall have and enjoy all such rights liberties . . . as any naturall born subject of England . . ." [21] Many Marylanders became slaveholders in the early history of the colony and by the time the Federal Constitution was adopted there were 103,036 slaves in the State. But Maryland, acting in her own sovereign capacity, had as early as 1783 prohibited the African slave trade. The Maryland Constitution of 1776 allowed free Negroes to vote for members of the lower house of the legislature, but this privilege was cancelled by an amendment in 1810.[22]

The Maryland Society for promoting the "Abolition of Slavery and the Relief of poor Negroes and others unlawfully held in Bondage," the first of its kind in the State, was organized in 1789. This Society was largely composed of eminent and worthy citizens, including Samuel Chase and Luther Martin. The membership soon numbered between two and three hundred. One of the objects of the Society was to prevent the kidnapping and sale of free Negroes.[23] Ethical ideas were bound up with the emancipation movement. Two religious bodies, the Quakers and the Methodists, especially insisted upon the immorality of slavery. After the Revolutionary War, the Quakers earnestly began their attempt to free the Negro, and in 1787 presented an address and petition to the Maryland House of Delegates for the emancipation of all slaves.[24]

So strong was the emancipation spirit in Maryland that many Negroes were freed by manumission. In 1790 with a total population of 319,728, Maryland had 111,079 Negroes, of whom 103,036 were slaves and 8,043 free.[25] Twenty years later there were 111,502 slaves and 33,927 free Negroes, a fourfold increase

[21] *Archives of Maryland*, I, 41.

[22] See Thorpe, *op. cit.*, III, 1705. See also Matthew Page Andrews, *History of Maryland*, (N. Y., 1929), pp. 63-64, and Jeffery Richardson Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland*, (Baltimore, 1889), p. 26. For an authoritative but brief sketch of slavery in Maryland, see the speech made on the floor of the United States House of Representatives by John A. J. Creswell of Maryland, on January 5, 1865. *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 38th Cong., Pt. 1, pp. 120-124.

[23] Brackett, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53; Horace Greeley, *The American Conflict* (Chicago, 1864-66), I, 107.

[24] *Maryland House Journal*, 1787, pp. 34-36; Brackett, *op. cit.*, p. 52. See also James Martin Wright, *The Free Negro in Maryland, 1634-1860*, (N. Y., 1921), p. 46.

[25] *Census of 1790*, p. 43.

of the latter against only a slight increase of slaves. The total number of Negroes had increased seventeen per cent. In 1830, although the total number of Negroes in the State had increased by about 10,000, there was a decrease in slaves from 111,502 to 102,502, while the number of free Negroes increased from 33,927 in 1810 to 52,938 in 1830.[26] In 1860, the number of free Negroes, 83,942, approximated the total number of slaves, 87,189. Four years later of her own volition, Maryland freed all her slaves.[27]

The above facts are ample proof, that, for many years prior to the Civil War, Maryland's conscience had been neither dead nor asleep on the subject of slavery. Families had impoverished themselves, according to one observer, to free their slaves.[28] In the northern part of the State and in Baltimore there were few slaveholders, and slavery was hardly more than nominal. Actually, in many households, it existed as a patriarchal institution only. Many Marylanders had deep and conscientious scruples on the slave question. James Martin Wright says:

> The practice of manumitting slaves grew into a quasi-custom. It was not followed as a matter of course, because with some owners, necessity, cupidity, or conscientious doubts about its outcome prevailed against it. The alternatives were retaining the negroes as slaves until they died, or selling them to the traders. Stagnation of slave labor enterprises partly discouraged the first, while a rising sentiment against selling orderly negroes 'out of the state' tended to counteract any recourse to the latter, even when prices were temptingly high. Meanwhile the benevolence imputed to honest manumitters made the imitation of their acts appear to be an object worthy of emulation in spite of all the reasoning and prejudice against it.[29]

The Maryland Colonization Society, incorporated in 1831, founded on the west coast of Africa a successful colony of Negroes, known in 1860 as the State of Maryland in Liberia. For a period of twenty-six years the State was to contribute $10,000 a year to its support. This amount was increased by gifts of private citizens. The act of incorporation also provided that after June,

[26] *Census of 1830*, p. 83.

[27] Article 24 of the Declaration of Rights, Constitution of 1864. Thorpe, *op. cit.*, III, 1743.

[28] George William Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 1861*, (Baltimore, 1887), p. 30. Brown, Mayor of Baltimore, gives an account not only of the exciting days of April, 1861, but also a description of feeling in Maryland, on such things as the slave issue, during the pre-war period.

[29] *The Free Negro in Maryland*, p. 53.

1832, it would be unlawful to import into Maryland any slave for sale or residence, with certain exceptions for non-residents of the State who were merely passing through.[30] John Hazlehurst Boneval Latrobe was president of the Society. The governing board was composed of Maryland's leading citizens. Hugh Davey Evans, a learned lawyer of the State, prepared a code of laws for the government of the colony.[31] The colony was given a republican form of government and was finally granted independence. Afterwards it was united by treaty with Liberia and became Maryland County.[32] Mayor Brown of Baltimore wrote that " while there was on the part of a large portion of the people a deep-rooted and growing dislike to slavery, agitation on the subject had not commenced. It was, in fact, suppressed by reason of the violence of Northern Abolitionists with whom the friends of emancipation were not able to unite." [33]

The founding of the Colonization Society of Maryland indicated the willingness of the people to make sacrifices on behalf of emancipation. During the national panic in Van Buren's administration, when Maryland was unable to pay interest on the State debt, the emancipation fund was never cut off, and after the first twenty-six year period had elapsed, the annual appropriation was twice renewed. In addition, the Society, acting as an auxiliary of the General Society of Washington, was incorporated with full powers to carry out the ends it had in view.[34]

Aside from moral and ethical reasons for Maryland taking the lead in manumission long before 1860, there were economic forces of a more practical nature. The number of slaves, as already pointed out, had decreased rapidly through the decades while the number of free Negroes had increased.[35] What, aside from the reasons already assigned, had caused this? Climate may have played a small part. Except in the very southern part of the State, conditions were in no way ideal for the staple crops which then made possible the South's wealth and which were produced chiefly by slave labor. Cotton, the most important of the Southern

[30] Brackett, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
[31] Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
[32] John Montgomery Gambrill, *Leading Events of Maryland History,* (Boston [1917]), p. 168.
[33] Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
[34] Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 493.
[35] The percentage of slaves had decreased from 32.23 of the total state population in 1790, to 15.5 in 1850, and to 12.7 in 1860. The percentage of free Negroes, however, had gone up from 2.51 in 1790 to 12.82 in 1850, and, dropping slightly, to 12.2 in 1860. See *Census of 1850*, p. lxxxix.

staple crops, was a very minor crop in Maryland. The census of 1840 gave the State only 5,673 pounds. Rice was not raised at all; the amount of flax was very small and it decreased over fifty per cent between 1850 and 1860, dropping from 35,686 pounds to 14,481 pounds.

Maryland, however, was an important tobacco raising State. In 1860 only Virginia and Tennessee raised more.[36] The tobacco crop in 1849 constituted 11 per cent, and in 1859, 14 per cent of the aggregate agricultural production of the State.[37] Slaves were used in producing this crop but emancipation was hindered little by this fact, for, as already pointed out, 94.7 per cent of the tobacco raised in Maryland in 1859 was raised in the five Southern Maryland counties.[38] These counties collectively had a population of 89,404 divided as follows: white, 37,945; free colored, 10,837; slave, 40,622. This gave Southern Maryland 6.35 per cent of the total white population, and 46.6 of the slave population. A contemporary said that there was so much activity in the State requiring other than slave labor that slavery had become a "negative virtue" and was on its way to extinction in Maryland.[39]

The agricultural development of Maryland had never been conducive to an extensive growth of slavery except in Southern Maryland and on the Eastern Shore, and there was springing up in the State a new economic interest—manufacturing—that made no demand for and did not use slave labor. In a period of twenty years, from 1840 to 1860, the value of manufactured products for Maryland increased over three-fold. Baltimore City was the center, with an annual value in 1860 of $21,083,517 placed upon her products, half of the total value of manufacturing for the State.[40] Five counties, Baltimore, Frederick, Howard, Allegany and Washington, each had over a million dollar product value. There was practically no manufacturing on the Eastern Shore, except in the most northern county of Cecil.[41] Along with the

[36] Maryland's poundage was 38,410,965. This was a large increase over the 1850 crop of 21,407,497 pounds; which, however, was a drop from the 24,816,012 pounds raised in 1840. *Census of 1860*, Volume on Agriculture, p. 73; *Census of 1840*, p. 144.

[37] Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[38] Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, p. 46; *Census of 1860*, Volume on Agriculture, p. 73.

[39] Buchanan, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

[40] *Census of 1860*, Volume on Manufactures, p. 228. The total value for the State was $41,735,157.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 228. Cecil County's product value was $1,656,595.

increase of manufacturing, there was a corresponding increase in commerce. The value of ship tonnage from 1850 to 1860 increased from $9,654,350 to $11,740,250. Canals and railroads likewise were being rapidly built. A full discussion of these economic interests will be given later on, but these figures show how Maryland was growing away from economic interests that involved the use of slaves. From an economic point of view, therefore, Maryland favored the emancipation of the slave, except in thinly populated Southern Maryland and on the Eastern Shore.[42]

Free Negroes in Maryland were growing in importance. Some of them owned houses and small tracts of land; some of the more industrious owned considerable personal property.[43] Many occupations were followed by the free blacks. Customary licenses were issued to them permitting the sale of liquors and fermented drinks. They were not, however, issued licenses as pedlars, nor were they allowed to operate a vessel of any kind. Idle free Negroes who, by the Acts of 1796 and 1825, had no means of support, were ordered to leave the State in fifteen days, unless old and infirm, in which cases they would be cared for by the counties. In 1850 complaints came from the Eastern Shore that labor was scarcer than ever, since the free Negroes would not hire themselves out.[44]

In addition to the influences mentioned there were other economic factors that played a part in shaping Maryland's course at this time.

II. Conflicting Economic Interests

Maryland was possessed of three major economic interests: agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce. The latter two were steadily increasing in importance as the Civil War approached. These activities were not diffused over the entire State; but each was confined to a fairly definite and limited area and had an important bearing on the course of the State. Had Maryland possessed economic interests connected entirely with the North, it

[42] The Eastern Shore in 1860 had a total of 24,957 slaves, or 28.6 per cent of the slave population. This was nearly one-sixth of the Eastern Shore's 145,128 population. Baltimore City had 21,610 slaves, which was about one-tenth of the City's total population, and 24.6 of the total slave population. Most of the slaves in Baltimore were house servants and could easily be replaced by free Negroes. *Census of 1860*, Volume on Population, p. 214.

[43] Brackett, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 206, 208, 218-219.

is believed that the State would have determined at once to support the Union. Social ties with the South would not have been strong enough to offset an economic alliance with the North. On the other hand, had the State been dominated by economic interests in line with the South, it is practically certain that secession would have resulted.

The three major economic interests naturally led to opposing views on the major questions of secession and the Civil War. An analysis of the different occupations of the people and an explanation of how they influenced political ideas and action is necessary for a correct understanding of conditions in Maryland. This can best be achieved by taking up the arguments for and against the Union as influenced by economic interests. Marylanders were acting upon their impulses and natural desires to advance their own welfare. At the same time, however, they were influenced by convictions and beliefs apart from economic factors. Some people advocated state rights and bitterly denounced coercion, while others urged complete support of the Federal Government. Still another group, later including Governor Hicks, stood for compromise and a passive course of action in the struggle.

Maryland long delayed her decision when the country was practically certain that war was imminent. An analysis of specific grievances and views of the contending factions in the State, based on economic questions, will help to explain that indecision. The tariff question provides a good starting point. In 1832 when this question nearly disrupted the Union, there was found in Maryland neither the voice of coercion on the one hand, nor that of disunion on the other. If it "be an exaggeration" to say that no "discordant note was heard in Maryland, it was sounded in so minor a key as to excite no special notice." [1] This does not mean that Marylanders, in both a political and sectional sense, were nonpartisan on political, sectional, and economic questions. They were divided in their sympathies and personal interests but "they were not persuaded to acknowledge the divine right of either King Coal on the one side, or of King Cotton on the other." [2]

Tariff sentiment continued to divide Maryland from 1832 to 1860. The land-holding classes of the Eastern Shore and of Southern Maryland were in favor of a tariff for revenue only.

[1] Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 486. [2] *Ibid.*

They desired an open market in which they might buy necessary manufactured articles, particularly since they had to compete in an open market in selling their tobacco, cereals, timber, and other products. The agricultural interest was a powerful one in Maryland. In 1850 there were 2,797,905 acres of improved land, farms valued at $87,178,545, and farm implements at $2,463,443.[3] Maryland ranked tenth in the South, ahead of Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, Delaware, and Florida in the amount of improved land. In value of farms, however, Maryland ranked fifth in the South, led only by Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Georgia. This was because land values were higher in the more Northern states, values being determined by the fertility of the soil.[4] In the value of farm implements, Maryland ranked eleventh in the South, leading only Delaware, Florida, Texas, Arkansas, and the District of Columbia. The leading crops in Maryland were tobacco, wheat, corn, rye, oats, and Irish potatoes.

Dominated by agricultural interests, the Eastern Shore people were generally sympathetic with the South. Across the Chesapeake Bay in Southern Maryland, the tobacco growers very early in the struggle began to condemn the wrongs that the South suffered at the hands of the Northern states.[5] The inhabitants of these sections were "perhaps, by occupation and inclination, as much allied to the southern states as the people of the pro-southern portions of any of the border states. It is not strange that they early instituted a campaign of propaganda—by means of mass meetings, speeches, and petitions," in which they demanded that the state legislature be convened to take some action.[6]

Other sections of the State, particularly populous Baltimore City, had developed industrial and commercial pursuits. The natural advantages of Baltimore as a commercial and manufacturing centre were early recognized. The growing manufacturing interests desired protection against their foreign competitors.

[3] In 1860 there were 3,002,267 improved acres, farms valued at $145,973,677, and farm implements valued at $4,010,529.

[4] *Census of 1850*, p. 226; Thomas Prentice Kettell, *Southern Wealth and Northern Profits, As Exhibited in Statistical Facts and Official Figures: Showing the Necessity of Union to the Future Prosperity and Welfare of the Republic* (New York, 1860), p. 131. Improved land in the North was valued at $42 per acre; in the West, $29, and in the South, $20.

[5] Carl M. Frasure, "Union Sentiment in Maryland, 1859-1861," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXIV (1929), 216.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 217.

In 1860 Maryland's manufactured products were valued at $41,735,157.[7] In 1840 when Maryland ranked second only to Virginia in the South, her products had been valued at $12,430,866;[8] and in 1850 when Maryland ranked first in the South the value had been $33,043,892.[9] By 1860, however, Maryland had fallen back to third place, with Virginia leading with a value of $50,652,124, and Missouri barely ahead of Maryland's $41,735,157 with a value on her products of $41,782,731.[10]

Manufacturing establishments employed 28,663 persons in Maryland of whom 6,733 were women. The leading manufactures were flour and meal, men's clothing, cotton goods, sugar refining, leather, machinery, copper smelting, boots and shoes, oysters (canned), pork, beef, iron, ships and boat building, cigars, woolen goods, lumber, furniture, and liquors. The manufacturing interest in Maryland was a powerful force in determining policies and the course of action the State should pursue in the impending conflict. As already indicated, Baltimore and the Western Shore were the centers of this industrial interest.[11]

The commercial class, also centered in Baltimore City, joined the agricultural interests and favored a low tariff. Having made Baltimore famous in the days of the fast-sailing clippers, the merchants and shippers looked with dismay on any attempt to increase tariff rates for fear it would destroy the carrying trade that had contributed so largely to the City's earlier growth and prosperity.[12] Maryland led the Southern states in shipbuilding. A total of sixty-eight vessels had been constructed in the State in 1850.[13] In 1860 Baltimore had over 700 ships doing business; a

[7] *Census of 1860*, Volume on Manufactures, p. 228.

[8] Kettell, *op. cit.*, p. 54. Kettell's figures are taken from a report made to the Secretary of the Treasury, James Guthrie, in June, 1855, by R. C. Morgan and W. A. Shannon, who were appointed in March of that year to report on the manufactures of each state from 1790 to 1850.

[9] *Census of 1860*, Volume on Manufactures (comparative exhibit), p. 730.

[10] *Census of 1860*, Volume on Manufactures, p. 729.

[11] Baltimore City alone had manufactures valued at $21,083,517, which, added to those of Baltimore County and the counties of Frederick, Howard, Montgomery, Allegany, Washington, Harford, and Carroll on the Western Shore, made up $38,532,000 of the total $41,735,157 for the State. On the Eastern Shore, Cecil County had a value of $1,656,595, while for the remainder of the Eastern Shore the value was $727,290. The products of five Southern Maryland counties amounted to $819,272. *Census of 1860,* Volume on Manufactures, p. 228.

[12] Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 487.

[13] Kettell, *op. cit.*, p. 85. Virginia was second with 32 ships. The value of Maryland's 68 was placed at $1,061,260.

year later the number had increased to 1,445.[14] These ships carried on an extensive export and import trade for Maryland, valued in 1850 at $6,967,353 and $6,124,201, respectively.[15] In 1859 export values had risen to $8,724,261 while the value of imports was placed at $10,408,993.[16] In the same year a total of 203 foreign vessels, chiefly British or German, arrived in Baltimore.

The *Baltimore American* early in 1859 published a supplemental sheet containing a complete statement of the trade and commerce of Baltimore during 1858. The trade of the City was well over a hundred million dollars.[17] After the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was constructed, Baltimore became the chief market for Western Maryland and Virginia. The Road had been opened from Baltimore to Wheeling, West Virginia, in 1852, a distance of 379 miles. In that year commodities transported eastwardly from depots on the main stem of the railroad amounted to 252,243 tons; they had been 230,338 in 1850, and 71,061 in 1845.[18]

The heavy shipments of wheat and flour pouring into Baltimore from the back country enabled the City to become a great milling center and to develop a trade in flour and grain with South America and the West Indies that made her second only to New York as a shipper of flour.[19] Before the Civil War Baltimore was the chief importing and distributing center for Peruvian guano, the earliest commercial fertilizer used to any considerable exent in America.[20]

Although Maryland's railroad mileage increased between 1850 and 1860, the State still had less mileage than any other below the Mason and Dixon Line except Delaware, Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas. In the North, only Rhode Island had fewer miles in

[14] Milton Reizenstein, *Economic History of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad* (Baltimore, 1897), p. 88. See also Craven, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

[15] *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, January 22, 1861.

[16] *DeBow's Review*, XXVIII (1860), 333. See *Ibid.*, p. 332, for a table showing the principal articles exported from Baltimore to foreign ports, 1857-1859.

[17] The exact amount was $108,000,000. The chief articles of trade were dry goods, boots, and shoes, books and paper, coal, clothing, copper, flour, grain, hardware, iron, live stock, provisions, sugar, tobacco and cigars, and whiskey. *DeBow's Review*, XXVI (1859), 323, carries a summary of the *Baltimore American* statement.

[18] Reizenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 359 (note). Leading in this tonnage were flour (66,377), livestock, grain, meal, provisions, granite, lime, soap, limestone, iron, coal (132,306 tons), leather, and bark.

[19] Frank Roy Rutter, *South American Trade of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1897), p. 381.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 380, 404, 448.

operation. Considering the small size of Maryland, however, and the fact that her main line, the Baltimore and Ohio, carried such a large trade, comparison with other states hardly tells the full story. The value of Maryland's commerce transported by rail stood well up among the leaders.[21]

Maryland had one important canal, the Chesapeake and Ohio, connecting Georgetown in the District of Columbia with Cumberland, a distance of 184.5 miles; a shorter canal, the Susquehanna and Tidewater, forty-five miles in length, connected Wrightsville, Pennsylvania, with Havre de Grace.

Maryland's economic interests were therefore important; and those who represented the agricultural, the manufacturing, and the commercial interests, respectively, could hardly be expected to agree on tariff or any other problem of economic nature. Add to these the great number of non-economic problems and the complexity of the State's situation is apparent.

Those people of Maryland closely allied with the seceding Southern states, clamored for a session of the State legislature in order that a convention might be authorized that should pass an ordinance of secession. Governor Hicks was equally implored by another group to refrain from calling the special session. According to one writer, arguments advanced for and against secession during this period were not based on a question of "right or wrong, of justice or injustice, or upon any political creed or theory, but rather upon the material gains to be derived from some action." [22] This sweeping statement does not give the Maryland people the benefit of other than materialistic ambitions, but it does contain much truth. Arguments appealing to the materialistic and sentimental imaginations of the people found ready reception on the Eastern Shore, which looked favorably upon secession. "Adherence to the southern confederacy would mean for them an association with people of similar likes and dislikes, whose ideas on material matters would be more compatible with their own than those of a 'yankee' North intent only upon machines and mills and a protective tariff." [23] The Confederacy promised the elimination of tariff restrictions that would allow the purchase of European articles at a cheaper rate than that paid for Northern manufactures, or even of those from Baltimore and the Western

[21] *Census of 1860*, Volume on Statistics, p. 333.
[22] Frasure, *op. cit.*, p. 217. [23] *Ibid.*

Shore. Furthermore, the raw materials of the Eastern Shore might be exchanged in Europe for goods, and still leave a liberal profit from the exchange. The secession of Maryland, it was said, would be a great economic advantage to the South since, through Baltimore as export-import city, the Southern people would be enabled to purchase foreign goods more cheaply.[24]

Many people engaged in manufacturing on the Western Shore also believed Maryland had more to gain by leaving the Union than by remaining loyal. Baltimore had a large trade with the Border states and with those along the South Atlantic seaboard. It was contended that this trade would be materially increased if Maryland should join the Confederacy.[25]

Many feared that if the State did not join the Confederacy, Virginia would close the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay, leaving Maryland at the mercy of the South, denying commercial interests their chief outlets, and ruining the foreign commerce of the whole State. Thus some of the manufacturing and commercial interests of Baltimore and the Western Shore joined the agricultural Eastern Shore in advocating secession. *Prices Current*, an economic journal of Baltimore, hoping to bring Baltimore and the South together commercially, appealed to the patriotism of the South in the following language:

> We have been reading and hearing, for some years, that it was the desire and intention of Southern merchants to withdraw their patronage from the abolition centers of the North, to those having a common interest in the maintenance of the peculiar institution. As yet, we do not see that this principle has been carried out to any marked extent, and we should scarcely refer to it now but for the fact that since the outrage at Harper's Ferry, it has been avowed upon all hands as the determination of the South to practise a stern and uncompromising system of non-intercourse. The claims which Baltimore has always urged and sanctioned, wholly independent of such considerations, should secure her, we think, a larger share of Southern trade than she now commands; and if there be any practical meaning in these declarations the results must soon be plainly manifest in a largely increased business with that section of our country. For domestic dry goods, for provisions, for manufactured tobacco, for groceries, liquors, flour, and other almost equally indispensable articles to the Southern merchant and planter, there is no market north of Baltimore and we challenge a contradiction of these facts—that can offer greater advantages and better terms to purchasers; and if there be any minor obstacles in the

[24] Buchanan, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.
[25] *New York Express*, cited by Frasure, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

way, these can be promptly removed upon a proper encouragement, to trade. We call upon Southern merchants, therefore, if they mean what they say, to test the truth of our assertions.[26]

Such arguments, however, were answered by another group that saw benefits to be derived only by remaining a part of the Union. Prominent among this group was John Pendleton Kennedy,[27] who gave the following answer to those who predicted Virginia would close the Chesapeake Bay to Maryland if she did not secede:

But if Maryland should be a member of that Confederacy, then the North in time of war may also shut up the Chesapeake against us; and not only that, but may also shut up our western and northern railroads. It may deny us the Ohio River; it may deny us access to Philadelphia, to New York—utterly obliterate not only our trade, but cut off our provisions. In the other case Virginia could not do that, nor even impede our transit on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, as long as Western Virginia shall stand our friend, as assuredly it will if we are true to ourselves.[28]

In reply to those secessionists who urged that Maryland follow Virginia into the Confederacy, Kennedy asked pointedly, "Which Virginia?" For there were, said he, two Virginias, one rich in mineral wealth, friendly to Maryland capital and the guardian of Maryland's railroad to the West; the other having only a sentimental tie with Maryland and always jealous of the material

[26] Reprinted in *DeBow's Review*, XXVIII (1860), 331. Along with this the *Review* said: "We have on numerous occasions recommended Baltimore as a fitting and proper mart for the conduct of Southern trade, and are always glad to chronicle its prosperity, despite of the fact that the merchants of Baltimore neither subscribe to our *Review* nor advertise in its pages, though solicited very frequently to do so as a means of understanding Southern opinion and reaching Southern customers. Even Boston has done more for the *Review* in these respects than Baltimore, we are forced in candor to say."

[27] Kennedy was born in Baltimore on October 25, 1795, and died on August 18, 1870. Law was his profession and he early took a part in public life, serving in the Maryland House of Delegates from 1821 to 1823, and in the Twenty-fifth Twenty-seventh, and Twenty-eighth Congresses. He served again in the Maryland House of Delegates in 1846. In 1840 he was a presidential elector on the Whig ticket. He served as Secretary of the Navy in President Fillmore's cabinet from July 22, 1852 to March 7, 1853.

[28] John Pendleton Kennedy, *The Great Drama*; *An Appeal to Maryland* (Baltimore [1861]). This pamphlet is dated May 9, 1861. It is reprinted in Frank Moore, *The Rebellion Record*, I, 368-374. Cited hereinafter as J. P. Kennedy, *An Appeal to Maryland*. There was no mistaking the importance of the Chesapeake Bay. Edward Bates, attorney general in Lincoln's cabinet, said in a cabinet meeting on April 15, 1861, that "We must maintain full command of the Chesapeake Bay—as that locks up Virginia and Maryland and half of North Carolina. . . ." Howard Beale, ed., *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859-66* (Washington, 1933), p. 183. Cited hereinafter as Edward Bates, *Diary*.

prosperity of the State.[29] W. Jefferson Buchanan, trying to find some way to get Maryland to ally herself with the South, looked upon the Potomac River as the final hindrance to such an alliance. He termed the river a "broad geographical fact." "Upon the North," he said, "no river runs to divide her territory from the free States; her lands merge rather with theirs, commingling in amity and interest, by the connecting links of turnpikes, railroads and canals. In this view, Maryland's geographical position does not appear to favor the probability of her connection with the Confederacy." [30]

The commercial class of Baltimore believed that the North, because of her superior resources, could do more damage to Maryland commerce than could the Confederacy. The latter had no navy and was not likely to develop one of importance. This fact was a decisive factor to this class when the great export and import trade of the City was considered. It was estimated that Maryland exports in 1861 would exceed the sum of twelve million dollars and that her imports would be more than ten million dollars.[31]

Kennedy used another well-founded argument when he showed the necessity of Maryland remaining in the Union because the State's raw materials for the manufacturers were drawn from the West. Without them, Maryland's industries, plants, and mills could not be kept running, so much was the State dependent upon this source. These Western states were for the most part Unionist in sentiment, and would soon cut Maryland off from their raw materials if she joined the Confederacy.

The argument of the secessionists, that Maryland's trade would increase if she joined the Confederacy, was counter-balanced to a certain extent by fear of the tariff policy that might be pursued by the South. The manufacturer on the Western Shore saw ruin staring him in the face if he had to contend with a free trade policy and compete with the lower standard of living in the manufacturing countries of Europe.[32] In this connection Kennedy said:

> The manufacturers of Maryland, in great part, are precisely those which would wither and perish under the free trade policy. We could supply no iron from our mines; no iron fabrics from our workshops. Our great steam enginery, our railroad apparatus, our heavy works of

[29] Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
[30] Buchanan, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-13.
[31] *Baltimore American*, January 22, 1861.
[32] Frasure, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

the foundry, our cast and rolled metal, could never hold their own in the presence of free transportation from England. It will occur to anyone conversant with our workshops that much of our most important industries here in Baltimore, and throughout the state, would be compelled to yield under pressure of European rivalry.[33]

Kennedy pointed out still another disadvantage of a free trade policy. It would mean a great loss of revenue, he said, to the Confederate Government, and it would be forced to balance the loss in some other way. The cost of the Confederate government and the large expenditures of the anticipated war would mean heavy taxation. He figured that Maryland would have to contribute $2,000,000 of an estimated $30,000,000 expenditure of the Confederate government. This levy on Maryland would be eight times the tax of $250,000 paid by Maryland at that time to the national government. Kennedy attributed the secession movement to an "active, intelligent, and ardent minority in the State, who are bent upon forcing her into the Southern Confederacy." [34]

An analysis of the business conditions on the eve of the war shows that there had been since early in the summer of 1860 a slow, but sure, depression spreading over most of the country. The Southern program of economic independence caused uncertainty as to the future of business; and skepticism in business was not then, any more than now, conducive to brisk trade or to investment of capital in any but the most stable enterprises. Uncertainty of the tariff policy of the national government did not help business. Maryland was feeling the effects of the situation. Baltimore, as both a Northern and Southern trading city, seemed bound to suffer, whatever came. William Lowndes Yancey of Alabama in a speech on September 21, 1860, promised Maryland that, if she joined the South, Baltimore would become to the South what New York was to the North.[35] This pleased many Marylanders, but New York was hardly to be envied at that time. A letter signed "J. W.," appearing in a Southern newspaper and written from New York late in 1860, declared that business was "almost paralyzed by the extreme excitement. Stocks have gone down to almost nothing and many dealers therein are ruined.

[33] *An Appeal to Maryland.*

[34] Kennedy, *op. cit.* In figuring the cost of running the Confederate government, Kennedy estimated that a levy of over three dollars a head on each of the nine millions of free population of the entire South would be necessary to raise the $30,000,000 needed.

[35] *New York Herald,* September 24, 1860; Frank Moore, *Rebellion Record,* I, 14.

The banks have great difficulty in accommodating their customers. Money is abundant, but capitalists will not lend it out. . . ." [36]

W. Jefferson Buchanan called Baltimore the foremost city South of the Mason and Dixon line. He argued that if the City were cut off from depressing influences of Northern cities and the "vampires of foreign trade," her exports and imports would increase in such proportion as to make her a dangerous rival to all seaboard towns, north or south of her. He said the North wanted Baltimore not as "an element of wealth and strength to them," but in order that the City might be weakened and eliminated as a commercial rival. Buchanan made the point that even some Southern cities did not desire Baltimore to join the South, since it would mean a hindrance to their commercial development. But, he said, by becoming a greater port, Baltimore would injure New York and other Northern cities as well as Norfolk, Richmond, and others of the South. If Maryland stayed in the Union, he predicted a gradual diminution of her commerce with Northern cities, leaving the State insignificant as a commercial power.[37]

Meanwhile, Baltimore itself was suffering the effect of the depression. The leading hotel was reported to have closed more than half its rooms, and to have discharged two-thirds of its servants. Other public houses were said to be suffering in like proportion.[38] Political unrest generally interrupts the flow of raw materials and governmental policies affect production and trade. Such was the case in Maryland during the fall of 1860, especially after Lincoln's election. Business men and the laboring class, dependent upon and loyal to the national government, generally favored Governor Hicks' refusal to call the legislature into session, thus thwarting those who would lead the State to secession. Thirteen hundred citizens and business firms of Baltimore drew up and signed a memorial expressing approval of Hicks' policy.[39] The same feeling was exhibited in another memorial to Governor Hicks, signed by five thousand citizens, including John P. Kennedy, whose oft-quoted *Appeal to Maryland*, was of great influence. Many of the City's business men signed this memorial.

(*To be continued*).

[36] *New Orleans Picayune*, November 23, 1860, quoted by Frasure, *op. cit.*, p. 214.
[37] Buchanan, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.
[38] Baltimore correspondent in the *New York Tribune*, February 4, 1861.
[39] *Baltimore American*, December 31, 1860; *Daily National Intelligencer*, January 1, 1861.

A MARYLAND TOURNEY: RIDING AT THE QUINTAIN

At right appears the dummy figure on a wooden horse while above a lady waits in the stand to crown the victor. Lightly sketched in the background are the coaches of the spectators. The scene matches the description in the accompanying paper of the affair of 1840 at The Vineyard.

From a silhouette signed "T. F. H., 1841" owned by Miss Frances D. Lurman of Farmlands, Catonsville.

THE ORIGIN OF THE RING TOURNAMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

By G. Harrison Orians

In five states[1] of the Southland today there is still enacted from time to time a sport pageant known as the Ring Tournament. This, as an annual competition, goes back to ante-bellum days. Once heralded as having stimulated the warlike spirit of the Old South, the institution is and always has been a most peaceful exercise, a human and equine competition in which ten to twenty-five knights, usually in fancy costume and bearing eleven-foot lances pointed with metal,[2] ride singly but in rivalry over a race course. While proceeding at full speed, they attempt to bear off rings suspended from standards or cross-bars and reach the course limits within the maximum time of twelve seconds. Although this institution, technically known as "Riding at the Ring," has been in vogue in a few states, with little cessation, for upwards of a hundred years, it has not been widely known of late despite scattered notices in historical journals, cinema representations of the sport, and articles in the *National Geographic* and *Playground*.[3]

Almost unknown, moreover, have been the American beginnings of the sport; for though there have been conjectures as to its introduction in Maryland and Virginia, shadowy accounts have shrouded the whole matter in uncertainty. It is with this question of the beginnings or first popularization of the institution in America, and especially its alleged connection with Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* that I am here concerned.

[1] Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina. Especially publicized have been yearly competitions at Accokeek, and Bradshaw, Maryland; Tryon, North Carolina; The Chimneys, Virginia; and Elkins, West Virginia. Tournaments have been held in South Carolina at Charleston (in connection with the azalea festivals), St. Mathews, Cameron, Pinewood, Sumter, Bishopville, Columbia, Walterboro and on rural or village courses in the vicinity of the towns named. In Virginia, other than at Mount Solon, tournaments have been scheduled at Warwick, New Kent, Accomac, Nansemond, Dinwiddie, Gloucester, Alexandria, and Northampton. Concerning the Maryland tournaments J. Hall Pleasants, of the Maryland Historical Society, has remarked: "A dozen or more of these tournaments are held in Maryland annually." The most recent notice of a Maryland tournament was in the *National Geographic Magazine* for April, 1941, containing description and photograph of a competition near Prince Frederick.

[2] The length of the lance varied. The rules of the individual tournament determined such matters.

[3] *Playground*, IV (April, 1921), pp. 42-43.

One of the theories of its origin, as advanced by Kaessman and by Rives,[4] is that the tournament of the Old South was a survival from the seventeenth century. *The Baltimore American* in an article of 1905[5] glanced somewhat sceptically at such an interpretation, but as a theory it has been popular among those who, in their eagerness to believe, have been satisfied with general and unsubstantiated claims.

The ablest summary of this survival theory of the ring tournament was given by Hanson Hiss in 1898:

> Dr. William Hand Browne, of the Johns Hopkins University, the gifted author of Maryland's history, is of the opinion that it is a Virginia custom of early colonial days instituted by the English Cavaliers. Mr. R. A. Brock, Secretary of the Virginia Historical Society, holds the same opinion; and urges in support of his belief, that Virginia was one of the oldest colonies and ever emulated the mother country customs and amusements. On the other hand, many of equally eminent authority as stoutly maintain that it originated in what is now Charles County, early in the seventeenth century. Certain it is, however, that the sport has been practiced in the Southern States, with but a short interregnum, from the earliest colonial days to the present time . . . .[6]

Thomas A. Ashby, biographer of General Turner Ashby, also thought of the tournament as coming down to Virginians from their forefathers in England;[7] and Paul Wilstach, in his *Tidewater Maryland,* spoke of the tournament as a colonial out-of-door sport which survived in certain counties.[8]

The only substantial fact in support of the seventeenth century theory is that the particular form which the tournament

[4] Beta Kaessman, *et al., My Maryland* (Boston [1934]), p. 314; Hallie Erminie Rives, *The Valiants of Virginia* (Indianapolis, 1912), p. 282.

[5] July 16, 1905, sec. B, p. 6.

[6] "The Knights of the Lance in the South," *Outing,* XXXI (January, 1898), 338-344. Since the first draft of this paper was completed, a book by Esther and R. W. Crooks, called *The Ring Tournament in the United States* (Richmond, 1936), has appeared. The authors were uninterested in such questions as the origin of the tournament or its cultural effects but sought to give a profuse listing of recorded tourneys, especially since the Civil War. For the period of the fifties their treatment is sketchy.

[7] *Life of Turner Ashby* (New York, 1914), pp. 35-36.

[8] Paul Wilstach, *Tidewater Maryland* (Indianapolis, 1931), p. 92. "While the gentry in pink coats hunted the fox across the river, the more democratic gatherings used the horse for scrub and quarter races, and as the basis of their own great out-of-door sport known as tournaments. These were popular gatherings in the open fields where horsemen dubbed themselves knights and each knight brought with him his lady for whom he tilted in order that by winning he might, in the evening at the ensuing ball, have the satisfaction of seeing her crowned 'Queen of Love and Beauty.' This old popular Maryland sport still survives in portions of the tidewater."

took in the Old South, the riding at the ring, was the form which persisted longest in England itself. In the days of James I, for instance, tilts were held on the King's day; and on at least nine festival occasions "running at the ring" was featured as compared with a total of seven jousts during the same reign.[9] That a knowledge of these affairs, since they were for such well-known events as Princess Elizabeth's marriage, the Earl of Somerset's marriage, and Prince Charlie's christening, etc., was carried to the Virginia colonies is a reasonable conjecture. That society was sufficiently developed in the pioneer settlements to permit the tournament to become established, or to survive once instituted, is a more questionable matter, particularly in the absence of any corroborative testimony. No investigation of the eighteenth century periodicals has ever disclosed any evidence of its occurrence in Virginia; and until specific reference is discovered, one is perhaps justified in maintaining a healthy scepticism about it.

Even the supporters of the seventeenth century theory have sometimes admitted that an interregnum of fifty to seventy years prevailed before 1840, or have granted that tournaments scheduled in the interim occurred so sporadically as to have elicited no notice. The query therefore becomes the same whether one supports the seventeenth century theory or not: what caused the tournament to be introduced—or *revived*—in Maryland and Virginia in the mid-nineteenth century? This question I shall deal with presently.

A second theory as to origin is that the tournament was introduced as a result of contacts of the colonists with British officers stationed in America, and that, in particular, the famous Meschianza, given by the officers of King George's army in Philadelphia in 1778 on the eve of the departure of General Howe, was responsible for the spread of such spectacular exercises to Southern areas, particularly by such refugees as from time to time resided in Philadelphia. The theory is unsupported by any instance of such events in Maryland, Virginia, or elsewhere. Search of newspaper files by previous students of the subject for the years during and after the Revolution has brought to light no citations. The theory is weakened, moreover, by the very nature of the

[9] Edward Hall's *Chronicle*, printed in London in 1809, contains a record of tournaments and jousts in the reigns of Henry IV, Edward IV, Henry VII, and Henry VIII. See pp. 16-18, 511-837.

entertainment planned by the versatile Major André: it was little more than a mock tournament, colorful enough but lacking the element of competition; and though there was a mild exhibition of lance crashing and sword play between two parties of knights, these borrowed from the tourney proper, not from the institution of ring tilting. Besides, the span of years which passed between this affair and the first recorded tournament would further challenge any claims of an immediate or lasting effect from this spectacle.[10] It would appear that the only influence stemming from it was that indirectly exerted by the novels and periodicals in which it was described, such as Mauduit's outburst (in 1780)[11] and an eight page description in 1792,[12] the full chapter accounts in the anonymous *Meschianza* (1831)[13] and Richard Penn Smith's *The Forsaken*[14] in the same year. These items, however, may be thought of as preparing the public mind for the tournament as a form of entertainment rather than as originating causes or immediate predecessors of it.

The most popular theory among those who have examined the matter is that the tournament was made popular in the Old South through the medieval novels of Sir Walter Scott, especially *Ivanhoe*. H. J. Eckenrode twenty years ago unhesitatingly derived the tournament of Virginia and adjoining states from the combat at Ashby de la Zouche.[15] And Grace W. Landrum, who has made a cursory survey of the vogue of Sir Walter Scott in the Old South, is inclined to agree with him, largely from the

[10] For descriptions of the Meschianza see Anne H. Wharton, *Through Colonial Doorways* (Phila., 1893) 23-64; John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1857), II, 290-93; Frank Moore, *Diary of the American Revolution* (New York, 1860), 53-54; Winthrop Sargent, *The Life and Career of Major John André* (Boston, 1861), 169-181; Ralph Davol, *Handbook of American Pageantry* (Taunton, [1914]), 33, 99.

[11] This satiric account of the tournament has a crowded title-page: *Strictures on the Philadelphia Mischianza; or, Triumph upon Leaving America Unconquered/ With Extracts Containing the Principal Part of a Letter/ Published in the American Crisis/ In Order to Shew How Far the King's Enemies think his General Deserving the Public Honours . . .* (London, Printed: Philadelphia, Re-printed by F. Bailey, in Market Street, 1780).

[12] *The Ladies Magazine and Repository of Useful Knowledge* (Philadelphia, 1792), pp. 101-108. The account is in the form of a letter from an officer at Philadelphia to his correspondent in London, dated May 23, 1778.

[13] *Meredith; or, The Mystery of the Meschianza. A Tale of the American Revolution*, Philadelphia, 1831. Ascribed to James McHenry.

[14] Philadelphia: John Grigg, 1831. Fictional treatment was later given the event in S. Weir Mitchell's *Hugh Wynne, Free Quaker* (N. Y., 1897). Washington Irving jotted down the Philadelphia Tourney as a subject of special inquiry in his 1818 Notebook.

[15] *North American Review*, CCVI (October, 1917), 600-602.

fact that the first reported account of a tournament which she discovered gave evidence of a highly organized institution such as had respectable standing and antiquity.[16] Even certain journals of the late forties and fifties, which could have enlightened us on the point, employed the name of Scott in reference to chivalric exercises and thus strengthened the theory of derivation from the Waverleys.

But can the conclusion be sustained at all points? Unfortunately those who have accepted the Ivanhoe explanation have not always been well-versed in the history of tournaments. There were, according to Joseph Strutt[17] and Charles Mills,[18] four kinds of tournaments prior to the seventeenth century: the tourney proper (the mêlée), the joust, riding at the quintain, and riding at the ring. Of these forms Scott described the first two only, the other forms having in the Middle Ages been reserved to the squires and thus fallen beneath the dignity of true-born knights.[19] They were left in silence in these accounts. But while the South revived at least on three occasions such a sport as riding at the quintain, it was chiefly devoted to the lowly ring tilting, the direct inspiration for which could not have come from anything to be found in Scott. The southern tournament was not a head-smashing affair; there was no tilting at approaching knights with pointed or blunted lance but a dashing down a straight or circular course, against time, in the attempt to capture suspended rings. This is a long ride from the bloody fields of the Middle Ages, upon which occurred "barbarous attacks against the lives of gallant riders," and one wonders at the inattentiveness of those who have failed to detect the difference between such dangerous exercises and the mild pageantry of "Riding at the Ring."[20]

[16] *American Literature*, II (November, 1930), 263-64.

[17] *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England* (London, 1801).

[18] *The History of Chivalry, or Knighthood and its Times* (London, 1825), *passim*.

[19] References to the lists and the true medieval tourney are found in a play published at New York by David Longworth in 1803: *The Tournament, a Tragedy/ imitated from / The Celebrated German-Drama / Entitled / Agnes Bernauer, / which was written / By a Nobleman of High Rank, / and founded on a Fact, / That occurred about the year 1435 / By Mariana Starke / author of the Widow of Malaber / As Performed at the N. Y. Theatre / From the Prompt-Book / By permission of the Manager.* Act II described the entry of the knights in armor two by two, followed by squires and preceded by a herald. No tournament, of course, took place upon the stage.

[20] Humorous and satiric accounts of these affairs are to be found in *Selections from the Miscellaneous Writings of Dr. George W. Bagby* (Richmond, 1884), I, 336-340, and Mark Twain, *The Galaxy Magazine*, X (July, 1870), 135-136.

The second weighty objection to the theory is the fact that seemingly the first recorded tournament in America did not occur until 1840, twenty years after the American reprinting of Ivanhoe. This is entirely too long a period of inactivity for Scott's popular novel to have exerted any irresistibly impelling force. That the interval between the novel and the tournament introduction was actually twenty years appears reasonably certain from the negative fact that no tournaments before 1840 have been disclosed and that such a book as *Six Weeks in Fauquier* (1839) makes no mention of the institution.[21] There is also the impressive fact that the full column and the half-column notices in the newspapers after that date, in sharp contrast to the terse notes for other news items of the day, were obviously addressed to readers avid for details about a curious spectacle they were little or not at all acquainted with.

Finally and more conclusively, there is the newspaper reference to certain scheduled events in 1840 as novel forms of amusement *introduced in that year. The Richmond Compiler* thus refers to an exotic scene of entertainment at Fauquier White Sulphur Springs in August, 1840:

> There are new sources of amusement resorted to this year at many of the watering places, and they are no doubt productive of much enjoyment and do a great deal to repress the monotony which often weighs heavily upon the time at these places of fashionable rendezvous. We have heard that some ingenious modes have been invented to diversify the entertainment at the White Sulphur Springs. One of them was a kind of tournament.[22]

Everything in the phraseology of this passage serves to strengthen the idea that one need not look back of 1840 for American tournaments either in Virginia or Maryland, for the Richmond papers might properly be thought cognizant of sports of the mid-century, and the reference to tournaments in that year as new sources of entertainment may rightly be regarded as weighty evidence.

If we regard as reasonable the matter of the origin or revival of the tournament in America in 1840, there is still the question as to whether it was mere invention or overseas borrowing.

[21] An account of a visit to White Sulphur in 1832 in the *New England Magazine*, III (Sept., 1832), 226-227, lacks any reference to tournaments.

[22] Quoted from the *Charleston Courier* for September 10, 1840, page 2. Reprinted from an account in the *Richmond Compiler*.

Considering the chivalric nature of the tournament, the question is not one that need long trouble us. A ready answer may be found in the accounts of American tournaments in 1840. The first to claim our attention took place at The Vineyard, the estate of the late William Gilmor, Sr., on the York Road out of Baltimore. Let Hanson Hiss tell the story of the Maryland affair:

A course was laid out, sweeping around the foot of the lawn, and arrangements were made for accommodating scores of carriages in view of the course. Mr. Gilmor was a superb rider, and all the contending knights, of whom there were a score, spent several weeks prior to the event in practicing on the grounds. They took every possible means of providing themselves with mounts that had been trained on the hunting field. Mr. Oelrichs, the father of the well-known New York clubman, rode a great black charger and, at the close of an unsuccessful day, rode the animal into Jones' Falls—Baltimore's Niagara—and declared he would never again get on a horse.

Every great family in Maryland and Virginia was represented, and the wealth and fashion present was matter of comment for many years afterward. The Vineyard Tourney set the fashion for this species of manly sport. The riders at this tourney wore very handsome and costly costumes, and aimed to impersonate in dress, as far as possible, the knights of the Eglinton Tourney. The lances of the knights were festooned with gray ribbons, and the riders wore handsome plumes on their head-dress. All were the hardiest of riders, and the pace was of the fastest description.

The knights at this tourney did not ride at rings . . . but at the impersonation of a knight which was carved out of wood and seated on a wooden horse. The four legs of the dummy horse were buried deep into the ground, in order to secure absolute stability. A large augur-hole was bored in the center of the horse's back, through which a chain was let; one end of this was fastened to the dummy knight and to the other were attached two sixty-pound weights. The rider, in order to unseat the wooden figure, had to give it such a tremendous blow with the lance that it would lose its balance and fall from the horse.[23]

Because of his activity in planning the Vineyard tournament the *Baltimore American* called Gilmor the "godfather of the Maryland, indeed the Southern, tourney."[24]

This riding at the quintain which Gilmor provided on a large scale would seem to have had for its grand model the Eglinton

[23] Hiss, *op. cit.*, 342-343. The Vineyard lay in the vicinity of the present 29th Street and Greenmount Avenue. William Gilmor, born 1815, was the second son of William Gilmor Sr., and a nephew of Robert Gilmor, the art collector. It was the younger William's brother, Robert, who in 1830 visited Scott at Abbotsford and returned to build his home, Glen Ellen, in the style of the novelist's residence.

[24] Issue for July 16, 1905.

Tournament in Scotland on August 29, 1839. This spectacle Gilmor, as a guest, had witnessed.[25] He seriously believed the contentions of Lord Eglinton that "tournaments could be revived" and that "tilting could be practiced without danger." He took to heart the expressed hopes of the Scottish host that "tournaments would become fashionable amongst the nobility and gentry of the country."[26]

The Gilmor affair occurred in 1840, and in that year the spirit of pageantry was abroad. In late August a tournament was held at one of the most famous of the watering places of that day, the Fauquier White Sulphur Springs, very probably in imitation of the Vineyard spectacle, for to the Gilmor estate had gone guests from all parts of Maryland and adjacent states. The sport was Riding at the Quintain. It drew large crowds and spirited newspaper accounts. From the *Richmond Compiler* I copy the following:

> There was a Queen of Beauty and several knights entered the lists as candidates for her favor, who charged, lance in hand, upon a figure fixed with much firmness in an erect posture. When a knight prostrated this figure by his prowess a certain number of times, he was considered to have borne off the palm, and received the honors from the hand of the Queen. The figure was provided with a supply of meal and a whip, and when a knight struck it without knocking it down, it sprinkled him with meal and gave him the lash; with such ill success he returned from the charge truly the knight of the rueful countenance. The tournament is said to have caused a great deal of sport. Someone at the Springs should give an account of it. It would be an admirable offset to the Eglinton affair.[27]

This last note is especially significant as demonstrating the interest aroused in America by the Scottish affair of 1839 and argues general familiarity with its features.[28]

On the 27th of August there followed an Archery Tournament, which also included the machinery of a Court of Love and a Coronation Ball, with all the rules and formality of the "olden

[25] Eglinton Tournament at Eglinton Castle, Ayrshire, Scotland. Hiss is authority for the assertion that Gilmor witnessed the Eglinton affair during a European tour which followed completion of his education.

[26] See the account in *The London Times*, September 3, 1839, p. 5, column 6.

[27] Account reprinted in the *Charleston Courier*, Sept. 10, 1840.

[28] Notices of the forced postponement of the Eglinton tournament, because of rain, appeared in Baltimore and Richmond newspapers. There was even a note in the Baltimore *Sun* for August 2, 1839, that the Eglinton Tournament was "likely to fall through."

time." This contest was spiritedly described by a correspondent of the *Petersburg Intelligencer.*[29]

So successful were these tournaments at the Springs, in evoking enthusiasm and adding to the gala features of the season, that a tournament was forthwith scheduled for the next year, and in succeeding years it was reenacted. The 1841 affair dropped the quintain riding, however, and adopted *ring tilting* as a more convenient competitive form. It was attended with less danger, was just as spectacular, and could be more spontaneously arranged. True, it shared somewhat in interest with archery contests which were held in 1840 and 1841, also introduced to provide activities for idle guests; but soon to the tournament were added all the chivalric features which tended to justify the adjective "grand" by which it was invariably described.[30]

The *Alexandria Gazette* thus outlined its rules:

> *A Ring,* properly adorned, will be suspended opposite the seats of the Judges, nine feet from the ground; which each champion will essay to transfix with his lance in knightly style, and bear away in chivalric triumph; each champion to commence his course at the sound of the bugle, at a distance not less than 75 yards from the Ring; and he shall have three trials of his skill and prowess, and shall ride at full speed.
>
> The triumphant Champion shall, by direction of the presiding Judge, be proclaimed by the Herald, followed with sound of the Bugle, and an appropriate Air on the Band. Whereupon, the victor, remaining on horseback, shall present the Ring on the point of his lance to the presiding Judge, and shall receive from the latter, the *Crown* destined for the Lady, whom his choice will constitute the "Queen of Love and Beauty," in all knightly acceptation. He will then repair to the presence of the Lady of his choice, with a knightly retinue, and, dismounting before her, will place on her brow the *crown* won by his skill and daring; and will, thereupon, receive from her *the Victor's Wreath,* accompanied by a gracious Address, to which he will respond, as a true and gallant knight should do. Whereupon, the Herald will announce the denouement, followed by the Bugle, and a suitable Air on the Band.[31]

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[29] Described in a letter to the editor from Fauquier Springs, dated August 27, 1840.

[30] *The Alexandria Gazette* for September 14, 1841 called the Tournament day at Warrenton Springs (Fauquier White Sulphur Springs) "*the* gala day." The account of the 1842 affair (in *The Richmond Enquirer*, Sept. 6, 1842) indicates that the second annual Ring Tournament was a very elaborate affair.

[31] Issue for Tuesday, Sept. 14, 1841, page 2, columns 2 and 3. This contest was also noted in the *Richmond Enquirer*, Sept. 10, 1841. The tournament occurred on August 28th, 1841. Unless conflicting evidence be discovered, this must be regarded as the date of the actual beginning or revival of *ring* tilting in the United States.

The managers of the Springs did not have to go afield for items of information on the ring tournament. Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes* and Mills' *Chivalry* provided material for the description of such sports. Newspapers had carried accounts of the Namur Tournament in 1828 and the Vienna Tournament in 1829;[32] riding at the ring had been referred to in the oft reprinted tale, *The Tournament of Toledo*.[33] Finally, the Eglinton tournament had definitely included "Riding at the Ring" as well as tilting at the quintain and more serious forms of chivalric exercises. The Vineyard Tournament, in which Gilmor made an attempt to reproduce such parts of the Eglinton tournament as could be scheduled without the use of armor, may well have included riding at the ring. But even if the Gilmor tournament were dismissed as a possible model, it must still be remembered that there were other American visitors at Eglinton besides Gilmor, a whole boatload of them having traveled there on the *British Queen* with no other object in going to Scotland than to see the chivalric exercises. N. P. Willis was among these and his letters from abroad were copied in 300 American newspapers.[34] From his account or that of other travelers, details of ring competition could easily have been gleaned.

At any rate, from 1841 on it was ring tilting that prevailed, though sometimes head and ring, horse races, and stag chases, etc., were combined with it in the festivities of special days. At Fauquier White Sulphur Springs, which was for a time center of the tournament, the event became an annual affair[35] from 1840

[32] See *The New England Galaxy*, Jan. 1, 1830. Among things cited were heads of Turks borne off by knights with swords, riding at the ring with the point of the lance, hurling javelins at a Saracen image, cutting suspended apples with curved sabres, elegant and difficult manoeuvres, and a ball and supper.

[33] See *The Ladies' Garland,* IV (Harpers Ferry, Jan. 26, 1828), 129-131 and the Baltimore *Sun*, June 23, 1840.

[34] "A local editor [Glasgow] wrote that THE BRITISH QUEEN on her last arrival 'brought a party of inquisitive Americans, who had no other object in coming to this country than to see the tournament.'" See Ruth Lord Jenkins, "The Story of a Famous Jousting Festival," *Arts and Decoration,* XVII (October, 1922), 412-413, 471.

More convincing proof for the contention here is found in a contemporary American record: N. P. Willis, "Eglington Tournament" in *Famous Persons and Places* (New York, 1854), 188-216. Reference was made to "Several Americans" on board the steamer *Royal Sovereign,* which had been engaged by Lord Eglinton (as per advertisement) to set down at Ardrosan all passengers bound to the tournament (p. 188). The Letters published in this volume appeared in the mid-thirties in many newspapers, and in this form were better known than in the collected volume.

[35] In 1841 the tournament took place on August 28th, *Alexandria Gazette and*

to 1860 (and later), and there was no lapse in such annual ceremonies (with the possible exception of 1853). Occasionally more than one tournament was scheduled during a season (as early as 1843)[36] though a grand tournament almost invariably wound up the festivities for the year. Other enterprising Spring managers took over the institution, along with archery contests and gander pullings, as public demand led to the opening of more and more mineral water establishments. The Shannandale Springs began in 1848[37] what appears to have been a widely publicized annual series. About 1850 entrepreneurs opened up Huguenot Springs, 17 miles out of Richmond,[38] and Capon Springs, in Hampshire County (now West Virginia); and forthwith tournaments were introduced as features of attraction. Jordan Springs, Frederick County, at about the same time scheduled its yearly tiltings. The youth of the Shenandoah Valley assembled annually for tournaments at Burner's and Orkney Springs. Places like Martinsburg, and Leesburg, Va., and Leonardtown, Md., became centers of resort for skilled knights of the lance. By the mid-decade the tournament had spread tremendously. It had reached Pineville, South Carolina,[39] and Tallahassee, Florida, by 1851; Louisville, Kentucky, by 1854;[40] Dallas,

Virginia Advertiser, Sept. 14, 1841. Some of the references for the following fifteen years are as follows: *Richmond Enquirer,* Sept. 6, 1842; *South Carolina Courier,* August 21, 1843; *Baltimore Patriot,* August 11, 1843; *Richmond Examiner,* August 30, 1845; *National Intelligencer,* August 29, 1846; *National Intelligencer,* Sept. 1, 1847; *Richmond Whig,* Sept. 2, 1850; *Culpeper Observer,* Sept. 9, 1852; *Alexandria Gazette,* Sept. 13, 1853; *Alexandria Gazette,* August 18, 1855. Tournaments of intervening years are referred to in the later accounts.

[36] Dates of the tournaments were August 3, and August 24, 1843.

[37] Baltimore *Sun,* August 23, 1848: "Having enjoyed otherwise the manifold amusements which combined geniuses evolved, they have at length fallen upon the design of having a grand tournament. Several young Virginians will appear in fanciful and picturesque costume." Also noted in the *National Intelligencer,* August 21, 1848; *Alexandria Gazette,* Sept. 2, 1848; and Baltimore *Sun,* Sept. 2, 1848. A full description of a subsequent tournament was printed in the *Richmond Whig* for Sept. 28, 1850.

[38] See *The Richmond Whig,* September 25, 1850: "We understand there will be a tournament at the Huguenot Springs on tomorrow (Wednesday) . . . we learn that a full complement of knights will contend for the honor of crowning the Queen of Love and Beauty, and of course the belles of our own city will contest the prize with the fair damsels of Chesterfield and Powhatan." Both Huguenot Springs and Capon Springs were spoken of as new in the *Richmond Whig* for August 22, 1850.

[39] See *The Spirit of the Times,* XXI (May 16, 1851), 148. Pineville is in Berkley County. Tournaments survived long in this area, especially about Eutawville. For evidence of activity north of the Santee River see William Willis Boddie, *History of Williamsburg, S. C.* (Columbia, S. C.: The State Company, 1938), 306.

[40] *American Literature,* II (November, 1930), 264.

Texas, by 1855;[41] Savannah, Georgia, Jackson, Mississippi,[42] and Shocco Springs, North Carolina, by 1857.[43] In the eighteen fifties it became a regular feature of grand social festivities, such as the marriage celebrations at the Howard and Markham estates.[44] It was added to the manoeuvres of light dragoons in three states; it was employed to celebrate Washington's birthday and the Yorktown victory; in no less than five states it was a regular attraction at state affairs and exhibitions of local agricultural societies.

Thus we behold the fan-like spread of the tournament after its introduction in America in 1840. Its vogue after that date makes clear that its immediate stimulus was not Scott's *Ivanhoe,* but the Eglinton affair in Scotland, not only as reported by the public press (or in a burlesque poem in Burton's *Gentleman's Magazine,* February, 1840),[45] but also by personal witnesses who made special excursions to Scotland to view it.

But the tournament would probably not have taken hold had not the South been an area of horses and horsemanship,[46] and had not the region been nurtured at the same time upon a whole library of chivalric literature. Those who claim that riding at the ring came from Scott are wrong as regards the origin, the character, and the chronology of the tournament, but are at least partly right in claiming Scott influence, for undoubtedly his works had a profound influence upon Lord Eglinton himself; and in America Scott unquestionably affected the tournaments, if not in the initial

[41] *The Spirit of the Times,* Oct. 11, 1857.
[42] *Semi-Weekly Mississippian,* Oct. 22, 1858.
[43] *Richmond Dispatch,* Sept. 20, 1857.
[44] See Hiss, *op. cit.,* 343. For a full description of the tournament at a wedding near Markham, Virginia, see *The Norfolk Herald* for September 5, 1857. Reprinted in Rev. James B. Avirett's *The Memoirs of General Turner Ashby and His Compeers* (Baltimore, 1866), 33.
[45] On page 67 there is mention of tilting at the ring.
[46] Many passages in tournament descriptions indicate that a large part of the public interest in these events was that associated with equestrian activity and competition. A correspondent of the *Richmond Enquirer* for September 6, 1842, remarked of the affair that year at Fauquier White Sulphur Springs: "Tournaments have given room for the display of gallant riding, and a society is assembled from various parts of the Union, which dismisses all etiquette, and constitutes, as it were, one large and harmonious family." A letter from the Springs in the same issue observed of the tournament: "Such riding, I never saw—so admirable and beautiful. With lances, about 11 feet long, pointed with metal, at full speed, they repeatedly pierced and bore off the ring, about twice the size of a dollar." The article in the *Norfolk Herald* (Sept. 5, 1857) spoke of the tournaments as perfecting the "young men in the elegant accomplishment of horsemanship" and therefore as forms of entertainment more worthy "than the midnight revels of the ballroom."

impetus itself, then in the colorful terminology of the knights. The romantic names included: Ivanhoe (a perennial favorite), Waverley (a close second), Rhoderic Dhu, Rob Roy, The Knight of the Leopard, The Disinherited Knight, Ravenswood, Kenilworth, Red Gauntlet, Godfrey of Bouillon, Fitz-James, Lochinvar, Snowden, Douglass, Coeur de Lion, Malcolm Graeme, Peveril of the Peak, Woodstock, and Marmion. And yet many of these, as in the case of Kenilworth, Waverley, Marmion, were the names of estates, and the influence in such cases must have been secondary as far as knightly designations were concerned.

The enrichment from Scott extended also to costumes, for the names of knights suggested outfits in keeping, and not infrequently the panoplied steeds and riders pranced from the pages of a romance. The most striking illustration of this was at the Fauquier Tournament from 1843 to 1845, where, according to Wythe, a correspondent, they attempted to "assimilate it [the tournament] closely in dresses and arrangements to those Tourneys that Ivanhoe witnessed and that Sir Walter has celebrated." [47] The long list of knights who bore designations from Scott made this practice facile enough.

At the same time and later, romantic illusions, inspired by the constant reading of Scott, brought about high-minded chivalric exhortations or far-fetched comparisons of Virginia affairs and medieval tourneys. Myrta Avary, in describing a tournament remarked: "The knights were about twenty-five. Their steeds were not so richly caparisoned as Scott's in Ivanhoe, but the riders bestrode them with perhaps greater ease and grace than heavy armor permitted medieval predecessors." [48] It scarcely needs pointing out that even in the Middle Ages armor was never employed for riding at the ring, and that the confusion of tourneys and ring-tilting is patent. Or again, a passage from Thomas A. Ashby:

> Ivanhoe in the "Gentle and Joyous Passage of Arms at Ashby" possessed in no greater degree the spirit of true knighthood than did Turner Ashby, nor in the days when "knighthood was in flower" were the heroism and courage that characterized the knights of the tournament more ably represented in knight-errantry than were they in Virginia by Turner Ashby.[49]

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[47] *South Carolina Courier,* August 21, 1843. Notice of a tournament scheduled for August 24, 1843.

[48] *Dixie After the War* (N. Y., 1906), 170.

[49] *Op. cit.,* p. 220.

As a means of praising his biographical subject this may have been justified, but it can scarcely afford reliable evidence for true parallels. This and comparable passages do not so much prove the understanding of Scott as the illusions to which the reading of his works gave rise.

From such zealous but mistaken effusions, it must be apparent that the Waverley influence was potent in the romantic overtones of the times. Coronation speeches and charges to the knights were the regular features of a grand tournament, and gave manifold opportunities for florid rhetorical flourishes. The burden of the main address was invariably chivalry; and in such outbursts as were annually heard on the tilting field, the praise of Scott was sounded. In a spirit instinct with romance William Smith urged a group of assembled knights to cultivate the attributes of medieval chivalry even though they were participating in a harmless tournament which forced them to forego "those exciting scenes so glowingly described in Ivanhoe."[50] Comparably one A. W. Perrie thus extolled chivalry: "One of its most distinguished characteristics [is] valor, which, in olden times, Homer embalmed and immortalized in song; and in modern times Scotland's poet and romancer both harmonized to the gushing cadence of the muse and intertwined amongst the fairest flowers of romance."[51]

But it must be remembered that Scott's name, while frequently heard, was but one among many; also named and exalted were Arthur, Cervantes, Tancred, Lieber, Russell, and others. While Scott's works were better known among Southern readers than any others, not even excepting accounts of Bayard, still there cannot be foisted upon him all the machinery of knights and heraldic display, the recurrent employment of medieval terminology, nor the heightened respect for women which distinguished the South. Anyone desirous of discovering whence came the knightly phraseology in the war verses of the South or even in the poems of Sidney Lanier should no longer devote himself exclusively to Scott and his romantic contemporaries but consult also the romantic oratory of the ring tournament heard annually in ante-bellum days by thousands of spectators.

To declare, moreover, that this spectacle was enriched from Scott's works is not tantamount to saying that he originated it.

[50] At Fairfax C. H. in October, 1859. Printed in *The Evening Sentinel* (Alexandria, Virginia), October 27, 1859.

[51] *The County Herald* (Towsontown, Maryland), Oct. 8, 1870.

His success may have more speedily paved the way for the quick and hearty reception of it; but if this is true, the public appetite must have been somewhat whetted by other works familiar to American readers: Mills's and James's histories of chivalry, Hallam's *Middle Ages,* translations of Bayard, numerous editions of Malory and of "rich old Froissart," and Tennyson's *Idylls of the King.* At least such works, reinforcing the novels of Scott and James, stirred readers with visions of lists and tented fields, made to live again the chivalry of the olden time, and prepared the public mind for the ready acceptance of chivalric exercises when they were introduced. It mattered not at all that these ring tournaments were Moorish in origin and had back of them none of the dignity of the truly medieval affairs. Their employment for royal occasions in the seventeenth century and the attachment to them of all the romantic machinery of the Love Court, formerly belonging to the tourney, in Europe as in America, was enough for the romantic South. They were given all the pageantry which the tourney once commanded, and had the merit of appealing to skill and steadiness rather than to foolhardiness, love of danger, and exhibition of strength. By some they have been called meaningless pageants, but in the South they were one more excuse for a social gathering, always of interest in rural areas, and were looked forward to with the same eagerness as court or muster days. Thus the institution was popular and survived because of its social significance. It appealed, moreover, to the general inclination for formal gallantry; it offered dramatic elements and opportunities for display all too few in American life, and it had a basic and constant guarantee of longevity in the Southern fondness for horseflesh. The equestrian features of the sport cannot be lost sight of.

Further observations on the place and popularity of the tournament in the South lie beyond our interest here. The purpose in this brief survey has not been to trace in any detail the history of the institution in America, even that part of its history which fell before the Civil War, although out of material already in hand a stout volume might be written. The chief object has been to protest against the too ready assumptions of those who would ascribe to Scott and to Scott alone the credit or blame for the introduction and development of the Ring Tournament in the United States, and at the same time to advance a plausible theory for its origin and its persistent appeal.

RECOLLECTIONS OF BROOKLANDWOOD TOURNAMENTS

By D. Sterett Gittings

Some years after the War Between the States, around the late '60s, and during the '70s, the annual tournaments at Brooklandwood were the social events of the season. This beautiful estate, one of the most famous in Maryland, was owned by Colonel Alexander D. Brown, and formerly was one of the extensive Carroll holdings, which included Doughoregan Manor and Homewood.

Colonel Brown's intimate friend and constant companion was William Young, who was noted for his exquisite taste in art and architecture, as well as for his skill in arranging spectacular events. To Mr. Young was entrusted the task of conducting the tournaments, and no better man could be found for this exacting undertaking, which included lavish decorations for the stands and arches, the selection of the prizes, a solid silver pair of spurs going to the successful knight, with valuable and appropriate awards to the runners up.

The arches were erected at the foot of the hill where the Fernwood mansion now stands, on the mile track, where Colonel Brown's string of thoroughbreds was trained. An innovation introduced by Mr. William Young was a hurdle in front of each ring, which the knight was required to take on the end of his lance while his mount cleared the jump. The parade of marshals, heralds, and knights, was formed in the magnificent woods back of the mansion, a grove that was almost wiped out in the terrific hurricane that swept through the Valley some years afterwards.

The cortège, preceded by a band of music, wended its way through the trees to the track, halting in front of the judges' stand, opposite the grand stand, which was thronged by fair women and brave men. Here the orator of the day made his address, couched in the lofty language of the period, and besought the knights to conduct themselves gallantly, to be *sans peur et sans reproche*, and to emulate the deeds of derring do, characteristic of Richard Coeur de Lion, Ivanhoe, and the Crusaders. Among the riders in these brilliant entertainments was George Brown, son of the host, whose title was Knight of The Oaks, and

Hamilton Gittings, Knight of Bella Vista (in Long Green Valley), who on one occasion took twenty-two rings in eleven tries at the two arches.

Another successful rider was Melchoir Cockey, who was immortalized by an unknown bard in a poetical description of the tournament written for a local paper, mentioning a swell bet on the part of the then Chief of Police, Marshal Frey. As the bard described it,

> "————," quoth doughty Marshal Frey,
> "I'll go you oysters for the crowd, and drinks to boot
> "On Cockey."

Any one acquainted with the quiet, unassuming Marshal, on duty on the grounds, might have doubts as to his making a wager of any kind, let alone such a fantastic one, as offering to feed such a big crowd, even though oysters were more plentiful in those days than they are now, but the incident shows how widespread was the interest in the tournaments. In fact, the attendance was so large, that the returning line of vehicles reached almost end to end from the grounds to Riderwood, two or three miles distant.

When the Queen of Love and Beauty, and her maids of honor were duly crowned, they were driven around the track by General George S. Brown, the host's brother, in a beautifully turned out four-in-hand coach, accompanied by all the gallant knights, the marshals, and heralds, to the strains of "Maryland, My Maryland," and other stirring tunes, by the band.

The day's entertainment wound up with races by Colonel Brown's horses, headed by the renowned steeplechaser, Coronet, all carrying the tasteful Brooklandwood colors, crimson and gold; trotting races, in which Charles R. Thompson's speedy chestnut mare, Patapsco Maid, and "Jack" O'Donovan, of Sweet Air, and other enthusiastic trotting horsemen took part, the last event on the program being pony races for the heralds—and thereby hangs a tale.

The writer, who was one of the heralds, was beaten on one occasion (or rather several occasions), and on pulling up at the finish to return to the scales, he was accosted by two rough looking customers, one of whom caught hold of the pony's bridle, while the other grabbed the rider's arm. This latter individual shook his fist at the frightened little boy, and said, with an oath,

"You ——— little rascal—you pulled that pony, and made me lose my money, so I'm going to make you pay for it."

With a yell that could be heard all over the place, the terrified youngster wheeled his pony around, dug his heels in its ribs, and started for home miles away as hard as he could clip it, never stopping until he was safe within the stable door. If the pony had run as fast in the race as he did away from the betting fraternity, the latter would have saved their money, and the boy his fright.

READING INTERESTS OF THE PROFESSIONAL CLASSES IN COLONIAL MARYLAND 1700–1776

By Joseph Towne Wheeler

LAWYERS

About fifteen percent of the books in the larger colonial inventories were on law, and many of the planters owned legal guides for the layman and justice of the peace handbooks.[50] The Maryland Court system was more completely developed than that of the other colonies, and " The early recognition of the Common Law and the high organization of the judicial system were undoubtedly the chief factors in developing a trained Bar in Maryland at an earlier date than in any other colony. For in no colony did attorneys appear in such numbers, or of so high a character, or under such early statutory recognition." [51] Conditions in Maryland were particularly favorable to the growth of a well educated Bar in the eighteenth century as has already been pointed out. William Eddis summarized the situation in a letter to a friend, " A litigious spirit is very apparent in this country." [52] Although there were still frequent protests against the conduct of lawyers and particularly against the fees they charged, culminating in the act of 1725 which regulated fees so strictly that even the Proprietor was convinced it should be repealed, the profession was attracting the sons of wealthy men who looked upon it as an honorable employment.

Whenever financial circumstances made it possible, the prospective lawyers received their education in the Inns of Court in London. Here the young colonials received the best legal education available, reading and discussing difficult cases with experienced lawyers while they were taking their meals at these exclusive legal clubs. Among the Maryland lawyers trained in the Inns of Court, those " noblest nurseries of humanity and liberty in the kingdom," [53] were:

[50] J. T. Wheeler, " Books Owned by Marylanders, 1700-1776 " in *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXV (1940), 346.
[51] Charles Warren, *History of the American Bar,* Boston, 1911, p. 51.
[52] William Eddis, *Letters from America,* p. 127.
[53] Ben Jonson.

Educated at Middle Temple [54]

Sir Thomas Lawrence, 1664, President of Provincial Council and Chief Justice
Richard Lee, 1719, President of Provincial Council
Philip Thomas Lee, 1756, a Loyalist Maryland Lawyer
Daniel Dulany, 1741-2, called the William Pitt of Maryland
Charles Carroll, Barrister, 1751
Alexander Lawson, 1759, clerk of Baltimore County
Lloyd Dulany, 1761, Maryland Loyalist
Thomas Bordley, 1744, brother of Stephen Bordley
John Hammond, 1753, member of Maryland Assembly
James Hollyday, 1754, member of Assembly and of Ratifying Convention
John Brice, 1757, clerk of Anne Arundel County
Edmund Key, 1759, Attorney General
Robert Goldsborough, 1753, Attorney General
Edward Tilghman, 1772, distinguished Pennsylvania lawyer
Richard Tilghman, 1769, Maryland Loyalist
William Vans Murray, 1784, member of Congress, diplomat
John Leeds Bozman, 1785, lawyer and able historian of Maryland
Philip Barton Key, 1784, member of Congress
Nicholas Maccubbin, 1773
Philemon Hemsley, 1750
Robert Milligan, 1774, Maryland Loyalist

Educated at Inner Temple

Charles Carroll, 1685, Attorney General
William Bladen, 1687, Commissary-General, Secretary and Attorney-General
George Plater, 1713, Secretary of Province and member of Council
Benedict Leonard Calvert, 1719, Governor of Maryland
Stephen Bordley, 1729, Attorney-General
William Paca, 1762, member of Congress, prominent lawyer
Edmund Key, 1762, Attorney-General
James Lloyd Rogers, 1768, Maryland lawyer
William Cooke, 1768, Loyalist

Educated at Gray's Inn

Henry Jowles, 1663, Chancellor of Maryland
Daniel Dulany, Attorney-General, Receiver-General and Commissary-General
Henry Carroll, 1718 (son of Charles Carroll)

Those young men who could not muster enough financial resources to enable them to spend several years in London usually

[54] These lists have been compiled from E. A. Jones's *American Members of the Inns of Court,* London, 1924, an excellent biographical study of colonial lawyers.

studied law under one of the Annapolis lawyers. Samuel Chase, one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence and a prominent Maryland lawyer, studied in the law office of Stephen Bordley. After he was successfully established, he, also, took in his office young men who wanted to prepare for the profession. A manuscript volume containing a course of reading and study prepared by him about 1800 to cover a four or five year course has been preserved. His introductory remarks to his students reveal the general type of education they received:

A considerable degree of Learning is necessary if a man expects to be eminent in the profession of the Law . . . Classical attainments to enlarge the ideas, refine the understanding, and embellish the style, Geography, and Mathematics (especialy Arithmetic and Surveying) are requisite in common life, & much more so for a Lawyer. . . . Grammar, Rhetoric and Logic are indispensible. A knowledge of history, more particularly of England, and of America, must be required. An accurate acquaintance with the *political* Revolutions, and *Judicial* Decisions of our ancestors, both in antient and modern times, will be equally necessary, useful, and interesting. Every student of law should impress on his mind sound maxims of the Law of *Nature*, which are Coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself, and therefore superior to all human Laws . . . He should next contemplate the maxims of the Law of Nature reduced to a practical system in the Laws of Imperial Rome, for he will find that the principles of the Common Law of England were borrowed from the Civil Law; lastly, he should study the *municipal* Law, or the Law by which the people of the United States, and of this State in particular, are governed; and endeavour to trace the principles and Grounds of this Law to their original elements. . . . It was under a conviction of the truth of these remarks, that the following *general Course* of reading and study was adopted . . .[55]

The prominence of law as a profession in the colonies was recognized by English observers. In his eloquent speech on conciliation, Edmund Burke made the well-remembered statement that:

In no country perhaps in the world is the law so general a study. The profession itself is numerous and powerful; and in most provinces it takes the lead. The greater number of the deputies sent to the congress were lawyers. But all who read, and most do read, endeavour to obtain some smattering in that science. I have been told by an eminent bookseller, that in no branch of his business, after tracts of popular devotion, were so many books as those of law exported to the plantations. The colonists have now fallen into the way of printing them for their own use. I hear

[55] Portfolio 10, No. 29. Maryland Historical Society.

that they have sold nearly as many of Blackstone's *Commentaries* in America as in England.[56]

One of the outstanding law libraries in the eighteenth century was that belonging to William Bladen. He received his legal training at the Inner Temple, and came to Maryland before 1692. As clerk of the Lower House, he was permitted to bring a press and a printer to the colony, and was probably responsible for introducing Thomas Reading to Maryland about 1700, and publishing the first collection of Maryland laws. He was appointed Secretary of Maryland in 1701, and Attorney General in 1707. After a distinguished career as a lawyer, statesman and publisher, he died at Annapolis on August 9, 1718. The following is the catalog of the library as it was given in the inventory of his property:

Cooks Entrys
Two Vollume of Danvers Abridgment
Bustrodes Reports
Lutreyches Reports 2 Vollums
Clifts Entrys
Registrum Brevius
palmers Reports
Kelways Reports
Faranlys Modn in Holts Time 2 voll.
Sathertos Reports
Moors Reports
Modren Reports 2d 3d and 4th voll.
Yelvertons Reports
Hawkins Justice
Crooks Reports 3 voll.
andersons Reports
Showers Reports
2 Setts of Cases in Chancery
Brooks abridgment
Liber plasalandi
Ventris Reports
Levine Reports three parts in 2 books
Edyers Reports
Leonards Reports 4 parts in 2 books
vaugham Reports
Hubarts Reports
plowdens Commentorys 2 Setts
Cowell Interpreter 2 Setts
the Life of Doctr Sanderson
vidians Entryes
Levinzes Entryes
Celect Cases
pophams Reports
Noyes Reports
Letches Reports
Davis Reports
Sidderfins Reports
Oyphants Legacie
Sandersons Reports 2 voll.
Statutes at Large
Report in Chancery three Books
Cases Taken and adjudged in Chancery
Bridmans Conveyance
Routos Reports two parts in one book
Cooks Reports Elvven parts in five books
Do in four books
Cooks Institutes 4 pts in three voll.
Keebles Reports in 3 vollums
Crooks Reports in Three vollums

[56] Edmund Burke, *Works*, London, 1909, I, 467.

Third vollum of Do
Roles abridgment
the History of the world
The Common Law apilonised
a Compendious tretiss of fines
oreana Clericalill
The annalyss of the Law
Wingates abridgment
Natura brevium
Tryals pr pais
Methods of pleading by Rule of President
Compleat Solicetor
Spetiall pleadings in Common Law
2 Dixtionaryes
Blackberyes Chaces
Couldboroughs Reports
De Jure Maritino
Brownlows Reports 2 books
placita Redivia
wests Reports
Hughes abridgment in Three books
Law of Ejectment
The Reports of Sr Thos Hardres
The Reports of John Savill
Instructer Clericalls in Six Books
Duty of Executors
Natura Brevium
Piaxis Cancelarill 2 Setts
Plantation Laws abridged
History of Common Law
Compleat History of Europe 4 Books
History of polebius
Piaxis allmee Curiee
Washingtons abridgment
Wingates abridgment
arenna Clericallill
Cattalogue of Common & Statute Law Books 2 Setts
an argument for Bishops Right
artes Table
Terms of law
ffrems Gramer & 10 other School Books
Salmons famylie Dixtionary
Beaumont and Flechers Works 6 volls.
attalantis two voll.
Accomplished Attorney
Browns Modus Intrandy
Institulio Legalis
piaxis ffrancisi Clarke
Marches Reports
Spectators 3 vollums
Oardians 2 voll.
Fathers four vollums
Sheakspears Works 6 voll.
Compleat Gardiner
Second vollum of Institutes
Reports of Cases in Chancery
The New Returna Brevium
7 small books [57]

The libraries of Maryland lawyers show the close Anglo-American ties in the field of law. Some of the statements made by historians of the colonial bar are contradicted by evidence contained in the inventories. Among them is the assertion that:

> Of the reports published in England by the time of the American Revolution (not over one hundred and fifty in number) hardly more than thirty were in familiar use on this side of the Atlantic; and the number of text-books accessible was even smaller.[58]

The Bladen library was collected at the beginning of the century long before the publication of the more accurate and valuable

[57] Inventories of Estates, liber 4, folio 204-207.
[58] Warren, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

series of eighteenth-century law reports, and it contains over twenty-eight English reports. The later libraries contained many more law reports.

The library of George Garnett of Kent County contains a large number of law books. His whole estate was valued at three hundred pounds, and his books were worth one hundred and ninety pounds.

Grotius's Works
Preceptors 2 vol.
Boyers French Dictionary
Treatise on the Gout
View of the Liestical Writers
Hudibras
A small parcel of old Books
Crown Circuit Companion
A parcel of old unsaliable Law Books
Andrews Reports
Alleyns Reports
Andersons Reports
Ashton's Entrees
Attorney's Companion, or Compleat Affidavit Man
Attorney's pocket Companion
Attorney's Practice in the Court C. B.
Bacon's Abridgment 4 vol.
Brooke's Abridgement
Bohnn's Declarations
Bissitts of the Laws of Maryland
Bacon's Collection of the Laws
Ditto
Brownlow's Entries
Brownlow's & Goldsborough's Reports
Brow's Modus Intrandi
Brown's Vade Micum
Burow's Reports
Blackiston's Commentaries
Benloe's & Dallison's Reports
Barnadiston's Reports BB
Bulstrod's Reports
Barnes's Notes
Britton
Blackiston's Law Tracts
Burn's Ecclesiastical Law
Brownlow's Declarations
Bunbury's Reports
Coke's Institutes 2d 3d & 4th parts (old)
Coke's Entries
Commentary on Fortiscue
Coke Jac. Car & Eliz
Carthew's Reports
Cases in Chancery
Cases in the Time Talbot
Carter's Reports
Coverts Scrivener's Guide
Cokes Reports 13 parts 7 vols.
Compleat Sheriff
Cursons Estates Tail
Cunningham on Bills of Exchange
Dalton's Justice
Dyers Reports
Davis's Reports
Doctrine of Libels
Doctrina plicit andi
Dalrymples feudal Law
Bridgmens Reports
Doctor and Student
Equity abridged
Formula Cun placitandi
Fitzgibbon's Reports
Fortescue's Reports
Freeman's Reports
Finch's Law
Fitsherberts Abridgment
Fitsherberths Natura Brevium
Gilberts Ejectments, Devises, etc.
Gilberts Exchequer
Gilberts Actions of Debt
" Tenures
Gilberts History of the Common Pleas

Gilberts Law of Executors
" of Evidence
" of Distresses
" Reports in Equity
" Treatise on Rents
Godolphin's Orphans Legacy
Godbot's Reports
Goldsborough's Reports
Hales Pleas of the Crown
Hern's Pleader
Hotley's Reports
Hutton's Reports
Hobert's Reports
Hardress Reports
Historical Law Tracts
Hughes's Commentary on Writs
Harrison's Chancery Practiser
Jones's (Wm) Reports
Jones's (Th^{s}) Reports
Justinian's Institutes
Jenkins's Reports
Jacobs' Law Dictionary
Instructor Clericalis 7 vols.
Instructor Clericalis 8 vols.
Keebles Reports
Kelyugs Reports
Keilway's Reports
Law of Obligations
Liber Plaicandi
Lilly's Entries
Leanord's Reports
Littleton's Reports
Latche's Reports
Lilly's Reports
Ley's Reports
Lain's Reports
Levin's Reports
Law of Awards
Law of Executions
Law of Covenants
Law of Actions for Torts and Wrongs
Law of Trespasses
Law of Mortgages
Law of Evidence
Lex Coronotona
Modern Reports
Modern Entries
Moors Reports
Maxims of Equity
Morgans Pleader
March's Reports
Molloy de jure Maritims
Moyle's Entries of Judicial Writs
Ney's Reports
Owin's Reports
Officina Brevium
Office of Execution (Wentworths)
Plowden's Reports (English)
Palmers Reports
Popham's Reports
Perkins
Precedents in Chancery
Pme [?] William's Reports
Principles of Equity
Pollecfin's Reports
Prinapia Legis
Practical Register in Chancery
Pigot on Recoveries
Robinson's Entries
Ramond (L^{d}) Reports
Dittoes Pleadings
Reports Tomp. Hardwick
Rollis Reports
Raymond (Th^{s}) Reports
Robinsons Discourse on fee Simple
Reads Declarations
Strange's Reports
Saville's Reports
Salkield's Reports
Skinner's Reports
Shower's Reports
Syderfin's Reports
Styles Reports
Styles Practical Register
Swinbourne on Wills
Sheppards Abridgment
Sheppards Actions Upon the Case
Staunford's pleas of the Crown
Stown's Paliamentary Cases
Treatise of Fines and Recoveries
Terms de la Ley
Trials per Pais
Vaughan's Reports

Vina's Abridgment 22 vols & the Index £ 26
Vernon's Reports
Ventris's Reports
Winch's Entries
Wilkinson's Office of a Coroner
Wingates Maxims
Wrights Tenures
Winch's Reports
Yelverton's Reports
Bohnn's Institutes legalis
Booth's Law of Real Actions
Baron and Feme
Clayton's Reports
Customs of London
Levinz's Entries
Law of Testaments
Lutwich's Reports
March's Actions for Slaunder
Practical Register B. R.
Rules and Orders in the Court B. R.
Reports and Cases of Practice
Townsends Tables
Thesaurus Brevium
Townsends Preparative to pleading
Johnsons Dictionaries
Montesquieu's Reflections on the Roman Empire
Cicero's Character of an Orator
Orations 3 vols.
Offices
Rutherforth's Lectures on Grotius
Locker's Works 4 vols.
Burlamaquieu's Natural & polite Law
Demosthenes's Orations 1 vol.
Watt's Logick
Harris's Lexicon of Arts & Sciences [59]

A representative large law library was owned by Richard Chase, a "practitioner of law" in Baltimore Town, whose death was announced in the *Maryland Gazette* on December 25, 1757. He owned a fine collection of general books in addition to the law titles:

Viners Abridgment 17 vols.
Barnardiston Reports 3 vols.
Jenkins Reports 2 of Woods Institutes of Law of England
Cooke upon Littleton 2 coppys
Cookes Reports 5 vol. 11 parts
Cokes Institutes 2nd 3rd & 4th part
Holts Cases
Salkeilds Reports 2 vol.
Andrews Reports
Modern Cases
Freemans Reports
Cays Abridgment of Statutes 2 vol.
Dyers Reports
Untresses Reports
Carthews reports
Fortescews reports
Fitzgibbons reports
Vaughans Reports
Mallerays Quare Impridit
Kellings Reports
Levenzs Reports 2 setts
Bacons Abridgment 3 vol.
Raymonds Reports 2 vol.
Williams reports 3 vol.
Moder entries 2 vol.
Hawkins pleas of the Crown
Yelvertons Reports
Latwiches Reports 2 vol. 2 setts
Showers reports 2 vol. 2 setts
Lyllys Entries 2 setts
Modern Reports and Familys reports 6 vol.
Crookes reports 3 vol.

[59] Inventories of Estates, CIV, 114-118.

Andersons Reports
Hoberts reports
Pophams reports
Cumberbauchs reports
Cokes Entries
Clefts Entries
Holts reports
Salkeilds reports 3 vol.
Lillys Abridgment the 1st vol.
Common Law Commonplaced
Skinners reports
Styles reports
Hardrisses reports
Rowles abridgment
Sederfines reports
Winters reports
Treatise on the Marriage Bed
Jacobs Law Dictionary
Cowells Law Dictionary
Vernon Cases in Chancery 2 vol.
Plowdens Comentary
Formulae plactandi
Crokes reports 2d & 3rd vol.
Huttons reports
Alems pleader
Brookes abridgmt
Brownlow & Goldborough's reports
Brownlow's pleading
Brok's precedents
Aptons Entries & Orphans Legacy
Law of Evidence
Law of Apeals
Brown on times
Townsends pleadings
Tests on distress's repleavins
Clarks Guide
Tothell of the high court of Chancery Law
Law of Tythes
The Compleat Lawyer
Abridgmt of plowdens Commetary
the law of Conveyancy
Shepards Actions Upon the Case
Janksoms works
Modus Entrande 2 vol.
the Ladies Law
Hails pleas of the Crown
Abstracted Barons Fame
Doctrine of demurrer
Law of Execution
Law of last wills & Testament
Natura Brevium
Browns vade Mecum 2 vol.
Institution legalis, a Treatise of Trover & Convertion
Doctor & Student
Bacons Element Law of Fines
Law of Evidence
Law of Ejectmts
Law of Mortgages, Cases, of practice
Bonum on the Chanry
Compt Sherriffe
Tryal per pais practuing Atorney 2 vol.
Reading on the Statutes against high treason
Tennants Laws
determinations on Elections [60]

Examples of the private libraries of lawyers might be multiplied, and in most cases they would reveal that an overwhelming proportion of the titles were legal treatises and reports, and only a few were on literature, history and other subjects of general interest.

The letterbooks of Stephen Bordley (1709-1764) afford interesting sidelights on the general reading of a successful Mary-

[60] Baltimore County Inventories, liber G, folio 315-320.

land lawyer.[61] Reverend Stephen Bordley and his brother, Thomas Bordley, came to Maryland about 1697, probably through the influence of Dr. Bray who was interested in getting a minister for St. Paul's Church in Kent County. Thomas Bordley settled in Annapolis and built up a profitable legal business. He was a member of the General Assembly and, in 1715, was appointed Attorney General. He made several voyages to England, visiting the Bishop of London in 1715, and, in 1726, he underwent an unsuccessful operation in London. Stephen Bordley, his eldest son, was born in 1709, and from an early age was educated in English schools. He studied law for four years in a London law office, and, in 1729, a few years after his father's death, his stepmother sent him to the Inner Temple. In writing to a relative he expressed his ambition to get the best available legal training before returning to the colony:

> The Law is what my father pitcht upon for me, & where can that better be learnt than in this nation? 'tis true, there have been many brot up to it in Maryland, but what are they to the English Lawyers? I take Mr. Dulany to be the best now remaining there, & he is not to be compared to many here in England.[62]

He was also ambitious for his brothers and sisters, and in 1728 wrote his eleven-year old sister, Elizabeth, urging her to attend to her studies and to make the most of her opportunities:

> Your last was the first letter that I have recd from you of your own hand writing, w^ch^ was faultless considering the short time you have learnt, but in the next I hope to see a little amendment, always endeavouring to improve yourself therein as well as reading, Cyphering, & other things fitting your sex, it being the most comely thing in the world to see a discreet woman, of w^ch^ you have a pattern without going out of your own door . . .[63]

When she was several years older and capable of enjoying them, he sent her a parcel containing plays he had selected for her entertainment.[64] When his younger brother William had to return

[61] The following letterbooks of Stephen Bordley were given to the Maryland Historical Society in 1889 by Edward Shippen of Philadelphia:

1. 22d Jan. 1727 to 5th April 1735
2. 3d Sept. 1738 to 18th Dec. 1740
3. 1740 to 1747
4. 17 Oct. 1749 to 30 March 1752
5. 21 July 1756 to 6 Jan. 1759

[62] Stephen Bordley letterbook, SB to Mr. Beale, 22 Jan. 1728.
[63] *Ibid.*, SB to Elizabeth, 22 Jan. 1728. [64] *Ibid.*, SB to Elizabeth, 29 Aug. 1734.

to Maryland because family finances could not support his further studies, Stephen sent him books with which to continue his education:

You sh[d] read & endeavour well to understand such books as I am to send, & 'tis upon that hope only y[t] I send them . . .[65]

There was naturally a close tie among boys from the distant colony who were studying in England, and this was particularly true of the relations between Stephen Bordley and William Tilghman, whose fathers were also warm friends. In sending Tilghman a fly rod with directions how to use it, Bordley told how he was getting on with his studies:

I am now allmost out of Homer's Iliads. I have done with Horace & Juvinal, am out of Phor: mis in Torrence, & have just begun the last book of Xenophon . . .[66]

Bordley was probably called upon by his family and friends in Maryland to send articles which tobacco factors and merchants could not be relied upon to produce satisfactorily. One of the most difficult orders to fill was that for a dozen most interesting controversial pamphlets. Bordley found an excellent solution for this when Edward Cave started publishing the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1731. He sent Mr. Carpenter of Maryland a parcel containing the early numbers of the periodical in 1732:

I have sent you a parcell of ye Gentlemans Magazine; they Contain not only all ye national News, but likewise an Abst. of all ye remarkable letters in ye Weekly Journalls. I cannot say whether you may think them worth you prusall or no; but however I hope you'll take them w[th] an assurance that they are ye best pamphletts I could meet w[th]; & that You'l believe me when I tell you I'll do better when I can.[67]

In 1733 he returned to Maryland and with the exception of a few short trips to England remained there for the rest of his life. He now had to rely on his correspondents in London to supply him with his reading matter and the many other articles he could not get in the colony. Soon after his arrival he asked a friend to send *The Works of the famous Nicolas Machiavil* (1720), *The Works of Tacitus* translated by T. Gordon (1728-31), William Salkuld's *Reports of Cases Adjudg'd* (1731) and Quintilian's *Oratory.*

[65] *Ibid.*, SB to William, 1730.
[66] *Ibid.*, SB to William Tilghman, 22 Jan. 1728.
[67] *Ibid.*, SB to Mr. Carpenter, 20 Dec. 1732.

One of his best friends and his chief literary correspondent was Matthias Harris, a prominent planter in Kent County. With nearly every letter they exchanged they sent a volume or two which they had recently received from England or had borrowed from acquaintances.

Both men were interested in the classics but preferred them in translation because their Latin had grown a little rusty since their school days. Bordley wanted to reread Polybius's *History,* so he asked Harris if he knew the best translation:

> The best translation of Polybius's History must be a valuable Book, since ye Original is beyond Value: I have long wanted a Sight of him, but when I wrote last forgott it.[68]
> I cannot inform you who has translated Polybius atall, but I know it is in English, & as 'tis an Inestimable Author, I doubt not but he has, as near as he could met w^th^ Suitable treatment in our Language. He was himself a Great General a Great Statesman and a Great Historian, & what renders his writings still more valuable is, that he has given a much larger & more Impartial Account of ye Old Carthaginian Affairs than is to be mett w^th^ among the Roman Writers, who touch upon them no further than & often not so far as they Interfere w^th^ those of their own Republick & whose Generals upon ye overturning of that State took care to destroy every writing which was found giving an Acct of it (which of itself is sufficient Evidence that 'twas as [?] great & powerful); and above all, that he dos the most Ample Justice to the Great & unparralelled Hannibal, of any Writer Extant.[69]

The translation to which they referred was probably that done by Sir Henry Sheeres in 1693.

With the second letter Bordley sent him a two volume edition of Herodotus and la Bruyere's *Characters* also in two volumes with the recommendation that "these last are ye best things of that kind Extant & I may venture to pronounce they will afford you both pleasure & profitt in ye perusal." [70]

A month later Bordley felt called upon to lecture his friend for quoting legal writers indiscriminately, and the correspondence abruptly ended for several months as a result of his letter:

> I reced y^rs^ by your father, & take notice of ye Company you pretend to keep, the Lord Hobart & Saunders, [Hobart's Reports and Saunders' Reports], and I cannot but Observe that tho' you pretend to be very Conversant w^th^ them, you not withstanding, either very little attend to, or understand,

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[68] *Ibid.,* SB to Matt. Harris, 3 Sept. 1738.
[69] *Ibid.,* SB to Matt. Harris, 19 Sept. 1738.
[70] *Ibid.,* SB to Matt. Harris, 19 Sept. 1738.

their Conversation; for the Lord Hobart says not a word but what makes flat ag^{t} You upon the true & original question; & as to Saunders I think I can be very certain he neither refers to ye Lord Hobart upon the point, nor do's Saunders himself say one word to it; But Pray where did You meet wth those two great men? for I am pretty well assured they never yet walked Your streets; nor indeed, do they ever keep any other Company then that of persons like themselves, men of a strong reason & stayed Judgment . . . Thus you do, or may, see S^{r}, that you do not understand ye Conversation of nor have the least acquaintance with, those two Great men, whom you so Much pretend to be Your very great Cronies:—for shame have a little more modesty; for Your Assurance really Exceeds that of an Irishman, who upon my coming away, was standing upon ye Bank . . . & being talking ab^{t} this affair legal question he (in order I suppose to be looked upon as a great reader, as well as to have a strong retention of his reading) immediately slaps up a Case in my favour upon ye question. Oh! Wonderfull stock of asourance[?]! Oh! Blessed Reformation of Manners! Thus it is wth those Gay Gallant Gentlemen in London, who pretend to have an Intrigue in hand now wth this Lady of Quality now wth that, neither of whom they ever saw in their lives, & of course would not know if they saw them.[71]

In the same letter he asked him to return Puffendorf, probably his *Duty of Man and Citizen according to the Natural Law.*

When the correspondence was resumed, they turned from their controversy over the study of law to religion and politics. In reply to a request for advice on religious books, Bordley wrote:

As to Religion which is the first of your two grand topics on which you Employ Your leisure hours, I have nothing more to say at present than to recommend to your Perusal Tillotson's Rules of faith in Answer to that of the Roman Catholick Oral Tradition John Tillotson, The Rule of Faith; or, an Answer to the treatise of Mr. J. S. ('tis placed at ye End of his first Vol of Sermons in folio), as one of the best points I have ever seen as well for the beauty of his Method the Strength of his Reasoning & y^{e} masterly strokes of humour which are interspersed throughout the whole piece . . .[72]

In his next letter Bordley advised him on his reading in political theory but unfortunately did not actually list the titles he recommended:

The best way that I know of to avoid those fatal consequences which you suppose may Result from Errors in Opinion on ye Subject of Government, is first to gett well grounded in ye Original End & design of Government in General, by reading the best Historians and other books which treat on the Constitution of our mother Country on which We so much depend,

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[71] *Ibid.*, SB to MH. 20 Feb. 1739.

[72] *Ibid.*, SB to MH, 20 Feb. 1739.

and next to Consider what Arts or Steps have been regularly taken among ourselves toward making a difference between the English Constitution & our own here, & what not; & when all this is done, a man aught to be well aware of Byasses from Interest Passion friendship Authority or any other motive but ye pur dictates of Right Reason . . .[73]

Harris did not uphold his part of the correspondence as well as he was expected to and failed to send the books he had promised Bordley, who wrote:

I am tired out wth ye perusal of my own, & I want some new books to employ my leisure time wth . . . they must also be such as hitt your Judgment in such things.

In concluding the letter he wrote:

Some Books, some Books, by ye first Opportunity, or by - - - I'll come up to your town very soon, & from morning till night tagg you abt from Pillar to Post, just as Dame Galligay served you not long ago.[74]

Among the books he requested by title that year were: Giles Jacob's *New Law Dictionary, The Craftsman: being a Critique on the Times,* Rapin's *History of England,* Peter Bayle's *Dictionary Historical and Critical,* Alexander Gordon's *The Lives of Pope Alexander VI and his son Caesar Borgia* (described by Bordley as " that Poor and unclean Performance "), Jean Dormat's *Civil Law in its Natural Order* and a history of China.

They read Rapin's *History* and criticised it in their letters. Bordley wrote:

I have read Master Rapins bround [*sic*] Vol. & I cannot Entertain that Opinion of him now, which I had before I saw this Vol; He seems to me to be an Empty & modifying writer.[75]

Nearly ten years later they were interested in the continuation to Rapin's *History* written by Nicholas Tindal, the translator of the original, who carried on the history from the Revolution to the end of the reign of George I. Bordley received it in sheets from England and before reading it himself, he sent it to Harris with the request not to lose the loose sheets before they were bound up by the local binder.[76]

Stephen Bordley's half-brother, Thomas (1724-1747), was sent to England in 1734 for his education, and in 1744 was admitted to Middle Temple. The older brother wrote him frequently, and

[73] *Ibid.,* SB to MH, 22 Feb. 1739.
[74] *Ibid.,* SB to MH, 31 Mar. 1739.
[75] *Ibid.,* SB to MH, 20 Oct. 1739.
[76] *Ibid.,* SB to MH, 13 April 1747.

advised him on his studies. A letter written to the fifteen year old boy shows how ambitious the older brother was in wanting his family to get the very best education possible while they had the opportunity:

I must Inform you that besides the purpose of your learning those Languages (while you are still, & always while at School, to Endeavour at, & to become a perfect Master of) You are now of an Age sufficient to Endeavour at something more, and that is, as you read and Expound those Authors, You ought likewise to understand them, to Understand & retain the History or Story, to Endeavour at a Discovery of their Several beauties & presently to retain them in Your mind or they will be apt to give you the Slip, and to lay them in your memory as in a Storehouse, not only to Enable you to stand a noble Emulation & Competition with any of your School fellows. Or with any other young men of your Acquaintance, but likewise to retain them so as that they may be of Service & a lustre and ornament to you when You come to be a man, and to Act for Yourself . . .[77]

In the same letter he urged his brother to read and reread Tully's *Works* and to make them a part of himself:

And above all Authors, I would Recommend Tully's Epistle & his Orations, but more the latter, to serve you as a pattern, not so much for the sake of his Language (tho 'tis most pure & Elegant Latin, & towards your Improvement in which also you ought always to have a due regard) as for the sake of a strong, Nervous [?] artful way of writing and Speaking; for in him you will find more useful beauties then in any other Latin Author, tho there are none of them without many: I w[d] advise you to read him over and over again . . .

In 1740 Bordley visited his friend's home during his absence and soon discovered that he was not receiving the full benefit of Harris's book importations. When he returned to Annapolis he wrote a reproachful letter:

I was in New Town, last november, and was not a little disappointed to miss you there . . . I had then also (by your fathers permission) a Sight of your Study, & could not but think you a little niggardly, in finding there Several valuable books which you never mentioned to me, there was one in particular which I much Wanted ye perusal of, & that is a method of Studying History . . .[78]

Bordley was probably referring to Bolingbroke's *Letters on the Study and Use of History* which was written in 1735 and which is one of the cornerstones of English historiography.

Harris acquired the first volumes of the English translations of

[77] *Ibid.*, SB to Tom Bordley, 14 July 1739.
[78] *Ibid.*, SB to MH, 13 Feb. 1740.

Charles Rollin's *Ancient History* and loaned them to Bordley who returned them several months later. Nearly a year later he had read all of Rollin's *History* and in returning the set gave Harris his reactions to it:

I reced yrs wch ye Roman History, and as I have made some little Progress in ye perusal of him, If I may venture to Judge of ye whole from a taste of that little, I cannot but think it by much the best of Rollin's performances which have as yet come to my hands, and indeed I think it a beautiful piece. You don't tell me whether these three volumes are all he has wrote on that Branch of History, nor whether there are more to be Expected . . . As to his Ancient History, tho they contain many Just & Solid remarks, with Several transactions [*sic*] which had never before come in my way, yet I cannot Entertain so favourable an Opinion of them; that Conciseness which he seems to have Endeavoured at, and which I think he has too much fallen into, having rendered them so very obscure, that to use it seems Impossible in many places to understand them; the parts of them which pleased me best were his Characters of Alexander in the beginning of his Conquests, Philopemon and Epaminondas, ye last of whom I look upon as the most compleat character both of a Great Statesman and Great General that I ever met with; Nor is that particular care which he hath taken to show the completion of the Several prophecies so farr as they relate to the four Great Empires, without its beauty as well as all . . .[79]

He became a little sensitive about putting his ideas about books in his letters because Harris did not hesitate to ridicule them when they did not agree with his own.[80]

Harris asked Bordley to order a copy of Sale's *Koran* from England and after several delays, mainly due to Bordley's absent-mindedness, the book arrived nearly two years later. Bordley wrote:

Sale's Koran is at last now at hand, and as I have got half through his preliminary discourse, I think I may venture to say 'tis an Ingenious performance; you must have patience till I peruse him once before I part with him forever . . .[81]

Soon after this Harris requested him to make up a list of law books for his own library so that he could get a well rounded view of the subject. The list which Bordley enclosed with his letter is unfortunately lost:

Inclosed you have such a list of books as you desired making in all about 90 vol & will cost I reckon £50 sterl or perhaps a little more . . . I have endeavoured to choose such books as treat on all the Grand branches of ye

[79] *Ibid.*, SB to MH, 15 July 1741.
[80] *Ibid.*, SB to MH, 22 May 1742.
[81] *Ibid.*, SB to MH, 10 July 1742.

Law, and a few reports to show you how they argue and determine points at home; I hope you will like them, they are the best Collection I could make for ye reading of one who do's not intend to practice ye Law, tho' there are more books in that list & a better Choice, than most Country Attornies have to practice on, & I am in hopes they will be better read. I shall not forget to send for Bacon's Works.[82]

The correspondence between the two men has not been preserved after 1743, but they were both members of the Lower House from 1745 to 1749, and during the last year they were on the Committee of Laws, so it is likely that they continued to loan each other books and to exchange their literary opinions. The extracts from Bordley's letterbooks show that books played a vital part in the lives of this prominent lawyer and Attorney-General, and his friend, the Kent County planter.

In addition to his duties as Attorney-General, member of the Council, Naval Officer at Annapolis and Commissary General, Bordley trained William Paca, Thomas Johnson, later Governor, Samuel Chase, and John Beale Bordley, his half-brother, in the law. A story has been told of how at the start he nearly dissuaded his half-brother from the profession by calling him into his study shortly after his return from England, and throwing open the doors of his large library with the statement: "There, Beale, when you have read through all those books, you may then practice the law." [83] Whether this story is actually based on fact, it at least illustrates his interest in books and the importance he attached to reading.

The reading taste of Charles Carroll, Barrister, will be discussed later at some length. Although he was educated for the law at Middle Temple, he did not practice when he returned to the colony in 1755. He devoted all his time to the management of the plantations and iron works which he had inherited from his father.

DOCTORS

Less is known of the medical profession in the colony than of the clergymen and lawyers. Some of the doctors received their education in medical schools in England and Scotland. The list of graduates in medicine from the University of Edinburgh during the colonial period contains the names of over sixty-five young

[82] *Ibid.*, SB to MH, 7 Oct. 1743.

[83] E. B. Gibson, *Biographical Sketches of the Bordley Family,* Philadelphia, 1865, pp. 67-68. Still the best source for the life of Stephen Bordley.

men from the American colonies and the West Indies.[84] Of this number, two came from New England, eleven from Pennsylvania, two from Maryland, thirteen from Virginia, and eight from the Carolinas. Over ten others gave their residence as "America." The two Maryland students were Gust. R. Brown, who received his degree in 1768 for a thesis on "De ortu animalium Caloris"; and Joan Parnham, who graduated in 1772 and wrote his thesis on "De Cystirrhoea." Undoubtedly some of the graduates who were born in Scotland and England went to the colonies after the completion of their medical studies. The most noteworthy example is Dr. Alexander Hamilton, a native of Scotland, who graduated in 1737 after writing a thesis entitled, "De Morbis Ossium." His career will be discussed in more detail in another connection.

Many colonial doctors received their medical education while acting as apprentices to established physicians. A Virginia law in 1736 regulating medical fees made a distinction in the rates to be charged between those who had studied in Universities and those who had served as apprentices. The Medical School of the University of Pennsylvania was founded in 1757. Since nearly fifteen percent of the graduates of the college were native Marylanders, it does not seem improbable that approximately the same proportion attended the medical school.[85]

The publications of several Maryland physicians have been identified and they reveal that the authors were conversant with the literature of the science. Dr. Richard Brooke, described by Governor Sharpe as "a flaming zealot against Papists and railer against the Lord Proprietary," was a prolific writer: [86]

a. Inoculation without incision, *Trans. of Roy. Soc.* 47 (1752) 470.
b. Thermometric Acount of the Weather, *Trans. of Royal Soc.* 58 (1755). Also *Cent. Mag.* 54.

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[84] University of Edinburgh, *List of the Graduates in Medicine, 1705-1866,* Edinburgh, 1867, pp. 1-13.

[85] University of Pennsylvania, *Biographical Catalogue,* 1749-1893, Philadelphia, 1894.

[86] Bernard C. Steiner, "Dr. Richard Brooke, the first scientific observer in Maryland," *Johns Hopkins University Hospital Bulletin* XV (1904) 293-296. Dr. Steiner later realized that Brooke did not deserve the title "first." The Rev. Hugh Jones sent two contributions to the Royal Society; the one entitled "An Account of Maryland" *Trans. of Royal Soc.* 21 (1699) 259 is particularly valuable for its scientific observations. Richard Lewis, Maryland schoolmaster and poet, also contributed several articles to the Royal Society: on an aurora borealis, *Trans. of Royal Soc.* 37 (1731) 418, and on earthquake, insects and explosion, *Trans. of Royal Soc.* 38 (1733) 429.

c. Lightening rods, *Gentleman's Magazine* 26 (1756) 32.
d. Receipt to destroy lice in children's hair, *Gentleman's Magazine* 22 (1752) 182.
e. Cat which fostered a young rat, *Gentleman's Magazine* 22 (1752) 208.
f. Curing pimple on roof of young lady's mouth, *Gentleman's Magazine* 22 (1752) 278.
g. Account of weather, 1751-1754, *Trans. of Royal Soc.* (1759).
h. Treatment of hyderphobia, *Maryland Gazette,* Nov. 4, 1762.
i. Stating opposition to Proprietary Government, *Gentleman's Magazine* 33, p. 541.

Dr. Alexander Hamilton kept up with the scientific literature on his subject. In his *Itinerarium,* he shows a knowledge of medical books and theories. He conversed intelligently with his colleagues in the northern colonies and embarrassed many of them by showing their ignorance. He subscribed to the *Physical News,* an Edinburgh medical journal, and kept in close contact with the University from which he had received his degree. On at least one occasion, he published a scientific contribution. Dr. Adam Thompson came to Maryland about 1743, and, hearing that Hamilton was not expected to survive his illness, he waited for his death, hoping to succeed him at Annapolis.[87] But Hamilton recovered, so Thompson went to Philadelphia. In 1750, he published a pamphlet in which he proposed a new method for preparing patients for smallpox inoculations. His theory was immediately attacked by Dr. Mead, another Philadelphia physician. Hamilton came to Thompson's defence with his *Defence of Doctor Thomson's Discourse on the preparation of the body for the small pox* (Evans, 6689).

The general reading of Dr. Charles Carroll will be mentioned in the next article. Although he was a physician when he came to the colony, he soon engaged in more profitable occupations. When he died, in 1755, he was one of the wealthy planters and speculators.

For some unknown reason, the appraisers of the estate of Dr. Robert Holliday of Baltimore County found no medical books in it, but they did find an interesting general library:

2 Volumes of Rapin's History
1 Volume of Sediards Naval History
Josephus's Works
1 Book containing a Collection of Plays

[87] Alexander Hamilton, *Itinerarium,* St. Louis, 1907, p. 36.

Barley's English Dixonary
Coke's Detection
1 old large Bible & 1 Gilt Prayer Book
Clarks acta Regia 4 Vols.
Collection of Voyages to the South Sea
History of Charles 12th of Sweden 3 vols.
Whole Duty of Man
a Latin Testament
a parcell of Physic Books
a parcell of old Books
Athenian Oracle
Lock on Government
12 Vols of Steels Works consisting of Spectators Tatlers etc.
2 Vols. of Pamela
Lock on human understanding

Dr. John Jackson of Queen Anne's County, who died in 1768, also had an interesting private library. When the appraisers came to the medical books, they decided to get expert opinion on their value. Dr. John Smith and another physician examined them and decided that they were worth slightly over ten pounds. They did not enumerate them, but the following is a list of the other books:

1 large old House Bible
1 Barleys Dictionary rub'd
8 volumes of the Spectators
Thomsons Seasons
5 Vol. Shakespears works
3 do Turkish Spy (ruled a little)
5 Do Turkish Spy (rub'd)
4 D° Bells Letters good
. . . .
8 D° Robin's History D°
3 D° Shaftsby's [sic] Characterisitcks good
3 D° Independent Whig D°
1 D° Arabian Tales D°
2 D° a Journey Through Life rubd
2 D° The History of the Revolutions in the Roman Republick rub^d
The Satires of Juvenal in Octavo
Gordons Geographical Grammar in Octavo good
2 volumes in fol° Harriss Voyages good
1 Cronicle of the Kings of England in fol° rubd
1 in fol° Advices from parnassus rubd
1 in Octavio Connection of the History of the old & new testament
Ansons Voyage round the world in Octavo with Cuts & Views of Several places (a little rubd)
The Ancient & present state of England in Octavo (old)
Robert's Voyages in Octavo (rub'd)
The Annalls of Europe for the years 1739-40 & 41 in Octavo (rub'd)
The History of China in Octavo (good)
Tryalls in Octavo for high Treason good
The Sacred & prophane history of the World in Octavo good
Savages Letters to the Antients in Octavo unb'd
Proceedings agt. John Simpson professor of Divinity in Glasgow in Octavo unb'd
Brodricks History of the late war in the Netherlands 2 vol. in Octavo good
The 8 Volumes of Plutarchs Lives (in Octavo) unb'd
Clarks Sermons unbd.

Demonstrations of the Attributes of God unb'd.
A tale of the Tub unb'd.
Historical Account of Guernsey unb'd.
A treatise on virtue and Happiness unb'd
Newsmans Interpreter
A grammer of the English Tounge Defaced
Cradocks new Version of the Psalms of David
Essay on Man unb'd
The Adventures of Gil Blas
The life of Dean Swift
Essay on the nature of Guilt & lying
1 Volume of Popes Works Defaced
The life of Alexander Pope
Cottons practical works Defaced
1 English & Latin Dictionary (small & old)
2 Volumes of Don Quixote defaced
Letters from the Dead to the Living only 1 volume
Collection of Plays
Entropius's History of Rome
The History of Charles the 12th
The Life of the Duke of Malbrough [sic]
Fullers Cautions
The History of Prince Eugene
A practical Discourse concerning Death etc.
A history of the Camphain in the year 1708.
A few old pamphlets School books etc. of little value.[88]

The libraries of planters, clergymen and doctors show that practical medical books were almost a necessity in the sparsely settled colony. Hospitals and medical schools were not, of course, established in Maryland for many years after the Revolution. The inhabitants relied upon their common sense supplemented with medical handbooks for laymen for minor ailments and called upon the country doctor when there was serious illness.

This survey of the private libraries of the professional classes is necessarily restricted because of the inadequate records of book ownership, but it seems apparent from the libraries examined that books were an essential part of the equipment of the clergy, doctors and lawyers in colonial Maryland. Where a fuller record of the reading interests of the professional classes was available, such as in the cases of William Duke and Stephen Bordley, we can get a better appreciation of the importance of books in the everyday lives of the colonists.

[88] Inventories of Estates XCVI, 47.

THE WARDEN PAPERS

By William D. Hoyt, Jr.

"As you are looked upon, by all our countrymen, who visit Europe, as a *kind* of *publick property*—as Layfaette was—and as you—acquainted with every body and every thing around you—are, in fact, the best *directory* to be found at Paris, everyone believes he has a *right* to be made known to you, and a *legal* claim to all your time, as long as he continues in the French metropolis." These remarks made by Dr. Frederick Hall in 1837 show how Americans regarded David Baillie Warden (1778-1845), many of whose papers are in the vault of the Maryland Historical Society. He was indeed a remarkable man, one of the outstanding figures of the early nineteenth century. Probably nobody was known personally by more of his contemporaries, and his extensive correspondence with leaders in the fields of literature, science, and public affairs on both sides of the Atlantic made him conversant with nearly everything which took place during his life-time.

Warden was born at Ballycastle, County Down, Ireland, and he always retained a deep affection for his native land. He was educated for the ministry and received his M. A. degree from the University of Glasgow in 1797. He was an ardent patriot, associated himself with the United Irishmen, and acted as a confidential agent until he was arrested. Offered the choice of a trial or banishment, he emigrated to the United States in 1799. Shortly after his arrival he was appointed principal of Columbia Academy at Kinderhook, New York, and two years later he became principal tutor at Kingston Academy in Ulster County. In 1804 he was admitted to American citizenship and went to Paris as private secretary to General John Armstrong, the new minister to France. In 1808 he was designated to act as consul *pro tempore,* and in 1810 he returned to the United States and procured a regular appointment as consul at Paris and master of prize cases. Four years afterward he was removed from office on the ground that he had taken on himself too much authority in the interval between the death of Minister Joel Barlow and the arrival of Minister William H. Crawford.

Warden remained in Paris from 1814 to his death, a period

of forty-one years during which he performed a great variety of services for his adopted country and its people. His house became the headquarters for all Americans who travelled in Europe. Many thought their trips not completed until they had met Warden and had been introduced by him into the circles of Parisian life they wished to see. Institutions and individuals on both sides of the water asked him to buy and forward books, pamphlets, papers, and journals, so that he conducted an active exchange of scholarly and scientific materials. He was a member of nearly a score academies and societies in both France and the United States and contributed papers to many of them. He delighted in spreading information about America, and he gathered data on all phases of life there. He collected two large libraries of works on America and sold them to public groups in the United States, the first to S. A. Eliot for Harvard College in 1823 and the second to the New York State Library in 1845.

His own literary efforts produced a dozen books on various subjects. The first was a translation of Bishop Grégoire's *An Enquiry Concerning the Intellectual and Moral Faculties, and Literature of Negroes* . . . (Brooklyn, 1810). The next was a study which attracted considerable attention in the governmental circles of many nations, *On the Origin, Nature, Progress and Influence of Consular Establishments* (Paris, 1813, 1815 [French]). This was followed by the initial attempt to give to the world some of the facts and figures on the United States, *A Chorographical and Statistical Description of the District of Columbia, the Seat of the General Government of the United States* . . . (Paris, 1816). Three years later came the large work which included all the data gathered for the entire country, *A Statistical, Political, and Historical Account of the United States of North America; from the Period of their First Colonization to the Present Day* (Edinburgh, 1819, 3 vols.; Paris, 1820 [French], 5 vols.). The most ambitious study was the *Chronologie Historique de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1826-44 [French], 10 vols.), a reissue of volumes 32-41 of *L'art de vérifier les dates* (Paris, 1818-44). Warden's interest in the relics of the past was shown in *Récherches sur les antiquités de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1827), from volume 2 of the *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences de l'Institut royal.* The *Notice biographique sur le géneral Jackson, président des États-Unis de l'Amérique*

Septentrionale (Paris, 1829) and the *Description géographique et historique des Brésil* (Paris, 182?) were short pamphlets. The latter was enlarged and appeared as an *Histoire de l'empire du Brésil, depuis sa découverte jusqu'a nos jours . . .* (Paris, 1832, 2 vols.). Then came a fuller treatment of the antiquities which had occupied Warden's attention for a number of years, *Récherches sur les antiquités de l'Amérique du Nord et de l'Amérique du Sud, et sur la population primitive de ces deux continents* (Paris, 1834), which was volume 2 in H. Bardère's *Antiquités mexicaines . . . .* The other two publications were careful catalogues of the libraries, prepared as a means of advertising the books for sale. The titles indicated the completeness of the collections, *Bibliotheca Americo-septentrionalis; Being a Choice Collection of Books in Various Languages, Relating to the History, Climate, Geography, Produce, Population, Agriculture, Commerce, Arts, Sciences, etc., of North America, from its First Discovery to its Present Existing Government* (Paris, 1820), and *Bibliotheca Americana, Being a Choice Collection of Books Relating to North and South America and the West-Indies, Including Voyages to the Southern Hemisphere, Maps, Engravings and Medals* (Paris, 1840).

Warden's surviving papers and correspondence are divided into two groups. The Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress has a collection of approximately 1500 pieces, alphabetically arranged and bound in 22 volumes. The papers cover the years 1808-45 and include 25 notebooks of scientific memoranda. The Maryland Historical Society has a larger collection of more than 4100 pieces, chronologically arranged in 16 files and several packages. These manuscripts cover the period 1797-1845 and include a number of letter-books with copies of correspondence sent by Warden. Both collections are rich in letters received from men and women of note in Europe and America, and they appear to dovetail with each other very closely; i. e., letters in Washington are dated alternately with letters in Baltimore. The papers in the Maryland Historical Society were presented by Warden's great-nieces in two groups: the loose correspondence in May, 1916, by Mrs. George K. McGaw, and the letter-books in May, 1935, by the Misses Warden. The writers addressing Warden occasionally gave him a title, such as "Rev." or "Dr.", but more often they put down a simple "D. B.

Warden, Esq." Many of the superscriptions include a reference to Warden's public service: "consul," "former consul," "late consul," "ancien consul," or "çidevant consul." The letters were sent to eight street addresses in Paris: 100 Rue de Vaugirard (1807-08), 5 Rue de Condé (1809-11), 12 Rue du Pot de Fer (1809-12, 1815-45), Rue des Petits Augustins (1811), 14 Rue de Condé (1811-14), 13 Rue St. Dominique d'Enfer (1814-16), 8 Rue Wertingen (1815-16), 8 Rue de Furstemberg (1816-17). The purpose of this survey is to describe the contents of the collection, indicating the parts which are of particular interest to students of the culture of the early nineteenth century.

Warden's early papers include his M. A. diploma from the University of Glasgow (April, 1797), written in Latin and signed by fifteen professors. Also representative of the collegiate period is a certificate by James Towers that Warden attended lectures in midwifery and had practice at the Lying-in-Hospital, and a statement by Dr. James Jeffray that Warden heard lectures in anatomy and surgery for one session. Then there is a letter from Peter Wilson to the Rev. Isaac Labagh of Columbia Academy, June, 1799, recommending Warden as a young gentleman just come from Ireland bearing "Credentials extraordinary and indisputable."

Unusually interesting is a series of five letters written by Warden from Kinderhook between December 20, 1799, and April 28, 1800, to a friend in Europe. They show the reaction of an intelligent foreigner to some phases of the American scene at the turn of the century. Two of them discuss the death of Washington and praise his character. The third describes the sea voyage and makes recommendations to the friend on his coming over. The next letter praises the beauties of the American spring, with comments on the trees and plants. Warden remarks that the people in his new home do not appreciate liberty, but have an insatiable desire for office holding. The final letter begins to describe the electioneering for senators and members of the assembly, but is torn off and concludes abruptly.

The articles of agreement between Warden and the Trustees of Kingston Academy, dated October 28, 1802, are remarkable for the load which the principal tutor was expected to carry. For $500 annually he was to be in charge of the school and to teach Greek, Latin, Elementary and Practical Geometry, Mathe-

matics, Logic, Moral and Natural Philosophy, Ancient History, Geography, History and the Government of the United States, and French if required.

There are among the letters received by Warden several groups which are of particular interest either because of their authorship or because they form consecutive correspondence dealing with important subjects. It is worth comment that three of these groups consist of epistles from ladies who had certain characteristics in common aside from a similarity of name: Eliza Custis, Elizabeth Patterson, and Eliza Godefroy.

Elizabeth Parke Custis (1776-1832), the eldest of Martha Washington's grandchildren, wrote thirty-nine letters which cover the years 1808-31. Her marriage to Thomas Law (1759-1834), the wealthy and eccentric Englishman who came to America in 1794 and settled in Washington, had proved an unfortunate one, and she made the separation complete by calling herself Mrs. Eliza P. Custis. Her letters are an extraordinary mixture of personal detail and comment on public affairs. The first paper is an extremely interesting narrative (incomplete) of her early life, including recollections of visits to Mount Vernon while Washington was alive. There are many references to efforts to have Warden reinstated as consul at Paris, and the papers abound with professions of unalterable friendship for France. This feeling takes on a very personal aspect in the remarkable accounts of rapturous love for the Chevalier de Greffe, a French nobleman who went home to recover his property and was never heard from again. Items concerning the war with England are sprinkled throughout the correspondence for the years 1813-15. The courage of the troops and the apathy of the people is noted, the destruction of Washington provides an occasion for reminiscences of the laying of the Capitol's cornerstone by the first president, and the victories at Baltimore, on Lake Champlain, and at New Orleans are praised in terms of exultation. She takes an interest in Warden's literary efforts and urges him to write a book on the events he witnessed in France: the overthrow of Napoleon, etc. Lafayette's visit to Georgetown in 1825 causes pleasant remarks, followed five years later by suggestions for the reform of the French governmental system. The growth, marriage, and death of her daughter Eliza appear at appropriate intervals with accompanying exclamations of hope, joy, and grief. The letters bear out Mrs. Harrison

Smith's remark to Warden in 1828 that "Her too lively fancy & her ardent feelings, disqualified her for the enjoyment of the common-place realities of life & she is the victim of a morbid sensibility."

Elizabeth Patterson (Bonaparte) (1785-1879), the second of the remarkable trio of women, wrote Warden twenty-five letters over the period 1817-43. The places from which she posted her messages—Passy, Baltimore, Amsterdam, Geneva, Paris, Geneva, Versailles, Baltimore—indicate the extent of her wanderings. The general tone is one of complaint and dissatisfaction. She is especially annoyed with Baltimore, calling it a dull, gossipy town; and on July 4, 1818, when one would expect a reasonable amount of gayety, she says "There is nothing to write of from this dull Place—I never leave my Room—." She shares Eliza Godefroy's early views of America, adding to a letter of 1843 a blistering postscript: "In this Country Honour, Morality Common Honesty are believed in as much as Ghost Stories. . . . There is Cant here plenty of Psalm singing—Sermons—churches the latter more numerous than Honest Men." Like Eliza Custis she has a French admirer, M. de St. C., but she does not want him. In 1818 she writes "I would rather see the devil in person than this young man whom I have been seeking to get rid off for a long time," and she begs Warden to tell him she will never marry except to advance herself and he is not a good enough match. There are passing references to her efforts to educate her son Jerome in a manner befitting his royal rank, and on numerous occasions she asks Warden to find her an apartment, to send her servants, or to arrange with the *voiturier* for a suitable yet inexpensive carriage for travel.

The five letters from *Eliza Crawford Anderson Godefroy* (1780-1839), wife of the architect Maximilian Godefroy, have lately been published in this *Magazine* (March, 1941).

Of particular interest is Warden's correspondence from *Thomas Jefferson* (1743-1826). There are seventeen letters, 1809-23, only one of which has been printed in the collected writings of the distinguished Virginian. The subjects discussed are as many and varied as the interests of the author, with especially pertinent comments on the current events of the times. In the first letter Jefferson remarks that he will retire from the presidency in a few days "with inexpressible delight" and expresses pleasure that he

will be able to follow pursuits from which he has been divorced by politics. He anxiously awaits the appearance of Meriwether Lewis' account of his expedition to the Pacific coast. The next year he mentions Hood's theory of the diurnal motion of the earth, and in 1811 he speaks of copying from his diary data on the weather in Washington and notes the satisfactory growth of a plant carried from France to England and from there to America. In 1813 Jefferson says that manufactures have spread since commerce was stopped and there are nearly a million spindles at work. This raises the question of the war with England, and the former president comments at appropriate times on the events of the conflict. He discusses the Canadian campaign at length and remarks that New England did not take part. He thinks the embargo will prove effective in spite of the base actions of the men from that section. In February, 1815, he wants peace because "peace is better than war for every body," and in July he hopes the allied powers will not force a ruler on France. The next spring he speaks of the general content in America at the end of the war, and in 1817 he mentions the volcanic situation in Europe with the remark that the United States wants three things: payment of the public debt, establishment of manufactures, internal improvements by canals, roads, and public education. Public affairs which enter the later letters include the Missouri question, the emancipation and deportation of slaves from Virginia, the election of Monroe in 1816, and the struggle of the South American countries for freedom. "Our age," he writes in October, 1822, "will present two remarkable contrasts in history: the birth of political liberty, & death of political morality." Several times Jefferson speaks at length of his desire to replace the library given to Congress, and he asks Warden to help "Mr. Ticknor" make the purchases of the editions which he lists with much detail. He sends Warden numerous letters to be forwarded to his European correspondents: Lafayette, Kosciusko, Botta, Humboldt, Mazzei, etc. The last three letters contain direct references to his stiffening wrist and to sickness, age, and debility which make writing increasingly difficult.

Another outstanding Virginian who corresponded regularly with Warden was *Joseph Carrington Cabell* (1778-1856), Jefferson's assistant in founding the University at Charlottesville, a man who devoted his life to the affairs of Virginia. He wrote

fourteen letters over the period 1808-38, dealing with several phases of cultural activity. He discusses the medical profession and advises Warden to settle in New York if he returns to America to stay in 1810. He mentions his reelection to the Virginia Senate in 1813, but thinks of returning to literary pursuits; he likes farming, though sheep and oxen cannot take the place of the dancers and actors in Pairs. In 1823 he asks Warden to send works on the constitution laws, regulations, organization, and government of universities in France and the rest of Europe, and is " particularly anxious to be informed on the best mode of governing a large mass of students, without the use of the bayonet." This shows a desire to establish the University of Virginia on a more liberal basis than was usual in the 1820's. Three years later Cabell expresses interest in the improvement of the common schools in his State and wants simple elementary treatises on the different sciences. As late as 1838 he asks Warden's help in the acquisition of some French books on civil engineering. At the same time he reports that it is not possible to sell Warden's second library in Virginia.

Peter Stephen DuPonceau (1760-1844), the former Frenchman who lived in Philadelphia and was an authority on international law and linguistics, was the author of twenty-eight letters, 1810-43. These deal largely with literary and philological matters, including comments on the Algonquin, Berber, Chinese, Cochinchinese, Delaware, and Mexican Indian languages in which he is interested. In 1826 he describes efforts to create in the United States an interest in German literature, and in 1832 he remarks on Warden's services in the promotion of cordial relations between the literary and scientific men of France and America. He wishes there could be a more genuine American literature. In 1829 he discusses the state of politics and says people are no longer divided on broad principles but on personal attachments to individuals. Three years later he remarks that the country is in a critical situation because of the trouble in South Carolina, but that the fire will die out soon unless blown by " foreign bellows." The final letters contain references to DuPonceau's failing eyesight and the last one is dictated and signed.

A second Philadelphian, *Dr. James Mease* (1771-1846), was concerned with all sorts of scientific matters. He sent Warden eight letters through the years 1809-35. The variety of his inter-

ests is shown by his letter of 1809, in which he asks Warden for the recipe for making French printing ink and copperplate paper, for works of rural economy, for Chevalier's *gleucometry* to gauge the quality of the must of grape juice, and for a prize essay on croup or hives. In 1815 he refers to the engagement by Warden of a professor of anatomy who was to be a complete dissector, articulator, and preparer of injections. A decade and more later he mentions articles on the Greek colony in Florida and on the province of Texas and comments on the success of colonization in Liberia. Works on the statistics of the United States and maps of the states are discussed, and in 1827 Mease sends a copy of a report on the establishment of a military post at the mouth of the Columbia River. The most remote item deals with an impression of a seal from Smyrna which Mease asks Warden to have deciphered in Paris.

Warden's correspondence with *Jared Sparks* (1789-1866) is representative of his contacts with scholars in the United States. Sparks' letters, seventeen in number, dated 1828-44, show the extent to which the former consul supplied materials for Sparks' work, and the history professor not only comments on the progress of his studies, but sends to Warden books and pamphlets in exchange. In 1831 he discusses the publication of a work containing drawings from life of typical individuals among the North American Indians. The next year he sends a list of books he wants and says they must be bought, borrowed, or copied. He remarks that he is publishing a life of Gouverneur Morris, preparing to write a history of the American-French alliance, and planning a history of the American Revolution. In 1835 he forwards the fourth volume of his edition of Washington's writings and gives directions for shipments to him via Burdett & Co. of London. Several letters refer to Warden's second collection of Americana, suggesting that it should be bought in Philadelphia and mentioning attempts to have it purchased by the Virginia legislature. An epistle to Isaiah Townshend of Albany in 1844, when the New York State Library was considering the acquisition of the books, comments on their great value, and notes that it would take years and a great deal of money to duplicate it. An undated paper expresses Sparks' desire to confer with Warden about Timbuctoo.

One of the most interesting series of letters is that of *John*

Rodman (1775-1847), New York lawyer. In twenty-seven letters written from 1812 to 1819 he sets forth at length the state of politics, the war with England, and literary matters. In April, 1812, he finds the embargo extremely unpopular and believes war sure, though preparations are not far advanced. A month later he mentions the apathy of the people towards war, and adds that a breach of promise suit causes great interest. In June affairs seem near a crisis and war is expected at any moment, with some people wishing France included with England. When Congress makes an absolute declaration of war, "the whole City is in commotion." By autumn the public mind is divided between the war and the election which Madison will win. September, 1813, finds Rodman expecting good results on the Canadian border and business dull, but the people in good spirits. The next May the New Yorker longs for free intercourse with both France and England, and he describes the downfall of the Clintonians at the last election. In June, 1815, he writes an eleven-page letter in which he mentions the cost of living in America. The Virginia influence is still dominant, he says, and Warden could not be reinstated as long as a southern man is available. In July, 1816, he remarks on the dullness of trade and the scarcity of money, ascribing as a reason the existence of too many shopkeepers. The last letter presents a strong picture of the derangement of business and reports that emigrations into the western country are constant and numerous. The literary items include comments on Lee's *Memoirs,* Botta's *History,* and Warden's own works. The letter of July 19, 1816, discusses the tastes of the day in most revealing phrases. The American people do not take to statistical treatises, but prefer 1, novels; 2, accounts of recent travels; 3, memoirs of late political events; 4, biography; 5, histories by persons of note. Works on political economy, public law, and science have few readers.

Isaiah Townsend, Jr. (1813-59) of Albany was a good example of a business man actively interested in literary and scientific matters. He wrote Warden twenty-two letters, 1839-45, five of them sent from London, Rome, Paris, and Glasgow during the course of a European trip in 1841-42. The principal subject is the sale of Warden's library, and in the first letter Townsend remarks that the only chance is to sell it to the State (New York). In November, 1840, he says there is no appropriation sufficient to

buy the books, and it is February,1843, before he reports real efforts to spur the State to action. The legislature passes a resolution directing an inquiry into the possibility of purchases, but delay arises because the committee members lack knowledge of the subject. The struggle continues in 1844 and Townsend is successful in having the Regents of the University appointed as trustees, and then a decision is held up by a lack of funds. In January, 1845, a separate appropriation is made and three months later the necessary bill is passed. The letter of April 29th gives instructions for shipping the volumes across the ocean. Throughout the correspondence are notes on the contemporary political scene: U. S. Bank thought to be crippled past recovery, Harrison elected, tariff causing stormy discussions, trade and industry at low ebb, country slowly reviving from terrible reaction to speculative madness, annexation of Mexico, etc. Townsend asks Warden to help procure a patent in France on a machine for preparing puddled iron balls, on a patent shingling machine, and on a machine for making horseshoes, all the products of the inventor Burden. He wants an account of the French salt works at Dieuze, and he inquires the cost in Paris of a barometer, thermometers, a balance, crucibles, etc. He asks Warden to get details about a set of china formerly used by Napoleon, and he desires data on normal schools. In return he sends agricultural and geological bulletins and a packet containing several varieties of wheat.

By no means all of Warden's correspondents were in the United States, and he received letters from several Americans who were abroad on governmental or scholarly errands. Among these was *Henry Wheaton* (1785-1848), jurist, diplomat, and expert on international law, who sent ten epistles, 1838-43, while he was envoy to Berlin. He writes about his candidacy for membership in the French Institute, asking Warden about vacancies and sending letters to support his application. In one letter he describes his books on the Northmen and on International Law and tells about a new work on the Scandinavian kingdoms, and on several occasions he refers to Baron Miltitz's studies of consular systems. The last letter comments on Warden's communication to the Academy of Sciences concerning the projected Panama canal and asks questions about the rivers, government, etc. of that region.

George Ticknor (1791-1871), educator and author, and one of the first Americans to study in Germany, wrote fifteen letters

through the years 1816-35. Half of them were composed during the period at Göttingen and as he travelled around Europe after leaving the university. Jefferson sent Ticknor a list of books he wanted and the latter, having decided to remain at Göttingen another year, asks Warden to undertake the commission. In January, 1817, Ticknor consults a professor about German works on consular establishments and offers to bring to Warden a copy of Steck, the one recommended. A letter from Paris reports the "perquisition sevère," a police examination of Ticknor's papers, letters, and journals, and a postscript remarks that of course nothing suspicious was found. From Rome the young student mentions sending minerals to America and speaks of his acquaintance with Bishop Grégoire, Verdier, and Michaux. An epistle written in Calais in October, 1835, near the beginning of the second European trip, mentions the exchange of books between Dr. Bowditch and the scientist Humboldt by way of Warden's ménage.

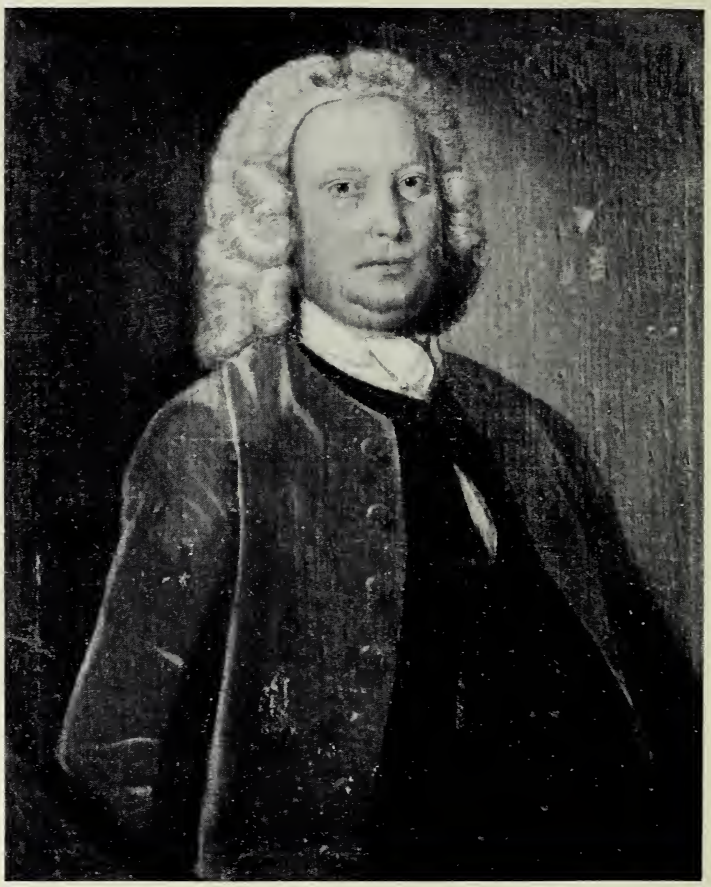
Among Europeans Warden seems to have been especially familiar with *Baron Alexander von Humboldt* (1765-1859), the German naturalist, who lived in Paris during a large part of Warden's residence there. He wrote forty-eight letters, 1809-35, most of them brief, many undated, and all in nearly illegible French. The subjects discussed range widely, including inquiries about American scientific methods and governmental policies, comments on Warden's manuscripts and suggestions of changes to be made before publication, loans of papers and books, and the like. In the early period Humboldt mentions repeated efforts to enlist support among his American correspondents for Warden's restoration to office, and in 1820 he believes the union of political and natural history in Warden's account of the United States will attract the attention of the government to its author. Matters on which Humboldt expresses interest are the growth of potatoes in America, the lakes of Mexico and Nicaragua, the ancient culture of Guatemala, the laws concerning the slave trade in the United States, and statistics dealing with Louisiana and Cuba. One undated letter presents lengthy questions about American commerce and describes a recent presidential speech as "a little dogmatic and verbose at the beginning, a little jesuitical at the end."

Warden's most prominent French friend was the *Marquis de*

Lafayette (1757-1834), who wrote him twenty-one letters from 1809 to 1833. These papers are of little importance because they are brief and deal largely with matters of personal relationships. They do bolster the impression that there was a cordial intimacy between the leaders of intellectual circles in Paris, among them Humboldt, Constant, Lafayette, and Warden. Twice Lafayette shows interest in Louisiana lands and there are several references to exchange of books, maps, etc. The Frenchman expresses for Warden an "old and sincere attachment," but he does not discuss public affairs except for a word of rejoicing at the repeal of the Orders in Council in 1812.

One of Warden's sprightliest correspondents was *Lady Sydney Morgan* (1783?-1859), the Irish novelist "Sydney Owenson," who showered on him twenty-six notes and letters during 1816-21. Many contain references to the writer's books mixed with comments on other literary productions and the current political scene. In 1817 there is much talk about Lady Morgan's *France*, which sold for £2000 and became so popular that the fourth edition appeared within a year. She says that many want to translate it, but that Colbourn the publisher has someone doing it in London. Then when the translation appears she calls it "a most *infamous* production" full of interpolations and inaccuracies. On the way to Italy to prepare a similar work on that country she visits Lafayette at LaGrange and describes the pleasant group there. As in her novels she shows sympathy with the poor of her native country. In 1817 she remarks that people are starving in Ireland and "all here is *poverty and distress.*" In 1821 she says the Irish are recovering from "royal raptures" now that they see the royal visit has done them no good and conciliation is blown to pieces. Along with the national ill feeling comes a bitter attack by the ministerial press on her character, birth, education, friends, kindred, and country. Eight letters from the novelist's husband, *Sir Thomas Charles Morgan* (1783-1843), physician and philosopher, are ephemeral pieces, except for one written in Dublin in 1817 describing the fortitude of the Irish people during calamities and describing reconnoitres in the south country in preparation for Lady Morgan's new novel.

(*To be continued*)



JUDGE WILLIAM GOLDSBOROUGH
1709–1760

By JOHN HESSELIUS

Portrait Owned by Mr. and Mrs. Robert Goldsborough Henry of Myrtle Grove.

ROBERT GOLDSBOROUGH OF ASHBY, AND HIS SIX SONS

Notes Collected by the Late ANNE SPOTSWOOD DANDRIDGE

Edited by ROBERTA BOLLING HENRY

The family of Goldsborough is Anglo-Saxon and was seated before the Norman Conquest at Goldsborough Hall or Chase near the town of Knaresborough in Yorkshire. A grant of land was made to the head of the family by William the Conqueror, and for many generations the estate descended from father to son. The last of the Goldsborough name who owned the Hall were two maiden sisters, it is said, the survivor of whom at her death left most of the estate to York Minster and public charities. In 1756 the Hall was bought by the Lascelles, of the family of the Earl of Harewood, after being for nearly eight centuries the home of the elder branch of English Goldsboroughs. The younger branches had spread into different shires of England.

Nicholas Goldsborough, the progenitor of the American Goldsboroughs, was born in 1640 or 1641 in Melcomb Regis, a seaside town which has been for many years incorporated with Weymouth, and of which an old writer says: "Weymouth and Melcomb Regis . . . beinge two haven towns and frontier townes joyninge very neere together directly over against the coast of Normandy in France . . ."

Prior to 1659 Nicholas Goldsborough was living in Blandford, "A faire markett towne pleasantlie situated upon the river [the Stour] and near unto the downes, well inhabited and of good traffique." He was a merchant, and in the list of "Tradesmen's Tokens current in Blandford Forum" is the description of one issued by him in 1663. At that time the Crown issued none but gold and silver money; but, as smaller money was needed for many transactions, permission had been granted to certain cities and towns and also to the considerable merchants to issue what were known as "Tokens." They were made of lead, brass or copper, and were circulated as farthings, half pence and pence. The one issued by Nicholas Goldsborough is described in Hutchins' *History of Dorset* (p. lxxxiv).

In the year 1669 Nicholas Goldsborough left England. The

story of his emigration is briefly told by his son, Robert of Ashby, who on the 20th of August, 1722, wrote on a blank leaf of his own large Bible (now owned by Robert Goldsborough Henry of Myrtle Grove) the following:

A memorial for the use of my children—My father Nicholas Gouldesburgh, or Goldsborough was a younger brother, he was born at Melcolm Regis near Waymouth in the county of Dorset in or about 1640 or 1641. My Mother was the sole daughter of Abraham Howes, the son of William Howes of Newberry in the County of Berks (see his last will and testament [1] in my possession).

My father married my mother in the year 1659 at Blandford [2] in the county of Dorset where myself was born the beginning of December 1660.

My father went from England to Barbadoes in 1669 from thence he came to New England and from thence to Maryland in the beginning of the year 1670 he died on Kent Island and was there buryed on Tobias Wells plantation. I came into Maryland in the beginning of the year 1678. I was marryed to Elizabeth Greenberry Sept. 2nd 1697. My mother came into Maryland in or about the year 1670. She here intermarried with George Robins.

Nicholas Goldsborough had besides Robert of Ashby a son Nicholas, the progenitor of the Otwell Goldsboroughs and a daughter Judith. The latter was brought over by her stepfather, George Robins, and to him she assigns the right of land due her. Robert of Ashby transported himself but also assigns his rights to his step-father, George Robins,[3] who had Dec. 10th, 1672, been granted letters of administration on the estate of "Nicholas Goldsborough late of Kent County, merchant, having intermarryed with Margaret his widow." [4]

Robert of Ashby

The entry into Maryland of Robert the eldest son of Nicholas and Margaret (Howes) Goldsborough is recorded in the "Early Settlers List," Liber LL, 801, (Land Office, Annapolis) as follows:

[1] Now lost.

[2] St. Mary's Church, Blandford.

[3] George Robins, of "Jobs' Content," later known as Peach Blossom and his wife Margaret had five children, Thomas born 1672, George, William, Lambert, and Mary. In 1694 the death of George Robins left her again a widow. By his will she and her son Thomas were appointed executors and guardian to the four minor children. To Thomas was bequeathed the estate of "Jobs' Content," with the right reserved to his mother of dwelling thereon. Mrs. Robins survived her second husband some years, remaining at Jobs' Content where she died and is buried. The homes of her two sons by her first husband were not far distant from her own—Robert, the eldest was living at Ashby, and Nicholas near Oxford; of Judith nothing is now known with certainty.

[4] Test. Proc. Lib. 5, fol. 374.

These may certify that Robert Goldsborough transported himself into this province to inhabit in the year one thousand six hundred seventy-seven proved before me this eighteenth day of October, one thousand six hundred seventy-eight as witness my hand the day and year above said

Geo. Robins

Know all men by these presents that I Robert Goldsburgh doe assigne over unto George Robins his heirs execrs, admin or assigns forever the right of land due unto me as witness my hand and seal this eighteenth day of October 1678

Robert Goldsburgh, [sealed]

Robert was then a young man of eighteen and as his mother had long been married to Mr. Robins he was free to make a home of his own and soon began to look about for desirable land. A paper discovered in the Land Office at Annapolis establishes the fact that land was bought in Dorchester County by Mr. Robins for his two step-sons, but there arose some defect in the title to the tract, and the young men lost both the land and "the Sloope Charles of Boston" which had been given for it by their step-father. This tract of land consisted of 1,000 arces on the south side of Choptank River and was called Edmundson's Desire. It lay not very far from the estate Horne, afterwards so well known as Horn's Point, the home of William Tilghman Goldsborough.

Their Dorchester plan failing, the two brothers, Robert and Nicholas, settled in Talbot. Nicholas (the younger) lived near Oxford; Robert bought an estate on St. Michael's River, already known as Ashby. By purchase and grant he acquired a large quantity of land in Talbot County, the different tracts being known by different names, but the home of Robert Goldsborough I, the first home of the elder branch of Goldsboroughs in America was Ashby.

This estate, first surveyed for Roger Gross, July 20, 1663, passed successively to his son, Roger Gross, Junior; to William Gross, uncle and heir-at-law of Roger Gross, Jr.; to Anthony Mayle; to the widow of Anthony Mayle; to Robert Smith; and was by Robert Smith deeded to Robert Goldsborough on 16th October, 1690.

Robert Goldsborough was then thirty years of age and for fifty-six years he lived at Ashby; there in September 1697 he brought his bride, Elizabeth Greenberry, from her home on the Severn; there their twelve children were born, and five who

died in infancy or childhood were buried; there, in 1719 his wife died and was buried; and finally there "Sitting in his chair, at nine o'clock on Christmas morning 1746" an old man of eighty-six, Robert of Ashby died; and was laid to rest in the same graveyard which has since received five generations of his descendants. After his death Ashby remained unoccupied, as the son to whom he left it (Robert II) had, previous to inheriting it, established his own home at Myrtle Grove, about two miles distant. The old brick house at Ashby gradually fell into a heap, the lawn was ploughed up and became a field, and in the course of years Myrtle Grove came to be considered "the oldest Goldsborough home," since it was there that the elder branch of the family lived, one by one being taken to Ashby to be buried.

The early years of his life at Ashby were busy ones for Robert Goldsborough. Besides attending to his large estate and giving much thought and care to the proper training and establishment of his six sons, he liberally gave the province of Maryland the benefit of his fine abilities and clearsighted energy. Having studied law, he was admitted to practice in Maryland on the 4th of October, 1687; and, December 3rd, 1696, was "constituted one of his Ma. Councillors at Law"[5] from which office he was discharged at his own request in 1699. Upon his application for dismissal, the Attorney General, George Plater, asks the Council to take into consideration "how faithfully the said Mr. G. had discharged his trust, and accordingly, upon his application he is dismissed."[6]

From 1698 to 1705 he was justice of the peace in Talbot County; from 1705 to 1707 he was Associate Justice, and from 1719 to 1740 Chief Justice of the Provincial Court. From 1704 to 1708 as member of assembly from Talbot he took a prominent part in the lower house. In an old manuscript list of "Civil Officers in Maryland" under the date 1696 is his name: "Robert Goldsborough; Burges, Justice, Deputy Commissary General for Talbot, Register of Wills, and Attorney for King William."

Previously (1685) he is mentioned as "Under Sheriff of Talbot"; and in 1689 he and his brother Nicholas were both holding office, the former attorney for the government, the latter, deputy sheriff of Talbot.[7]

[5] *Archives of Maryland*, XX, p. 549. [6] *Archives of Maryland*, XXV, p. 75.
[7] Samuel A. Harrison's "Memoranda of the Civic Annals of Talbot County," I, p. 8-10, Maryland Historical Society.

During this year (1689) "the loyal and dutiful Subjects, and Antient Protestant Inhabitants of Talbot . . . Doe in prostrate and humble manner testifie to your Majestys that we abhorr and detest the falsehood and unfaithfulness of John Coode . . ." and petition that the Government "may be again restored to the Rt. Hon[bl] Lord Baltemore, which will make him and us happy. . . ." To this paper, with the name of other gentlemen, is attached the signature: Ro Gouldesbrough.[8] In 1696 an Address was sent to King William congratulating him on his "Escape from a Horrible Intended Conspiracy;" it is signed by gentlemen of every county, and the list of Talbot County names is headed by "Robert Goldsborough."

On the 2nd of September, 1697, Robert Goldsborough of Ashby was married by the Rev. Peregrine Coney of Annapolis to Elizabeth Greenberry of Greenberry's Point. His own entry in his large Bible is as follows:

Robert Goldsborough was marryed to Elizabeth Greenberry daughter of Nicholas Greenberry Esq. and of Ann his wife, the second day of September 1697 thursday . . . My dearly beloved wife Elizabeth departed this life thursday March 3rd 1719 about ten at night and was buryed the thursday following being the tenth of the same month, aged 41 years and 6 months being born the 25th of September 1678 in Annarundell County, Wednesday

R. G.

In the Bible known as the Greenberry Bible now at Myrtle Grove her father, Nicholas, has recorded the birth of his three daughters, on a page which he has signed. Of the nine sons born to Robert and Elizabeth Goldsborough, six lived to be men. The three little sons who bore their mother's maiden name all died early. The "Six Brothers," sons of Robert of Ashby for whom he bought land or whom he settled upon parts of his own estate as they grew to manhood were: Robert and Nicholas (twins), Charles, William, John and Howes. The brothers were all married; Robert, Charles, John and Howes, left children, and their descendants are now almost countless in number. They were all men of wealth, position, and influence, good and useful in their generation as their father had been in his own; and as he became an old man he saw them taking up, well and ably, the duties public and private, which he was one by one dropping from his weakening hands.

[8] *Archives,* VIII, p. 133.

Robert of Myrtle Grove, Eldest of the Six Sons

Robert Goldsborough gave to his eldest son, Robert, an estate to which the latter gave the name of "Myrtle Grove" and upon which he built in 1734 a small frame house which is still standing, and now forms the wing of the brick house which was completed in 1790 by Robert, third of the name. Although, upon the death of his father in 1746, Robert inherited the older residence Ashby, he continued to live at Myrtle Grove, thus since 1746 the home of the eldest branch of Goldsboroughs. Owners of both Ashby and Myrtle Grove have lived at the latter place.

The entry of his birth is recorded by his father in the family Bible: "Robert and Nicholas born Saturday Feb. 17, 1704." His will[9] leaves

> to my son Robert the plantation and lands where I dwell on, namely, Part of the land called Ashby and the land adjoining to the same which I bought of Griffith Jones, and also the land called Fox Harbor, and Newnams Addition all these lands with their appurtinances I do give to my son Robert and his Heirs for ever. . . . I do also give to my said son Robert all the goods and plate in my dwelling house together with the furniture belonging to said house and I do also give my said son all my part of the Goods, debts, bonds, bills and accounts of any sum or sums of tobacco, or money contained in the same or that have become due in Partnership between me and my said son. . . .

Robert and his twin brother Nicholas were named executors. The will was probated 2 Feb., 1746.

The eldest son of Robert of Ashby, Robert Goldsborough II of Myrtle Grove, was thus sketched by a contemporary writer: "A high-minded gentleman, esteemed for probity and intelligence . . . . his house was the home of hospitality, rational, generous, elegant. His mind was richly stored with the best literature of the day, his conversation improving and charming. Fully aware of the value of knowledge, he paid great attention to the education of his children, who amply repaid his care . . ." He was twice married. His first wife was Sarah, daughter of the Rev. Henry Nicols, of St. Michael's Parish, Talbot, to whom he was married the 7 Nov., 1739, by her father. To them a son was born on the 8th of November, 1740, and was named Robert. A week afterwards the young mother died, having been married two days less than a year. On the 8th of July, 1742, Robert

[9] Wills, Talbot Co., 1722-1746, f. 443, dated 28 June, 1744.

Goldsborough was married to Mrs. Mary Ann Turbutt Robins, widow of John Robins and daughter of Foster Turbutt. She died 29 Aug., 1794, leaving three children: Howes, William ("Uncle Billy, of Haylands") and a daughter, Mary Ann Turbutt, known as "Aunt Molly of Haylands." Robert's death is entered in the family Bible by his son, Judge Robert Goldsborough: "My Honoured Father died 30th April anno 1777 in his 74th year, being born in Feb. 1704."

Nicholas Goldsborough, Jr.

Of Nicholas, twin brother of Robert, little is known beyond the main facts of his life. "Robert and Nicholas born, Saturday, Feb. 17, 1704." "Nicholas Dyed the 14 Nov. 1756 with the Small Pox." "My dear Brother Nicholas Departed this life Sunday Nov. 14 about twelve o'clock noon 1756."

These three sentences in the Ashby Bible record the beginning and the end of the life of the second of the Six Brothers but of the half century of earthly existence lying between the two dates it tells nothing.

From county records and other sources it is known that Nicholas Goldsborough, Jr., was at an early age justice and burgess. The commission of the peace issued to Talbot County Feb. 23, 1726, bears the names of Robert and Nicholas Goldsborough as members of the quorum; that of Oct. 29, 1730, is headed by the same names, which for more than ten years afterwards recur in the commissions; but whether the office was held by the twin brothers or by their father Robert and his nephew Nicholas there is now no way of determining with certainty. It is probable that during the latter part of the time the two younger men were indicated.

Nicholas Goldsborough was deputy collector of the Port of Oxford. In the Myrtle Grove library there is a leather-bound volume *English Customs,* by Crouch of the Custom House, giving tables of Duties, etc., on a fly-leaf of which is written: "Nicholas Goldsborough, Deputy Collector, Port of Oxford, Province of Maryland." The date is 1731.

Robert of Ashby gave his second son a liberal share of his estate:

To my son Nicholas I do give and bequeath all my lands lying on Plaindealing creek, namely Part of the land Called Plain Dealing, Wyatt's

Fortune, Grundy's Addition, and part of Hall's Neck, all which said lands I do give to my son Nicholas. . . . . I do hereby appoint and nominate my sons Robert and Nicholas my sole Executors.

This will was signed on the 28th of June, 1744, about two years before Nicholas's marriage, which took place on the 7th of April, 1746, when he was forty-two years of age. The lady whom he married is said by a family record at Myrtle Grove to have been "the daughter of one Spencer of the Bay Side." She was then Mrs. Jane Banning, widow of James Banning (who also wrote his name Bandy, his father being William Bandy) and the mother of three sons: Jeremiah, Henry and Anthony Banning. These three boys were adopted by Nicholas Goldsborough, their step-father, and when he died, ten years after his marriage to their mother, it was found that his will gave them all of his property. They were, however, always known by the name of their own father. Being thus provided for, the three Bannings received the bringing-up and education of gentlemen, and in time became quite prominent men in Talbot County. Nicholas Goldsborough's will is in substance as follows: [10]

I Nicholas Goldsborough of Talbot . . . do bequeath unto Jeremiah Banning my land Hall's Neck, Grundys Addition etc. . . . Unto Henry Banning Plain Dealing, Wyatt's Fortune, Grundy's Add'n resurveyed; To Anthony Banning 1000 lbs. of tobacco, to be paid by Jeremiah and Henry . . . My Wife to leave at her decease the thirds of my estate to be equally divided between Jeremiah, Henry and Anthony Banning . . . and as for my personal estate after my wife has her part the remainder to be equally divided between Jeremiah, Henry and Anthony . . . Executors: Jeremiah and Henry Banning. Witness: Thos. Cooper, Mary Cooper, Ann Davis.

The will was probated December 24, 1756.

Charles Goldsborough I, The Councillor

Charles Goldsborough, third son of Robert of Ashby and Elizabeth Greenberry Goldsborough, was (according to his father's entry in the old Bible) "born thursday June 26, 1707"; on the margin opposite is added in the handwriting of his eldest brother, Robert II of Myrtle Grove: "Dyed the 14th July 1759."

Charles was born at Ashby and lived in Talbot during his boyhood and youth, but shortly after coming of age he moved to

[10] Wills, Talbot Co., 1755-1760, f. 263.

Dorchester County, where he spent the rest of his life and where he is buried.[11] In August, 1728, he was admitted to the bar of Talbot, and practiced law in the different courts of the State with distinguished ability. His mental powers were fine; he was a clear writer, and brilliant speaker, and seems to have been regarded as a leader of opinion and action on the Eastern Shore. In 1728 Charles Goldsborough was appointed to the then important office of clerk of the court of Dorchester County; on the 15th Dec. 1761, he took his oath as commissary general,[12] (an office which was abolished in 1777); from 1752 to 1763 he represented Dorset County in the Lower House of Assembly;[13] in 1762 he was removed to the Upper House by his appointment as member of the Lord Proprietor's Council. He took his seat there in July 1762,[14] Horatio Sharpe being then Governor. Prior to this appointment there had been a long correspondence concerning it between the Calverts and Governor Sharpe, who for some years opposed it on the ground that Mr. Goldsborough was "a favourer of popular measures," but after carefully watching his course in the Lower House, the Governor seems to have changed his opinion of Mr. Goldsborough altogether, and in October, 1760, writes to Lord Baltimore strongly advocating his appointment, speaks with approbation of "his unexceptionable conduct in the Lower House," calls His Lordship's attention to the "moderate and respectful behaviour of the Goldsborough Family . . . of

[11] The exact date of Charles Goldsborough's removal from Talbot to Dorset is not now known. He was in 1728 clerk of the court of the latter County, and a practicing attorney there as well as in Talbot. In the year 1734 he bought from the widow and daughter of John Kirke part of the property now known as "The Point" in Cambridge, which continued to be his home until the time of his death. The price was "1000 lbs. of good merchantable tobacco" (then worth about two shillings a pound). The house at that time consisted of a single room below and above, with a large pantry and kitchen (with gable rooms over them) being the part of the house on the right of the hall. There was a porch the whole length of the north side, the front door of the house was entered from this porch. Tradition (which is sustained by architectural evidence) says that Mr. Goldsborough doubled the width of the porch and turned it into the hall; he also added the two rooms below and above on the left, and built the stairway leading from the hall to the upper story of the mansion. In 1737 Elizabeth Orrell widow of John Orrell conveyed to Joshua Kennerly and he to Charles Goldsborough "one-third interest in the aforesaid Orrell lots, where said Charles Goldsborough now resides," and by deeds from Orrell's children of their respective interests therein, beginning in 1739 and ending in 1760, Mr. Goldsborough finally acquired the title to the entire "Point" property. He devised it to his son Robert. (The house is now, 1941, entirely gone).

[12] *Archives,* XXX, p. 565.

[13] *Archives,* L, pp. 28, 544, 587.

[14] *Archives,* XXXII, p. 38.

considerable Figure and Influence in the Province . . . ." and suggests that it will be "good Policy to take another of that Family into the Upper House since their brother William is dead" . . . ; and further urges the step by saying that the removal of Mr. Charles Goldsborough to the Council (Upper House) will probably result in the election to the Lower House of "his son, a young gentleman of good abilities and character lately returned from the Temple . . . who will hereafter be of service . . .;" thus the "Number of Moderate men" secured to the Government will be not lessened but increased. He admits his former prejudice, but excuses himself by hinting that at that time Mr. Goldsborough had been represented to him "in an unfavourable light . . . by some who I believe had their views in doing so."

The appointment (delayed for ten years by his opposition) soon followed Governor Sharpe's change of opinion; and at a meeting of the Council in Annapolis in July, 1762, Mr. Charles Goldsborough took his seat as Councillor.

At this date there was already a slight stir in the political air: the dissatisfaction was slowly progressing which a few years later culminated in the Revolution. The two Goldsborough brothers (John in the Lower House, and Charles in the Council) stood for the King, with the steadfastness inherited from a long line of loyal English gentlemen and Churchmen faithful to law and order. John slowly and reluctantly, within the next decade, found himself forced to a change of attitude towards the government; but Charles did not live long enough to see this new aspect of affairs, and seems always to have been counted one of the "members favourable to the Crown" during the four years intervening between his appointment as councillor and his death.

Gov. Sharpe's desire that Mr. Goldsborough's place in the Lower House should be taken by his eldest son Robert Goldsborough was not immediately fulfilled. A writ of election was issued, Oct. 25, 1763, to the Sheriff of Dorchester County "to elect a delegate for the said County in the room of Charles Goldsborough Esquire called to the Upper house" but the result was the return of Mr. Henry Steele, who qualified as member for Dorchester on the 16th of November following.[15] At the next election, however, Robert Goldsborough was elected in Mr.

[15] L. H. Jour., 1762-1768.

Steele's place; and at the beginning of the session, Sept. 23, 1765, he took his seat in the Lower House,[16] his father being in his seat[17] in the Upper House when the young man appeared before that body to take the usual oath of qualification. The father was then fifty-eight years of age; the son thirty-two.

Charles Goldsborough was married twice, first to Elizabeth Ennalls and secondly to Elizabeth Dickinson. He married Elizabeth Ennalls on the 18th of July, 1730; she was a daughter of Joseph and Mary (Brooke) Ennalls, and a grand-daughter of Bartholomew Ennalls who during his life was a large land owner in Dorchester County, and who left vast estates to his sons and their children. By this marriage Mr. Goldsborough had two children, Betty and Robert. The daughter, Elizabeth Greenberry Goldsborough, was born July 4, 1731, and died Sept. 29, 1820; in 1754 she married her cousin William Ennalls, and is known to later generations as "Aunt Ennalls;" she lived at Shoal Creek and (having no children) devised that estate and all her land in Dorchester to Gov. Charles Goldsborough, eldest son of her half-brother Charles.

Robert Goldsborough, second child of Charles and Elizabeth (Ennalls) Goldsborough, was born December 3rd, 1733, and died Dec. 31, 1787. He studied law in the Temple in London, and after his marriage to Sarah Yerbury remained for several years in England, returning to Maryland in the summer of 1759, from that time until his death being a prominent figure in the Province.

The date of death of Charles Goldsborough's first wife is not known. On the 2nd of August, 1739, he married as his second wife, Elizabeth Dickinson of Crosiadore, Talbot County, daughter of Samuel Dickinson and his first wife, Judith Troth, and half sister of Gen. Philemon and John Dickinson of the Revolution. She had but one child, Charles, born April 2nd, 1740, who died two years after his father when but twenty-nine years of age.

Charles Goldsborough I died in Cambridge on the 14th of July, 1767. The following obituary is from the *Maryland Gazette,* Thursday, July 16, 1767:

> Tuefday morning Laft died at his Houfe in Cambridge, after a lingering Indifpofition the Honourable Charles Goldsborough Efq; one of His Lordfhips Council of State and Commiffary General of this Province.

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[16] *Ibid.*

[17] U. H. Jour., 1762-1773, p. 200.

He was a Gentleman eminent for many Years in the Knowledge and Practice of the Law; and was formerly one of the Reprefentatives for Dorchester County.

He was buried in the churchyard in Cambridge. His tomb is near the church, and many of his descendants (now including great-great grandchildren) are buried around him. The inscription is as follows:

Hic conduntur ossa
Caroli Goldsborough, Armiger
Roberti Goldsborough
Elizabethae, uxoris suis
Filii
Qui post hujus Vitae Taedia Vigilias
Laboresque Perquam assiduos
Tandem Animam exhalavit
July Die decimo quarto
Annos Christi MDCCLXVII
Aetatis suae LX[18]

The voluminous will of Charles Goldsborough, dated 18 February, 1766, is recorded in Wills, Volume 3, f. 429, Hall of Records, Annapolis, and has the usual preamble. An abstract follows:

To daughter Betty, wife of Wm. Ennals and her heirs tracts on Choptank R. where she lately lived, viz Richardson's Folly, Edmondson's Add'n, Sherwins Folly and part of Skipton which lye on the westward side of a branch where Wm. Edmondson, dec'd, formerly had a water mill. Also . . . as much of the Indian land bought of Joseph Fooks and William Benn . . . as will make up one half the sd. Indian lands . . . [metes and courses follow] [19]; personalty and one-half sterling money in England at time of decease.

To son Charles and heirs the land east of Wm. Edmondson's water mill, to the lands of Charles Dickinson lying on Hunting Creek and Choptank R.; personalty and stock at Hunting Creek where he now lives.

To eldest daughter of [niece] Elizabeth Campbell 500 acres at head of this county.

To 3 daughters of son Robert, Rebecca, Sarah and Elizabeth, residue of money in England . . .

To Mary McKeel . . . in consideration and full satisfaction of her services for life or until her marriage . . . six lots in Cambridge and

[18] Here are stored the bones of Charles Goldsborough, armiger, son of Robert and Elizabeth Goldsborough, who after the tiresomeness of this life, the watches and the labors very severe, at length breathed out life, 14th day of July, in the year of Christ 1767, in his 60th year.

[19] Bounded by "Shallow Creek."

dwelling house " where I now live;" personalty, including 6 leather chairs at lodgings in Annapolis.

To grandson John, son Robert's son, half of Marshy Hope; reversion to Charles, son of Robert.

To grandson William, son Robert's son, land on Transquakin River.

To Charles, after Mary McKeel's death or marriage, land devised her.

To grandson Charles all other lands which lie on west side of main road which leads from Cambridge to the plantation bought of Thomas Howell; all the rest of personal estate given to Mary McKeel to be divided at her death or marriage between testator's three children, Robert, Betty and Charles.

Attested by John Dickinson, Henry Murray, John Anderson, Dan'l Maynadier. Admitted to probate July 28, 1767.

William Goldsborough

William Goldsborough was born at Ashby, the seventh child and fourth son of Robert and Elizabeth Greenberry Goldsborough. His father in the Ashby Bible records his birth; the date of his death is added by his brother Robert II:

William born Wednesday July 6, 1709.
Dyed Septem'r 1760.

On another page is written (by Robert):

William July 6th 1709 Dyed Sep'r 21, 1760 about 5 o'clock Morning being Sunday.

As there were at that time no good schools in the country and there is no mention (in the old letters or in the " Expense Books " among the Myrtle Grove papers) of the boys being sent home to England to school, it is probable that the Six Brothers were educated by schoolmasters who, as was then customary, lived in the family. In November, 1733, William Goldsborough was admitted to practise law, but seems to have practised only for a short time.

William Goldsborough was married twice; first to the sister, and then to the widow of George Robins. He was twenty-five years of age when his first marriage took place, his young wife being Elizabeth Robins (daughter of Thomas Robins, his half-uncle) of Peach Blossom. The record on the faded page of the Register of St. Peter's Parish, Talbot Co., is:

[p. 92] William Goldsborough and Elizabeth Robins were married January y'e 23rd Day 1734.

By this marriage he had two sons and two daughters, who all died young, and were buried in the same grave with their mother at Peach Blossom.

In Memory of Elizabeth Goldsborough who died the 2nd Day of Oct'r. 1746 Aged 36 years and of Greenbery, Henrietta Maria, William, and Elizabeth Her Children this is Erected by their Most Affectionate Sorrowful Husband and Father William Goldsborough.[20]

On the 2nd of September, 1747, eleven months after the death of his first wife, Elizabeth, Mr. Goldsborough married her half-brother's widow, Mrs. George Robins, who was then forty years of age and was the mother of six children. Her maiden name was Henrietta Maria Tilghman; she was the fourth child of Richard Tilghman II of The Hermitage and Anna Maria Lloyd of Wye, and was born at The Hermitage, August 18, 1707. On the 2nd of April, 1731, she married George Robins, of Peach Blossom, who died December 5, 1742; five years later she married William Goldsborough, by whom she had no children, and whom she survived eleven years. She died Nov. 7, 1771, and "was buried at Peach Blossom on the following Saturday, with a numerous procession, the Rev. John Bowie officiating."[21] In a letter written during her second widowhood, dated Peach Blossom, June 5, 1768, she says of her family:

Of my six children four daughters only are living, and all are Robins and live near me, the farthest about six miles off. My eldest, Ann Maria, is married to Henry Hollyday [of Ratcliffe Manor] . . . My next, Margaret, is married to Mr. William Hayward, a lawyer. The next, Henrietta Maria, married James Lloyd Chamberlaine whose brother Thomas married my youngest daughter, Susannah. Thanks be to God, we all live far above want, and can spare to our poor neighbors. We possess, and indeed are burthened with, what people falsely call riches. I mean the Negroes . . . I think we have full enough of them. . . .

William Goldsborough was, at the time of his death, a member of the Lord Proprietor's Council, judge of the Provincial Court, and judge of the Court of Admiralty. The estimation in which he was held is expressed in a letter from Governor Sharpe to Secretary Calvert concerning him, written when Mr. Golds-

[20] This stone is now (1941) at Ashby.
[21] John Bozman Kerr, *Genealogical Notes of the Chamberlaine Family of Maryland,* (Baltimore, 1880), p. 40.

borough's failing health seemed to make it probable that a successor must (in a short time) be appointed to the offices held by him:

7th July 1760 . . . No person in the Country had a better character than this Gent'n, he had never courted popularity yet was well esteemed by the People of his Co'ty, had better Abilities than most and by his Behaviour on the Provincial Bench where I had placed him soon after my Arrival in the Province gave me the greatest Reason to believe that his Behaviour would be equally satisfactory to his Ldp and myself nor have I been disappointed in my Expectations concerning him.[22]

There is a fine portrait of William Goldsborough now (1941) at Myrtle Grove, of particular interest as being the only portrait of any of the Six Brothers in existence. It represents a man about fifty years of age, large and vigorous, and of stately bearing. He wears a brown velvet coat; his full-bottomed, powdered wig is pushed back from his broad high forehead. The face with its somewhat severe aquiline features and grave dark eyes, is one of quiet power, intellectual and thoughtful, yet with rare sweetness and kindness of expression.

Mr. Goldsborough lived on Island Creek in Talbot, upon an estate known later as Evergreen which he devised to Greenberry Goldsborough, son of his brother John. This estate was not inherited by William Goldsborough from his father, who left him no land. The clause relating to him in the will of Robert of Ashby is as follows:

. . . Forasmuch as I am not Poſsefsed of any other Lands, and it hath pleased God to Blefs my two Sons Charles and William with Handsome Estates I do therefore give to my said Sons Charles and William in Lieu of Lands all the Money I now Have in the Hands of Mr. Samuel Hyde of London Merchant and in the Hands of Mr. John Hanbury, of the fame Place Merchant to be Equally divided between them. . . .

After his appointment as Provincial Judge (1754) and, later, as councillor, Mr. Goldsborough necessarily spent much time in Annapolis, being punctual in attendance at Court and Council while his health permitted. About 1756 his health began to fail, and in September, 1760, he died. The following notice appeared in the *Maryland Gazette,* September 25, 1760:

Sunday last Died at his Seat near Talbot Court House, after a very long and lingering Indisposition the Honourable William Goldsborough

[22] *Archives,* IX, p. 425.

Esq'r. one of his Lordship's Council, and Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty in this Province: A Gentleman of a very fair Character.

William Goldsborough was buried at Peach Blossom, near the grave of his first wife, Elizabeth, and their four children. Eleven years afterwards his second wife was laid near him, and beside the grave of her first husband, George Robins. The inscription on William Goldborough's tomb is as follows:

Here is depoſited
the Body of
the Hon. Wm. Goldsborough
who died the 21ſt of Sep 1760
Aged 51 Years
He was Sometime a Member
of the Lord Proprietarys Council
and one of the Judges
of the Provincial Court
and was Juſtly Eſteemed
a faithful Councellor
an upright Judge
an Honeſt Man
and a Good Chriſtian
To his Memory
This Stone is Inſcribed
by HENRIETTA MARIA his widow.[23]

An abstract of the will of William Goldsborough is as follows:

. . . my late dwelling plantation lying upon Island Creek in Talbot Co. lands houses & appurtenances unto my loving wife, Henrietta Maria Goldsborough for life, without Impeachment of Waste, . . . & after her decease I give & devise said plantation unto my nephew Greenbury Goldsborough the son of my Brother John Goldsborough . . .

. . . unto each of my two nieces Mary Money and Ann Money (the daughters of my late Sister Mary Money) £20 Sterling . . .

. . . unto each of my brothers, Robert, Nicholas, Charles and John one Mourning Ring . . . unto my niece Caroline Goldsborough the daughter of my brother Howes lately deceased £20 sterling. . . . unto said nephew Greenbury . . . negroes Caro, Liverpool, . . . All that Tract of land lying near Choptanck Bridge in Dorchester County lately resurveyed by me Called by the name of Goldsborough's Range containing 671 acres more or less unto my Son in Law Thomas Robins. . . . unto my daughters-in-law Anna Maria Holiday, Margaret Robins, Henrietta Maria Robins, &

[23] This stone is now (1941) at Ashby; also those of Elizabeth Robins, his first wife; Robins Chamberlaine, Stanley Robins, and George Robins, the last the first husband of Henrietta Maria Tilghman.

Susannah Robins the sum of ten pounds sterling to be paid by my Executrix when it shall suit her circumstances to do it.

I give unto my daughter in Law and Goddaughter Elizabeth Robins the sum of 100£ sterling at age of 21 years . . . All residue of personal estate unto my said Loving Wife Henrietta Maria, her executors administrators and assigns for Ever . . .
No appraisement or inventory to be made . . .
Wife Henrietta Maria Goldsborough Sole Executrix.
Witnesses William Thomas, Robert Harwood, Jacob Hindman, Tris'm Thomas, Edw. Knott (Probated Nov. 5, 1760)[24]

In the autumn of 1897, one hundred and thirty-seven years after William Goldsborough's death, the great-great-granddaughter of his brother Charles (A. S. Dandridge) was moving some old books in the office at Myrtle Grove, when a yellow sheet of paper fell from one of them. On it were the following lines, in the clear handwriting of Robert, the elder brother of William Goldsborough:

Elegy To the Memory of William Goldsborough
Esq'r. late of Talbot County deceased.

From Earth removed in ev'ry Virtue warm
Adieu! bright Seraph in a human Form
To whom at once indulgent Heav'n Afsign'd
Whate'er could please or edify Mankind:
My much loved Muse Urania, heav'nly Maid,
With artlefs Grief bewails her fav'rite Dead,
No more with pleasing Harmony she sings
Nor airs soft-sounding warbles from her Strings,
Her once engaging Lyre, relax'd and broke,
Hangs now neglected on the blasted Oak.
Not causelefs Anguish this, Illustrious fhade
Thy great good deeds have thee immortal made.
Say ye, how knowing in his Country's Laws,
Who've heard him plead the injured Widow's Cause,
Who've heard him bold t'afsert the Orphan's Right,
And clear up Fraud tho hid in darkest Night:
Who've seen the guilty Felon trembling stand
As he dealt Justice with impartial Hand.
But not the Graces Science can impart,
Vy'd with his Moral Excellence of Heart:
There unaffected Goodnefs reigned, and thence
Rush'd the strong Tide of warm Benevolence.
Easy of Access In the social Hour[25]

[24] Hall of Records, D.D. 1760-1764, f. 77.
[25] Part of this line illegible.

Censure grew dumb, and Envy ceased to lour,
Surpriz'd to hear his copious Accents flow,
Wise without Art, and learned without the Show.
Just is the Tribute of the silent Tear,
To him whose Friendship ever was sincere,
Who knew to give true Merit its Reward,
Respect the humble, and the meek regard.

R. Goldsborough.

John Goldsborough, 5th of the Six Brothers

Of John Goldsborough, his father Robert writes in the Ashby Bible: "John born Fryday, October 12, 1711."

There is no record of John's death, as Robert (its second owner, who recorded there the deaths of all his other brothers), died the year before John. John Goldsborough, the 8th in date of birth of Robert of Ashby's children, outlived all of his brothers and sisters; he died in 1778, just one hundred years from the date of his father's arrival in America. He was married twice, had nine children, and has a larger number of descendants than any of the Six Brothers, among them being the Henrys of Hambrooks near Cambridge, Hammonds of Talbot, Gardners and Quinbys of New York, the families of Admiral Louis Goldsborough, of Judge Henry Hollyday Goldsborough, of Dr. Robert Goldsborough of Centreville.

John Goldsborough lived at Four Square, an estate of 1000 acres in Chapel District, Talbot, which he inherited from his father. The will of Robert of Ashby devised to John as follows:

To my Son John I do give and bequeath the Lands Called Four Square, the Triangle, Woodland Neck, and one Hundred Acres of Land Part of the Land called the Adventure together with the Cattle Sheep Hogs Horses and negroes that are on or do in any Wise belong to the said Lands and Plantations I do hereby Give unto my said Son John the third Part of the Cargo that is now in his Hands or that hath at any time been in the Hands of my said Son not accounted for . . . To my two Grandsons viz. Robert the Son of my Son Robert and to Robert the Son of my Son John, I do hereby give and bequeath five Hundred Acres of Land lying in Queen Annes County Called the Controversy to be equally divided Between them.

By his wife, Ann Turbutt, daughter of Foster Turbutt, John Goldsborough received a large accession to his already large estate, which was still further increased by his second marriage to the widow of Mr. John Loockerman.

The first public office held by John Goldsborough was that of sheriff of Talbot, then an important position. During the thirty years preceding the Revolution he was almost continuously a member of the Lower House of Assembly. The record of his votes shows full and unwavering allegiance to the Crown until such allegiance was no longer possible. He was also a member of the Stamp Act Court which passed the resolution given below, recorded in the Court Records of Talbot County.

November—At a Court of the Rt. Hon. Frederick Lord and Prop'y of the Province of Maryland and Avalon, Lord Baron of Baltimore held for Talbot County, at the Court House, in the same County the first Tuesday in November Anno Dom. 1765, before the same Prop'ry his Justices of the Peace for the County afsd of whom were present the Worshipful Major Risdon Bozman, Mr. John Goldsborough, Mr. Robert Goldsborough, Mr. William Thomas, Mr. Jonathan Nicols, Mr. Tristram Thomas, Mr. Jacob Hindman, Justices. John Bozman, Sheriff; John Leeds, Clerk.

The Justices afsd. taking into consideration an act of Parliament lately made, entitled " An Act for granting and applying certain stamp duties and other stamp duties in the British Colonies and Plantations in America," towards further defraying the expense of defending, protecting, and securing the same, and for amending such parts of the several Acts of Parliament relating to the trade and revenues of the sd. colonies and plantations, as direct the manner of determining, and recovering the penalties and forfeitures therein mentioned, and finding it impossible at this time to comply with the said act, adjourned their court until the 1st Tuesday in March, 1766. At which sd. first Tuesday in March 1766 the Justices above mentioned would not open or hold any Court.

John Goldsborough as chairman of the important " Committee of Instructions " drew up the paper guiding the conduct of the three members sent from Maryland to New York to confer with Committees from other colonies.[26] John did not live to see the outcome of the war but died in the early part of 1778. His will[27] after the usual preamble leaves to his son John his dwelling plantation of 520 acres, The Four Square, a tract called Goldsborough Tryangle, part of Adventure, Kennedy's Hazard and Kennedy's Addition. To his son William part of Chamber's Adventure containing 118 acres, a tract called Benstead's Adventure containing 64 acres, a tract called Crams Delight of 56 acres and part of a tract called Warwick containing 255 acres, should

[26] L. H. Journal, Sept. 26, 1765. [27] Talbot County, 3, f. 33.

son William die during his minority these tracts to son Greenbury and heirs. To son Robert he gives part of a tract called Summerly containing 202 acres and the adjoining 130 acres of The Four Square, also part of Warwick; should son Robert die during his minority said tracts to grandson John Goldsborough. To his daughter Mary Brice, Henrietta Maria, and "littel daughter" Ann Maria personalty. Sons Greenberry, William and Robert, and daughters Henrietta and Ann Maria to divide residue of personal estate equally. Sons John and Greenbury exs. Dated 24th February, 1778. The witnesses are James Berry [a Quaker] Samuel Thomas, William Porter and Rachel Porter. It was probated with the usual attestations before John Bracco, register of wills, 14 July, 1778.

The inventory of his estate is recorded in Vol. A, fol. 126-129, and is much too long to reproduce. A few of the items are:

Cash £391, 8 day clock walnut case £20, 1 walnut table in the room 35/, 1 ditto square in the Hall 30/, 1 Large Bible 45/, 1 old ditto 20/, 1 Aynsworth's Dictionary 60/, 22 pamphlets 22/, Coles Dictionary 30/, Bacon's abridgment 80/, 2 large Prayer Books 20/, 2 small ditto 3/9, 19 old books 70/, 24 old Lattin Books 60/, 2 old Law books 15/, Laws of Maryland unbound 7/6 34½ oz. plate A. M.)
) @ 16/8 £120.4.2
110 Oz. ditto)
There is also mentioned Queens ware, Delft, Pewter, a number of trunks, chests, a sea-chest, 27 lights for windows, Pair polished steele andirons, 7 window pullies, 3 old rugs £6 [listed with bedding no other rugs or floor coverings],
2 pair old window curtains,
1 old walnut table with drawer 17/6,
1 Bedstead and cord 20/, some old deposted bedsteads 60/,
4 old Bedsteads 40/, 2 old ditto small 10/,
4 old Bedsteads 3/9, 2 new Bedsteads 60/,
30 slaves, (noted that one hath fitts, value £5.)

The inventory of his personal estate totals £6956-3-4. The house at Four Square has disappeared but to contain all the articles listed in the inventory it must have been quite large.

Howes Goldsborough

The entry in the Ashby Bible relative to Howes, the youngest of the Six Brothers, is written by his father, Robert of Ashby. "Howes born Monday Nov. 14, 1715. Dyed the 30th March

1746." His brother Robert has added in another entry in the same Bible "Howes Nov. 1715, ob. 30 March 1746." In his will Robert of Ashby leaves to

> son Howes . . . the land called Cottingham & the land called Benjamins Lott together with all and singular the negroes (except one Negro man named Joel) Cattle, Hogs, Horses, Mares, Gelding, & sheep in or upon the said lands being or appertaining or shall or may in any way hereafter be on or belong to the land aforesaid to my son Howes & his Heirs forever.

Howes died nine months before his father and the latter added a codicil to this will "All that is given to Howes I give to Caroline his daughter. R. G."

His death is noted in the *Maryland Gazette* for Friday, April 8, 1746. "Last week died in Dorchester County Mr. Howes Goldsborough Clerk of that County. He is succeeded in office by Mr. John Caile."

It is supposed that Howes Goldsborough, when a young man, lived at Cottingham; but he soon moved to Dorset. An old sheet of paper at Myrtle Grove, with a (partial) family record written upon it says: "Howes one of the six brothers lived on Fishing Creek in Dorset County . . . . 'tis thought he marr'd Rosanna Piper."

Rose Anne Piper was the daughter of the Rev. Michael Piper, a clergyman of the Church of England, who was at the time living in Annapolis. Her birth is there recorded:

> December 1723, 22nd. Born Rose Anna Daughter of Mic'l Piper & Rose his wife Godfather Capt. Thos. Larkin, Mrs. Beale & Mrs. Trausum Godmothers, 29th Baptized Rose Anna the Daughter of Mic'l Piper psent Reg'r and Rose his wife God father Capt. Larkin Godmothers Mrs. Elizabeth Beale and Mrs. Trausum.[28]

In 1747, a year after Howes Goldsborough's death, his young widow married James Auld, then living in Dorset Co., but afterwards (1765) of Halifax, North Carolina. By her second marriage she had eight children. These Auld children are not related to the Goldsboroughs of Myrtle Grove, Shoal Creek, or Horn's Point; nor to any of the Four Square line except the descendants of John II, who married their half-sister, Caroline Goldsborough.

[28] Register of St. Ann's Parish, Annapolis, p. 422.

LETTERS OF CHARLES CARROLL, BARRISTER

(Continued from Vol. XXXVI, page 73)

Sir

I shall Ship you in your Ship the Hazzard Captain Adam Coxen now in Choptank River twenty five Tons of Pig and five Tons of Barr Iron be pleased to make Insurance for me on the said Vessell there and thence to the Port of London that in Case of Loss I may Draw two hundred pounds Clear of all Charges

I am Sir your most H^{ble} Serv^{t}

Annapolis Maryland
August 8th 1766

Cha^{s} Carroll

To Mess^{rs} W^{m} and James Anderson in London
℔ Captain Richardson
and Curling
August 13th 1766

Dear Sir

I Received yours of the 30th April Last with Account Current to that time in which you Charge my Bill to Robert Couden £68.. 18.. 2 which I believe you are mistaken as the Bill was for no more than £62.. 18.. 2 As Stevensons Ship the Isabella is not Returned and he has Trifled with me about the Iron I was to have Shipped him I have been obliged to sell it in the Country so shall not Ship any to him of which please to Inform the Insurers

I have Drawn on you to Lord Baltimore for £138 to Robert Couden £33.. 10^{s}.. 2^{d} to Clement Brooke £15 and to William Lux £6 which please to pay and Charge to my Account shall be obliged to Draw on you this fall I believe for about £150 more and hope you will have the Cash in hand for my Iron and Tobacco Shipped Last year before that time I shall ship you in your Ship the Betsey Captain Love fifteen Tons of Pigg and five Tons of Barr Iron Be pleased to make Insurance for me on her in Wye and thence to London that In case of Loss I may Draw Clear one hundred and fifty Pounds Sterling I sent you Last year Certificates for Every Pound of Iron that were Shipped in Coxen and Love both Bar and Pigg I have Lodged Ready for Coxen at Choptank twenty five Tons

of Pigg and five Tons of Bar I have not yet Heard that he is arrived

I am Dr Sir your M hble Servant

Annapolis C Carroll
July 26th 1766

To Mr William Anderson
Merchant in London
July 28th 1766 ℔ Capt Hanrick
August 16th ℔ Capt. Curling

Sir

Inclosed I send you a Certificate of the fifteen Tons of Pig and the five Tons of Bar on Board the Betsey Captain Love being Plantation made

I am Sir your most Hble Servt

Annapolis Maryland C. Carroll
August 26th 1766

To Mr William Anderson
Merchant in London
℔ Captain Love
Sent to him ℔ the Revd
Mr Love Augst 30th 1766

Sir

I shall Ship you in your Ship the Mathias Captain John Montgomerie now in Chester four Tons of Bar and twenty two Tons of Pig Iron be pleased to make Insurance for me on the said Ship there and thence to London that in Case of Loss I may Draw Clear one hundred and Seventy Pounds Sterling.

I am Sir yr Mo Hble Servt

Maryland Septemr 10th 1766 C. Carroll

To Mr William Anderson
Merchant in London
put into a Letter Bag at Mr Middletons for Capt. George Buchanan ℔ Sent ℔ Dougall McDougall
Give to Mr James Anderson to put on Board Captain Love

Invoice of Goods sent in Closed in a Letter to Mr William Anderson Merchant in London Dated the 29th of October 1766

1 pair of Chamber End Irons Shovel and Tongs—
3 Stock Locks—4 small Box Locks for Closet Doors
6 Strong best Padlocks 6 Common Ditto
6 Sheep Shears—6 Dozen scythe stones
1 Dozen best Scythes
2 Dozen best Sickles
1 Dutch oven of Copper Pretty Large
28 ℔ of F F Gun Powder
6 Large Long Handled Frying Pans
15 m 10d nails flat Points 14ll to the m
10 m 20d Ditto
6 Steel Rings for Keys two of the Smallest Size the others of a midling Size
6 Good Grind Stones
1 pair of Hand Mill Stones
50 ℔ Drop 50 ℔ Bristol and 10 ℔ Goose Shot
1 pair Light Chamber Bellows and Hearth Broom
2 Dozen best White Hard metal Pewter Plates with C in C in a Cypher
1 Dozen best Soop Ditto with Ditto
1 best Ditto Soop Dish with Ditto
1 Ditto Shallow Dish 16 Inches over
3 Ditto Ditto 14½ Inches over
4 Ditto Ditto 12½ Ditto
6 Dish and 2 Plate Covers
1 piece best white Sprig Linen
2 Ditto of Dowlass
2 Ditto very fine Irish Linen for shirting @ abt 5/
1 Ditto very fine Long Lawn
1 Ditto Lawn
1 Ditto best Holland or Irish Sheeting
1 Ditto of 2/ Irish Linen
4 very fine Damask Table Cloths ¾ by 1 0/4
4 very fine ¾ Damask Table Cloths
2 Dozen blue and White Check Handkerchfs
1 piece of Bandanae Handkerchiefs
1 Dozen mens best Felt Hats
1 Dozen mens Felt Hats ordinary
A Good Light Beaver Hat @ 18/ price
1 piece Green Livery Cloth
1 piece Scarlet Shalloon
3 ounces Scarlet Twist
1 piece Grey Fearnaught
1 Ditto Striped Duffel for Blankets
2 Ditto Cloth Coloured Kersey with Trimmings

2 Ditto blue half thick
1 Dozen mens Double worsted Caps
1 Dozen womens Large blue yarn Hose
2 Good Strong 1¾ blue Rugs
Fig Blue 6lb
Green Tea 10lb Hyson Ditto 4lb best Souching Do 2lb ordinary bohea Ditto 12 Pounds
14 Loaves Double and 14 Loaves Single refined Sugar
mace 6 oz. Cloves 6 oz—Nutmegs 6 oz—and Cinamon 12 oz—
24 Quire best Post Paper | one Ream fine fools Cap—
1 Ream of uncut Paper
6 Gross best velvet Corks
1 Pound best Bark in Powders
1 ounce of the best Brocoli seed Hardiest Sort
Best Battersea or other Asparagus seed Enough for 3 or 4 beds 30 feet Long and 6 feet Broad or Roots if Can be Got and safely sent
2 ounces of Hanover Turnip seed
1 Ditto of Early white Cabbage
1 Ditto of best Purple or Red Ditto
½ Ditto of Round Leaved Sorel seed
1 Ditto of Colly flower seed
10 Pounds best white Clover seed
2 Bushels Ray Grass seed
1 Quart best Six week Pease
1 Furkin Split Pease ½ Furkin best Scotch Barley
all Dry and well Packed and Put in a Dry Place for fear of Spoiling. Please to Recommend them to the Captain Q. if not best to send them in in the Chaffer Pod wthout being Cleaned or Threshed out
1 Case of Pickles the Case to be Strong so as to bear Sending over again with two Bottles of Anchovies two of Capers one of walnuts and one of best sweet oil
1 best Lawn Search with Parchment Cover
1 fine Hair Sifter with 2 Spare Bottoms to Ditto
6 Large Coarse Hair Sifters with 6 spare Bottoms to Ditto
6 scrubbing Brush heads
6 Broom Ditto
1 Suit Claret Coloured or any Grave Coloured Suit of Cloths the Coat made half Dress or French Frock Fashion the waistcoat with Buttons to the Bottom with 2 pair Breeches to the Suit the Coat waistcoat and Breeches the Same The Breeches wth broad Silk Garters to the Knees the waistcoat wth Shalloon or other Light Sleeves all Lined with the same Colour and a Fashionable yellow Gilt metal Button The Cloth to be about 14/ ℔ yard—
1 Good English Carpet wth Lively Colours 1¾ by 14
1 neat four Post Mahogany Bedstead 6 feet 4 Inches Long and 4 foot 6 Inches wide and 6 foot 11 Inches in hight from the Floor to the Tester Frame

1 Suit of Curtains and valins for Ditto of a Good Furniture Cotton of a Large Pattern and Rich Colours to be well Fitted and to Hang upon brads or with Hooks and Eyes so as to be Easily taken up or Down
2 pair of window Curtains 2 yards and 3 Inches Long
2 Single Ditto one yard and ¾ Long
2 Spare yards Cotton and 2 Dozen of the Binding
1 Neat Quilt for the Bed—
1 fine Cotton Counter Pain ¾ and a half—
10 pieces best Genteel paper for a bed Chamber
2 pieces of Bordering for Ditto to suit the Furniture before mentioned but not too Dark
1 Good Mahogany Beaureau wrought Furniture
1 Good Mahogany Dressing Glass wth Drawers at the Bottom—
7 pieces Common paper for a Bed Chamber with a Light stone Colour Ground and blue or Purple Figures
1 piece Matting for Passages
1 Court Callendar
Best Pamphlets about 15 or 20/ worth Nelsons Festivals
The new weeks Preparation for Receiving the Lords Supper wrote by the Author of the whole Duty of man and Published by the Kings Authority
1 Fashionable Negligee and Coat of a Light blue Lutestring or Mantua Silk, or a Changeable Pink and white
A blue Sattin Quilted Coat of Bright Colours and very Good Sattin
2 Gause Caps with Lace and Flowers
2 Suits of Fashionable Ribbon
6 pair best white Leather Gloves 6 pair Ditto mitts
2 pair best black silk mitts
2 pair of Brocade Shoes | 2 pair Sattin Ditto
2 pair fine India Cotton Hose | 2 pair fine thread Ditto
1 piece fine white Ground Cotton or Chints with Rich Colours
3 in best middling Pin 3 in short whites D^{o} 3 in minekins D^{o}
8 Genteel Enameled China punch Bowls Diff^{t} Sizes 2 of 3 Quarts 2 of 2 Quarts 2 of three pints and 2 of a Pint and a half some Plain some Scalloped
2 China Quart Muggs or Canns 2 Ditto pints
4 Quart best Flint Decanters 4 D^{o} pints Ground Stoppers
2 Dozen best Flint wine Glasses—
6 wine and water Glasses 6 Cider Ditto
1 Good strong oak Case with Lock and Key and Handles to Hold one Dozen best Flint Gallon Square Bottles with Ground Stoppers Eight of the Bottles to be Filled with best Anack the other four to be filled with best old French Brandy—two Spare Bottles that may be Provided in Case of Breakage—
4 Dozen Quart Bottles Best oporto Southampton if to be had if not to be had best Light wine well Corked

8 Dozen pint Bottles of Ditto—
Pray let the above be Carefully Packed up and the Contents of the Package marked on the outside to Prevent Carelessness
1 Gross Brass metal Buttons Coat and vest Plain and well shanked—
4 Best Curry Combs without Brushes
1 Dozen best shaving wash Balls not much Perfumed
3 Dozen Packs Playing Cards—

Dear Sir

Inclosed I send you An Invoice of Goods for myself which I would have of the Best in there Kinds and safely Packed.

The two Trunks sent me in Last year Tho' they Cost me five Guineas Each were Thrown into the Hold I suppose as Common ones and almost shattered to pieces. I hope all my Pig and Bar Iron Shipped you this year will Git safe and too a Good market—some of this Bar our Clerk tells me is Drawn out to suit the Navy Smiths According to the Directions we have had sent us in

I have this year made no Tobacco or you should have had it by Montgomerie our Inspection Law obliges us to pay all Public Charges Fees and Levies for all our Taxables in Tobacco if we make any. Any where and I have so many Employed in other Business that I Lost by making at the Plantation my wife had so I turned them to the Iron and Farming Business.

The List of seeds I sent you I took from Hales Compleat Body of Husbandry Lately Published I have wrote to you by a young man of our Town one Charles Wilson Peale and Desired you would advance him on my Account a sum not Exceeding in the whole Twenty or Twenty five Guineas as my motive is Purely to Enable him to put Himself into some method of Gaining a Little Insight into the Profession of Limning and Painting which he seems to have a Turn for I hope he will make a Good use of it.

I shall be much obliged if youl Direct Love or whoever brings my Goods to take the seed into the Cabbin or if two Bulky to put it into some Dry place I Lost all the Ray Grass seed Grey Pease &c sent the year before Last if they were worth any thing when Put on board by the Heat of the Ships, to the Amount of seven or Eight Pounds Sterling and all my Labour in Sowing them as not one Came up.

If Eccleston should be Dead or have Lost my measure send me in

the Cloth &c Enough for the suit of Clothes mentioned in the Invoice

I wrote for some Port wine &c if your vintners will use me well I will Take annually about the same Quantity of them, as the Liquors are for my own use I would have the best. I have often Desired the Captain to Pick me up some Good French Brandy in the Downs as they may do it Cheap and they have Promised but failed so must have it with the Duties on

There is or was when I was with you a Kind of Port Called Southampton a sound Light wine I mention that in the Invoice but if that Cant be Got so as to be Depended upon I would have your vintner Put me up the Lightest and Best he has well Corked I wrote for some in pints as it spoils if Kept open and two or three such Flimsy Fellows as I am may not be able to Finish a Bottle when the Cork is Drawn. Peggy tells me she Intends to write to her Cousin Pray make my kind Compliments to Her and all yours and believe me to be with sincere wishes for your wellfare

Dear Sir your M h^{ble} Serv^{t}

Annapolis Maryland
October 29th 1766 C. Carroll

To M^{r} William Anderson
Merchant in London
Novemb^{r} 4th 1766

℔ Captain Hamilton

Sir

The Bearer hereof Charles Wilson Peale a young man of this Town has a Turn for Limning and some other Branches of Painting He has Likewise Pretensions to an Interest in oxfordshire as his Circumstances are but Low I am willing to advance twenty or twenty five Guineas to Enable him to take a Trip to England to see what he Can make of his Pretensions and to Get some further Insight into the Profession. I Desire therefore that you will at times as he shall want it Let him have in the whole to the amount of the above Sum and Charge the same to my Account If it Lays in your way and you Can Recommend him to the Employ of or Git Him Introduced to any of the Profession it may be of Service to him and I shall be obliged to you as I have no other motive to what I advance

but to Give him an opportunity of Improving Himself That he may be better able to Support himself and Family I hope he will behave with Diligence and Frugality

I am Sir your M h^ble^ Serv^t^

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland
October 30^th^ 1766
To M^r^ William Anderson
Merchant in London

Sir

Inclosed I send you a Bill of Lading for The Iron in Coxen. our Company in Baltimore Iron works have Come to a Resolution to have all their Goods for the works use from one House as they will then have them all in the Country Together and Save in Packages and to Draw Bills to their Clerk to Remit for them so that I have Drawn a Bill on you to M^r^ Clement Brooke for one Hundred Pounds of this Date at Sixty Days Sight for my one Fifth. I hope you have been Long since in Cash for my Iron and Tobacco sent Last year as I have Drawn on you Likewise of this Date to Charles Carroll Esq^r^ for Thirty two Pounds three shillings and shall have occasion to Draw for Seventy or Eighty Pounds more I believe this Fall Viz. to the Executors of M^rs^ Ann Carroll for fifty or Sixty and to some others for twenty or Thirty Pounds my Goods I would have Purchased on the Iron This year sent by Love Coxen and Montgomerie. Please to add to the Invoice in mine of the 29^th^ of October Last the Goods under mentioned send them all Insured so that in Case of Loss I may Draw Cost and Charges.

I am Sir your most H^ble^ Serv^t^

C. Carroll

Annapolis Maryland
November 3^d^ 1766
To M^r^ William Anderson
Merchant in London

℔ Captain Hamilton

1 Green Damask Curtain Like the Pattern of the Damask Inclosed and the same Lace 2½ y^ds^ and 2 Inches Long and two Breaths wide

one Brass Rod for Ditto two foot 6½ Inches Long
two Hooks for Ditto
12 ounces Double Parsley seed
3 ounces best Kind of Burage seed such as is used for Cool Tankards
6 pair of mens Good Cotton Hose
4 pair womens Callimanes Shoes
two Best Hair mattresses
six mahogany framed Chamber Chairs at about a Guinea Each with Carpet or any other Bottoms that will suit the Bed and other Furniture wrote for

N. B. you need not send the Loose Carpet Bottoms for Chairs mentioned in the former Invoice.

Sir

I have of this Date Drawn on you Payable to George Plater Esquire or order at Sixty Days Sight on account of the Legatees of Mrs Ann Carroll for fifty nine Pounds which Please to pay I have wrote for some Pewter this year The Pewter Last sent me In I think about five or six years ago, was of such a Cast that it was impossible to Git Bright or Keep so
My wife Desires that this may be of the Best & Brightest whether it be Called Pewter or Hard metal or by what other Denomination the Best Table Plates and Dishes are Called

I am Sir your most Hble Servt

Chas Carroll

Annapolis Maryland
November 7th 1766
℔ Captain Hamilton

(*To be continued*)

BOOK REVIEWS

Archives of Maryland, LVII: Proceedings of the Provincial Court of Maryland, 1666-1670. Court Series (8). Published by Authority of the State under the Direction of the Maryland Historical Society. J. Hall Pleasants, Editor; Louis Dow Scisco, Associate Editor. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1940. lxii, 647 pp. $3.00.

This fifth volume of records of the Provincial Court of Maryland, maintains the high standard of accuracy and fine bookmaking long established in publication of the *Archives*. It comprises in an introduction the now usual thorough study of the contents by Dr. Pleasants, the editor, a text of 624 pages, and an abundant index of 23 pages by a skilled hand. It would be difficult to suggest an improvement in it, and the standard maintained will hardly be excelled in work of this kind.

As must be expected, the reader would not find much difference in the character of entries, or in the business of the court, from that found in the record of the years immediately preceding, reproduced in 1932 as Volume XLIX of the Archives. We still see through them a community of English people dwelling on the edge of a new continent, far from England, but busy with the administration of justice in the English forms of the times. There is exhibited more training in those forms, a closer adherence to professional language and methods. Professional lawyers were now taking charge. Seventeen were admitted to practice in the court in these five years. One of them, John Morecroft, in respect to the frequency of his appearances, almost overshadows all others. In his time, indeed, he was described as the best lawyer in the province. Inventories and accounts of the estates of these men, now in the Hall of Records, show the possession of law books. Morecroft, for instance, dying in 1673, left a "Parcell of Boocks," valued at 1600 pounds of tobacco.

This record, again, affords a comparatively intimate acquaintance with the manner of living in the early provincial period. The continental forest is close about the settlers; cattle range the woods, debtors conceal themselves in them. Inventories show equipment for life about the same as that possessed in England. There was no thought of living in a new manner, except as might be compelled. It is quite possible that a synthesis of the information contained in these court records may some day give us a better picture of the time and place than is available from any other sources. An instance of lively portrayal is seen in a formal charge that a man and his wife on whom a sheriff sought to serve a writ took his cutlass from him and cut off the hair on one side of his head, a degree of mutilation which will be appreciated when it is recalled that the hair on the other side was left a foot or more long.

When the earlier records of seventeenth century court proceedings were published, doubtless the attention of nearly all readers was first centered on these details of the picturesque life of the time, long outmoded. For

many readers it may well be otherwise now. This publication emphasizes a fact which has hitherto been a commonplace, but which recent events have promoted to first importance. Now we have it pressed upon our attention that the common law of English-speaking people, with its elaborate methods of preserving freedom in individuals, and insuring justice to them, is of great antiquity, and bred in the bone. Here we see every man charged with crime, large or small, first given consideration by a grand jury of citizens, then if indicted by that grand jury, and only if so indicted, put to trial by another jury of citizens, if he wished it, in public, on the sworn testimony of witnesses, and upon set principles of law controlling judges, lawyers and private citizens alike. So in civil cases, set principles of law and publicity of all prevail in determining private rights and obligations. Every man lives by principles which he may cite to establish his rights. A rule of law and not of men.

There are imperfections in this work of judicature, because men are imperfect, and our civilization has been a growth. But we see in it, as we may see to-day, an inheritance of tremendous value to us, though managed without consciousness of that value, and merely because men knew no other way, an inheritance of justice and liberty the validity of which is to our astonishment now denied, and which is put on the defensive.

CARROLL T. BOND

David Glasgow Farragut, Admiral in the Making. By CHARLES LEE LEWIS. Annapolis: U. S. Naval Institute, [1941]. 372 pp. $3.75.

Farragut was not a brilliant man; he achieved greatness through his singlemindedness. All his life long he had but the one aim: to serve his country at sea. He becomes an appealing and sympathetic figure through his very ordinariness; he is the average man with this distinction, that he always hewed to his own line. The story of his early life therefore, does not make very exciting reading, though there are some high spots, such as his voyage down the Mississippi at the age of six in a flat-boat captained by his brave mother, and the romantic cruise of the *Essex* ending in bloody defeat at Valparaiso. Farragut's family was broken up when he was eight years old and he was taken under the protection of David Porter, then a Master-Commandant in the Navy. It seems almost incredible nowadays, but Farragut was already on the muster rolls of the Navy as ship's boy in 1810 when he was not yet 9 years old. Before he was 10 he was appointed midshipman by warrant. Thereafter he was known aboard ship as Mr. Farragut and expected to be obeyed by the enlisted men.

As a small boy in the war of 1812 he participated in the bloodless capture of several merchant ships and in a real fight with the British Sloop-of-War *Alert*, the first British warship to be taken. This was followed by the marvellous cruise of the *Essex* to the Cape Verde Islands, back to Rio Janeiro around Cape Horn and to the Galapagos Islands.

Farragut was actually in command of a prize-ship at the age of 12. Afterwards they visited the Marquesas in the South Seas, then almost unknown and for that reason doubly romantic. Then back to Valparaiso where they met disaster.

In 1815 Farragut served as midshipman and captain's aide aboard the ship-of-the-line *Independance* and participated in the expedition against the Dey of Algiers, but was not lucky enough to get into the fighting. After that the story is of routine life in the Navy until 1838 when, as commander of the Sloop *Erie*, he witnessed the bombardment of San Juan de Ulloa by the French. Eight years later when we got into trouble with Mexico, Farragut was under a slight cloud with the Navy authorities and though he saw tedious service in Mexican waters he was not allowed to fight. In 1854 he performed a useful but unwarlike service in establishing the Mare Island Navy Yard in California. His good sense and firmness during the Vigilante troubles prevented matters from becoming much worse. The present book brings his story up to the eve of the Civil War. A second volume dealing with the great exploits of Farragut's life is to follow.

Mr. Lewis, for many years professor of English and History at the United States Naval Academy, is an experienced performer in the field of naval biography. He has written a conscientious and painstaking book presenting everything that is known about Farragut in an agreeable and interesting fashion. Much material not heretofore available has been included.

HULBERT FOOTNER.

The Government of Montgomery County, Maryland. A Survey Made at the Request of The Board of County Commissioners. By a Survey Staff of The Brookings Institution. [Washington, D. C.:] The Brookings Institution, 1941. xxiv, 740 pp. $3.50.

This remarkable book is the result of the operation of democracy at its best. It represents a combination of the efforts of civically minded citizens of a county, the county governmental officials, and a distinguished privately endowed research institution.

As might be expected, the reason for this survey lay in the recognition that forms and procedures of county government usually have changed slowly, haphazardly, and thus are not well suited to the requirements of modern community living.

I have called this a " remarkable " book. There is, of course, the competent nature of the technical research. But this is to be expected when a job is undertaken by the staff of The Brookings Institution. The striking thing is that citizens of Montgomery County not only felt that improvements could be made in their government, though it stands well in Maryland, but also acted in a definite manner. Perhaps even more unusual is the cooperation given the survey staff by the county government officials who could not help but feel that such a study must result

in recommendations in some cases disturbing to the prerogatives of a dominant political party and even to the security of some individual office holders. Such cooperation required courage and intelligence of a high order.

There is no place in this review for the items of the contents. A historical background is sketched, then each part of the Montgomery County government is studied in detail. After such a survey of each department usually comes a series of specific recommendations. The volume closes with general recommendations, such as the substitution of civil service for political appointments, a county administrator, a non-partisan county council. Also the citizens receive suggestions about possible methods for bringing about such changes.

As a contribution to Maryland archives, this book is distinctive. As a treatise or case study of a county's government in the United States it is indispensable. But for the civic and political leaders in every section of Maryland it must be considered an invitation, a challenge to better government.

VERTREES J. WYCKOFF

University of Maryland

The Hammond-Harwood House and Its Owners. By ROSAMOND RANDALL BEIRNE and EDITH ROSSITER BEVAN. Annapolis: Hammond-Harwood House Association, 1941. 68 pp. 50 cents.

The city of Annapolis, enveloped in tradition, has retained her original glamor more than most American cities with equal claim to fame. This is due, in part, to the fact that she has suffered less from encroaching modernism and, in contrast to Williamsburg, for instance, her need has been for preservation rather than restoration.

The most perfect example of the beauty of her architecture is the Hammond-Harwood House, whose history is traced in this slim volume. It is natural that with a subject so rich in historic association, legend and fact have become intermingled, and the authors, in including both, differentiate between them as accurately as possible.

The book as a whole has excellent continuity. The opening chapter gives the pre-Revolutionary background, and this is followed by short sketches of the builder of the house and its architect. The description of the home itself becomes the fitting climax and the last section is devoted to the genealogy and pursuits of the subsequent owners.

The format, the choice of illustrations and the appropriate end-papers are all in keeping with the content and the bibliography is sufficient proof of the care exercised by Mrs. Beirne and Mrs. Bevan to present a correct and inclusive picture.

MARY G. HOWARD

The Historical Development of State Normal Schools for White Teachers in Maryland. By MARY CLOUGH CAIN, (Columbia University Contributions to Education, No. 824). New York: Teachers College, 1941. 184 pp. $1.85.

Seventy-five Years of Teacher Education. By a Committee of the Alumni of the State Teachers College at Towson, Md. Towson: State Teachers College Alumni Association, 1941. 180 pp. $1.00.

These books, written, apparently, quite independently of each other, are valuable additions to the meager history of teacher training in Maryland. Dr. Cain reviews the early history of public education in Maryland, and the growth of the Normal School movement in the state from 1820 to the present. Her book is scholarly, carefully documented, eminently readable. Unfortunately, it lacks an index.

The State Teachers College volume confines itself to a review of the history of that institution for the seventy-five years from its establishment in 1866. In a series of biographical sketches the several contributions to the book present sympathetic studies of the men and women who have successively administered the State Normal School (now the State Teachers College). An attractive book, embellished with excellent portraits.

The active movement for the systematic training of teachers in Maryland dates back to 1850, when the Board of School Commissioners of Baltimore City suggested in their report to the Mayor that the city high schools be used as normal schools. In 1851, following this suggestion, courses in the "art and practice of teaching" were started in Eastern and Western High Schools, Baltimore, and were continued for several years. They proved inadequate, however, and in 1857 the Baltimore Board of School Commissioners got busy again. They pointed out that Maryland lagged behind most other states in providing funds for the systematic education of its future teachers, and earnestly recommended the establishment of a State Normal School. However, the 1858 legislature did nothing about it, and the "131 females and 4 males" who were enrolled in the teacher training classes had to continue their work under increasingly difficult conditions.

In 1860 the normal classes were placed in one school, and the Board ruled that attendance on such classes should be a prerequisite for a teaching appointment.

There was little change in the situation during the Civil War years; but in 1865 the General Assembly of Maryland passed an act authorizing the establishment of a "normal college" for the training of public school teachers. Promptly the State Board of Education organized the State Normal School, secured Red Men's Hall at 24 N. Paca Street, Baltimore, to house it; and there, on January 15, 1866, it duly began its institutional existence with eleven students. All but one of these were from Baltimore City; but by the end of the term sixty-eight students were enrolled, with about one-third the number from the counties. Prof. M. A. Newell was the first principal.

In 1876 the State Normal School moved into its new building on

Lafayette and Carrollton Avenues, Baltimore, and continued its work there until its removal to Towson in 1915. Baltimore City continued to train its teachers there until 1924, when the Baltimore Training School for Teachers was merged with the State Normal School and its students sent to Towson. And there they go today.

Dr. Cain's book also reviews the history of the Salisbury and Frostburg Normal Schools, as well as the various sporadic efforts made by private institutions to afford some sort of professional training for the teachers of the state.

ERNEST J. BECKER

Edgar Allan Poe Letters and Documents in the Enoch Pratt Free Library. Edited By ARTHUR H. QUINN and RICHARD H. HART. New York: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1941. 100 pp. $3.00.

Scholars are always glad to learn that materials for literary history have found their way from the precarious custody of private hands into some well-equipped library. When that library finds means to list and reprint the most important of such documents the service to scholarship is more than doubled. Such a service is rendered by Dr. Quinn and Mr. Hart in their reproduction and editing of material from a family collection of papers left by Mrs. Clemm, cared for and added to by Miss Amelia Poe, and in 1936 given by her niece, Miss Margaret C. Carey, to the Enoch Pratt Library.

Had Poe lived a sheltered life and kept voluminous diaries, Mrs. Clemn would doubtless have been able to preserve a great quantity of memorabilia. What has come down to us is pitifully scanty but all the more precious. Some of the letters now reprinted have already appeared, though not always fully or accurately reproduced; others are in print for the first time; and all are accompanied by clear and helpful notes. The general reader as well as the specialist will find the little volume full of human interest.

It is strange that even in this work, so close to the real Edgar Poe, the obstinate printing press should succeed in spelling his middle name Allen. Perhaps we had better agree to call the poet, as he usually wrote his name, Edgar A. Poe, though that name trips less easily on the tongue than the metrical Edgar Allan Poe.

JOHN C. FRENCH

The Johns Hopkins University

Merlin, Baltimore, 1827, Together with Recollections of Edgar A. Poe by Lambert A. Wilmer. Edited with Notes and Introduction by THOMAS OLLIVE MABBOTT. New York: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1941. 38 pp. $1.50.

Though Wilmer's *Merlin* is now published primarily as a Poe document, one's interest in it and gratification at having it available is centered more

in the author than in his poetic drama. That Wilmer chose the name Elmira for his heroine because he had learned from William Leonard Poe the story of Edgar's thwarted romance is not unlikely; but whether it is fair to regard the play as "imaginative treatment" of the story is a matter about which there may be differences of opinion. The parallel is not very close and analogs of star-crossed lovers are abundant. Had Wilmer known Poe in 1827 as well as he did five years later, we might interpret *Merlin* as an allegory designed to assure Poe that his ship would yet come in, but there is no evidence that the friendship existed at that date.

In any event, *Merlin* deserved the attention which Dr. Mabbot has given it and has a place in our literary history alongside Drake's *Culprit Fay* and other fairy verse. Wilmer's comments on Poe also deserve reprinting, for he knew the poet intimately in the obscure Baltimore years and was prompt to attack Griswold's spurious "biography" as soon as it appeared. Too much of the testimony about this period has come to us in reminiscences written long years after the events and after Poe's rise to fame; and consequently none too convincing. It is to be hoped that Dr. Mabbott's work will evoke more information about Wilmer and so throw still more light on our poet's most significant years.

JOHN C. FRENCH

The Johns Hopkins University

Vashington, ou la Liberté du Nouveau Monde. Tragédie en Quartre Actes par Billardon de Sauvigny. Editée avec une Introduction et des Notes par GILBERT CHINARD . . . Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941. xli, 75 pp. $3.50.

At first blush, one is inclined to take issue with Professor Chinard's assurance that this dusty old tragedy, first performed and published at Paris in 1791, is worth saving from oblivion. The editor, aided by four scholarly acolytes, has supplied a wealth of historical and literary footnotes, and the Princeton University Press has done its work as beautifully as one would expect; but to a non-French reader (and, one ventures to think, to most French readers as well) the steady grind of "heroic" verse, the posturings, the declamations, and the complete disregard of historic fact make hard going indeed.

When one is on the verge of bogging down, however, one should realize that this heavy, unreal tragedy (the object of which was, as Dr. Chinard says, to bring about a sort of fusion of the American and French revolutions) was, for the Frenchmen of its day, charged with dynamite. It was a sort of eighteenth-century *Uncle Tom's Cabin;* the impact of such works was no less terrific because we find it difficult to understand their potency today. The republication of *Vashington* has particular point now because, in the strange reasoning of the Vichy Government and its supporters among the French intellectuals, it was just such books as this

that caused France to run off the safe tracks of Royalism and Catholicism and plunge into the long course of political errors that culminated in the "Entente Cordiale."

J. G. D. Paul

Proceedings of the Clarke County Historical Association, Volume I. Berryville, Virginia: The Association, 1941. 39 pp. $1.00.

A somewhat new approach to the study of local Virginia history and to the preservation of material of historic and antiquarian interest, has been taken by the recently organized Clarke County Historical Association of Berryville. In the first number of its *Proceedings,* a well gotten up illustrated booklet of thirty-nine pages, we are told that the activities of the Association will be directed towards listing and photographing early paintings and portraits, to transcribing tombstone inscriptions in private and public graveyards, to the preservation of original documents and letters now in private hands, and to making a permanent record of personal recollections and traditions bearing on Clarke County history. Already the Association has conducted an active campaign of photographing and preserving the negatives of nearly three hundred Clarke County family portraits, a notable accomplishment and one equalled by few state historical societies.

Probably more than any other Virginia county, Clarke, originally a part of Frederick County, still carries into its every day life the gracious social tradition of Colonial tidewater Virginia. The post-Revolutionary migration over the Blue Ridge from tidewater, especially from the James River region and the Northern Neck brought to this neighborhood Burwells, Byrds, Carters, Cookes, Lees, Mayos, Meades, Nelsons, Pages, Randolphs, Whitings, and others bearing distinguished Virginia names, verily a roll call of the Colonial tidewater governing class. Many of these settled on lands in the Millwood neighborhood, originally taken up by Robert ("King") Carter. Descendants bearing these same names still hold sway in Clarke. "Carter Hall," the most notable house in this neighborhood, was built about 1790, by Col. Nathaniel Burwell, a grandson of "King" Carter, upon land once owned by him. In this booklet will be found listed and briefly described this and other fine early Republic houses still standing in Clarke.

If the Association carries out its plan to secure photographs of the portraits of the forebears of those now living in Clarke, whether these paintings be now in that neighborhood or scattered far and wide over the country, there will be brought together the most comprehensive collection to be found anywhere of notable Virginians of the ruling class of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. While in this, the first issue of its *Proceedings,* there will be found listed under subjects, with the names of owners and artists, photographs of some two hundred and eight family portraits, nearly one hundred more have been added to the collection since its publication, and the photographing of others is still

being actively carried on. The officers and members of the Association are to be congratulated upon the way the new society has been launched and upon its first publication. Anyone interested in Virginia history will do well to become a member of the Clarke County Historical Association.

J. Hall Pleasants

Long Meadows. By Minnie Hite Moody. New York: Macmillan, 1941. xi, 657 pp. $3.00.

Here is a fictional chronicle of the Hite family from 1705 to 1864, tracing its movements from Strasburg to Amsterdam, Kingston on the Hudson, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana. It revolves around 'Long Meadows,' the home site in the Valley of Virginia and the spreading out from there of the successive generations carrying with them old treasures and old tales. There are pictures of the life of the German-Dutch settlers and of the different parts acted by their descendants, including participation in an amazing number of episodes important in American history. The last section deals with cavalry manoeuvers in the Valley during the Civil War, and ends with Virginia and Indiana Hites facing each other on the field of battle and dying together on family land.

The author says in her Foreword that the book is a novel, neither history nor genealogy. The reader will wonder, however, if Mrs. Moody has not allowed herself to become involved over-much in the details of military action and the ramifications of family lineage. Certainly some of the descriptions drag heavily, and a chart showing the various Hite branches would be of real assistance. The chronicle traces the development of a prominent pioneer family over the years of its establishment and growth, and sketches a faithful historical narrative, even if the canvas is rather crowded and the going slow.

William D. Hoyt, Jr.

Inventory of the Church Archives of Maryland. Protestant Episcopal: Diocese of Maryland. Prepared by the Maryland Historical Records Survey Project. Baltimore: The Project, 1940. 310 pp.

This volume, the first to appear in a series of church record inventories, lists the manuscripts and records in the Maryland Diocesan Library, Baltimore, and gives a brief historical account of each church with a list of available records. It serves, therefore not only as an historical manual for the Diocese but also as a guide to those searching for the wealth of historical and genealogical material to be found in church archives. Copies of the work may be obtained from the Historical Records Survey of Maryland.

Richard B. Sealock

Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Prepared by the Historical Records Survey. Philadelphia: The Society, 1940. 350 pp. $3.75.

The scope of 1141 collections in the Manuscript division of the Society's library has been briefly noted. The scholar and writer now has definite and detailed information concerning this outstanding collection of American historical papers. Frequent references to Maryland boundaries, religion and social conditions are to be found in the index.

R. B. S.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

The Abercrombies of Baltimore: A Genealogical and Biographical Sketch of the Family of David Abercrombie. . . . By Ronald Taylor Abercrombie. Baltimore: Privately printed, 1940.

The Hundred Year History of the German Correspondent, Baltimore, Maryland. By Edmund E. Miller. [Baltimore: Baltimore Correspondent Printing Co., 1941]. 24 pp. 25c.

American Portrait Inventory. 1440 Early American Portrait Artists (1663-1860) . . . Compiled by the New Jersey Historical Records Survey Project. . . . Newark, N. J.: the Project, 1940. 288, [18] pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Howard Family, Ohio—(1) Doyne Dawson and Ruth Howard were married Dec. 9, 1817, in Jefferson Co., Ohio. Their children were: John, Elizabeth, and Thomas Dawson, who received legacies from their grandfather, Joshua Howard's estate, in Jefferson Co., Ohio, in 1839-1842. Ruth Howard died before 1825 and Doyne Dawson married 2nd Elizabeth Thompson. Doyne Dawson was known as "Dines" Dawson. Would like information or to contact any descendants of this family, and of the following:

(2) John and Nathan Dunham, who received legacies from Joshua Howard's estate in 1839, they being children of Nathan and Ann (Howard) Dunham who were married, June 11, 1811, Jefferson Co., Ohio. Joshua Howard lived in Warren Tp., Jefferson Co., Ohio.

(3) John and Joshua Howard, sons of Cornelius and Jemmima (Meek) Howard, who were married in Jefferson Co., Ohio, April 29, 1824; Cornelius Howard being the son of Joshua Howard, already mentioned. He died Nov. 19, 1828, at age 27; his sons, John and Joshua Howard, received legacies from their grandfather's estate in 1841-1842. Jemmima (Meek) Howard married 2nd Nathan Johnston, Mch. 26, 1831, in Jefferson Co., Ohio.

(4) James and Sarah (Howard) Vaughan (or Vaun) who received legacies from Joshua Howard's estate in 1842; Sarah Howard being the daughter of Joshua Howard deceased.

(5) Enoch Howard, son of Joshua Howard, who received legacy from his father's estate in 1840. Whom did Enoch Howard marry?

(6) William and Mary (Howard) Hart, who received legacies from Joshua Howard's estate in 1839-1841. Mary (Howard) Hart, daughter of Joshua Howard, married William Hart May 1, 1827.

(7) John Howard, son of Joshua Howard who received legacy from his father's estate in 1839. Whom did John Howard marry? Was his wife Eliza Dehuff?

Vernie Dawson Lee (Mrs. Robert E. Lee),
Willmore Hotel, Long Beach, Calif.

Daniel Coker—In D. A. Payne's History of the A. M. E. Church there is a collation of a book by Daniel Coker entitled *A Dialogue Between a Virginian and an African Minister,* published in Baltimore in 1810. Bragg in his *Men of Maryland* also refers to this work, but Loggins in *The Negro Author* doubts its existence. A thirty years' search of my own has failed to locate a copy. I am wondering if any of your readers can throw any light on this matter.

Arthur B. Spingarn,
36 West 44th St., New York City.

Walker-Heffner—My great grand father, George Walker (German Volker or Voelker), was a soldier in the Revolutionary War. He married Margaret Heffner, daughter of Albertus Heffner and Maria Catherina (Konig) Heffner, who resided in Frederick Co., Maryland, in 1776. The marriage is supposed to have taken place there, or in Washington Co. since Catherine Heffner is buried in the Jacobs Lutheran churchyard in Washington Co., just north of Leitersburg. Can any one supply the date of George Walker's marriage, or of the Christening of Jacob Walker who was born April 23, 1785?

Mrs. Florence Cruickshank,
Hallowell, Kansas.

Elgin—Francis Jr.; Walter and Gustavus Elgin came from St. Mary's Co., Md., to Loudoun Co., Va., before the Revolution and all of them served with the Virginia troops during the Revolution. Were they the sons of Francis Elgin, Sr.? Or who were their parents?

William Poston—Married Sarah Hamil (daughter of Stephen Hamil) in Maryland. He came from Charles Co., Md., to Washington Co., Va.,

about 1794-5. Was he the son of John Poston? If not, who were his parents?

Narcissa P. Tynes (Mrs. C. F. Tynes),
413 Frederick St., Bluefield, W. Va.

A Guide to the Ten Major Depositories of Manuscript Collections in New York State is in course of preparation by the Historical Records Survey under the editorship of Arthur E. Bestor Jr. of Teachers College, Columbia University. It will be sponsored by the Middle States Association of History and Social Science Teachers.

The July number of *The American Neptune,* the new quarterly journal of maritime history, contains a contribution by William D. Hoyt, Jr., "Two Prize Masters from the Baltimore Privateer *Lawrence,* 1814," consisting of two papers from the collection of the Maryland Historical Society, with introductory comments.

Contributors to this Number

The long needed study of the confused political situation in Maryland during Civil War days, of which two chapters are herein presented, is the work of a native of Howard County, now assistant professor of social sciences in West Georgia College, a division of the University of Georgia. Charles Branch Clark is an alumnus of Washington College, and holds the degrees of A. M. from Duke University, and Ph. D. from the University of North Carolina. ☆ From the University of Toledo, Ohio, George Harrison Orians, professor of English literature, sends the account of early tourneys. Dr. Orians has devoted extensive study to the *motifs* employed in American fiction before 1860, and has contributed to various journals, including *Modern Language Notes*, of Baltimore. He is the author of *A Short History of American Literature* and co-editor of *American Local Color Stories,* published this month. ☆ D. Sterett Gittings, elder statesman of the Maryland turf and director of the Maryland Jockey Club, is the author of *Maryland and the Thoroughbred* (1932) and of various articles on horses and horsemen. ☆ Joseph T. Wheeler has contributed to the Magazine for several years past a series of articles discussing the literary culture of the Maryland colony. ☆ A member of the staff of the University of Virginia's Alderman Library, William D. Hoyt, Jr. has been a frequent contributor to the Magazine. ☆ Roberta Bolling Henry (Mrs. Robert Goldsborough Henry) as the mistress of Myrtle Grove, one of Talbot County's finest colonial estates, is the custodian of many Goldsborough treasures and of the genealogical notes and papers of the late Miss Dandridge.

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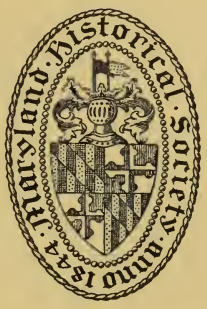
The Maryland Historical Magazine



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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933,

Of Maryland Historical Magazine, published quarterly at Baltimore, Maryland, for October, 1941.

State of Maryland, City of Baltimore, ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared James W. Foster, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of the Maryland Historical Magazine, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. Editor, James W. Foster, 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. Managing Editor, none. Business Manager, none.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

George L. Radcliffe, President
J. Hall Pleasants, Vice-President
William B. Marye, Secretary

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)

None.

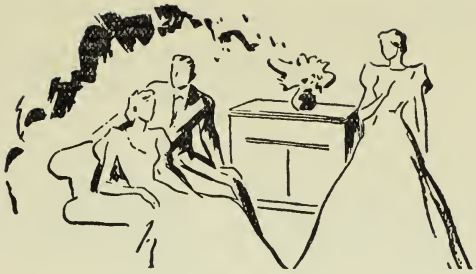
JAMES W. FOSTER,
Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 23rd day of September 1941.

JOHN BROENING, JR.,
Notary Public.

[SEAL]

My commission expires May 3, 1943.



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The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1843, has been engaged in collecting, preserving and disseminating information relating to the history of the State. Through its services to scholars and others in making available collections of research materials, and through its publications, the Society has occupied and always should occupy an important place in the cultural life of Maryland.

Since 1906 the Society has published *The Maryland Historical Magazine.* There are monthly meetings from October to May, inclusive, at which addresses of a historical or literary nature are given. Those interested in the objects of the Society are invited to have their names proposed for membership. The annual dues are $5.00, life membership $100.00. Subscription to *The Maryland Historical Magazine* is included in the membership fee of five dollars, as well as the use of the Society's collections and admission to the monthly lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open on every day of the week except Sundays.

The Society depends on the people of Maryland and its friends elsewhere for its maintenance. The gift of documents and books and donations or bequests to the endowment fund, have made it possible to build up a notable historical library. The collections include not only manuscripts dealing with the social, political and military history of the State, but also letters, diaries, business accounts, maps, newspapers, pamphlets, prints and photographs. Only by a continuance of interest in the Society will it be possible to preserve and catalogue its present collections and, of equal importance, to acquire new documents recording the rich history of the people of Maryland. In short, the usefulness of the Maryland Historical Society depends not only upon the number of its members, but upon their generosity as well.

The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XXXVI DECEMBER, 1941 No. 4

JOSHUA BARNEY AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

By BERNARD MAYO

When William Wirt was writing his biography of Patrick Henry and having difficulty in finding material on his subject, St. George Tucker commiserated with him on the indifference of Virginians to their great men. It seemed to Tucker that even Socrates would have been soon forgotten in the Ancient Dominion.[1] This same sort of indifference has obscured the merits of a number of Maryland's distinguished sons, and among them until recently has been Joshua Barney of Baltimore. To most Americans his name, if it meant anything at all, vaguely recalled the gallant defense of Washington in 1814 made by Barney's marines and flotilla-men at William Wirt's home town of Bladensburg. Yet this was but one of the Marylander's many exploits and public services. Happily he has now been rescued from an undeserved obscurity by Mr. Hulbert Footner's robust and stirring biography, *Sailor of Fortune: The Life and Adventures of Commodore Barney, U. S. N.*[2]

It is not the purpose here to recount what Mr. Footner has already told, but rather to throw a little additional light on one phase of Joshua Barney's career. In editing for the American Historical Association a volume comprising the instructions sent by the British foreign secretaries to Britain's envoys in America from 1791 to 1812, several items have been discovered which are pertinent to the man. The Foreign Office archives reveal that

[1] St. George Tucker to Wirt, April 4, 1813, in John P. Kennedy, *Memoirs of the Life of William Wirt* (2 vols., Phila., 1850), I, 317.

[2] Published by Harper and Brothers, New York, 1940. It was reviewed by Mr. William B. Crane in *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXV (Sept., 1940), 303-305.

Barney's Baltimore during these years was regarded by British diplomats as a "Mob Town," a hotbed of radical Jeffersonian Republicans who illegally fitted out French privateers in the 1790's to prey on British commerce, and who frequently mobbed Britons and Americans for daring to say a kind word in favor of George the Third and the ruling British Tories. The activities of Barney himself only confirmed their unfavorable opinion of Baltimore. Already well known to the British for his naval exploits during the American Revolution, Barney became a very painful thorn in the flesh of John Bull when the great war began in 1793 between Britain and France. Quite naturally, Britain's diplomats looked with disfavor upon this Baltimore merchant-shipowner who traded with Britain's enemy, ran afoul of Britain's privateers and vice-admiralty courts, and for several years raided British shipping in West Indian waters as a commodore in the navy of the French Republic.

One interesting document discovered in the Foreign Office archives is a letter, which the British navy intercepted, written by Joshua Barney from Bordeaux in December of 1794. This letter is interesting for several reasons. It is one of the comparatively few Barney letters extant, and one of the most revealing. It is historically important for its sidelights on conditions in Revolutionary France in the months which followed the death of Robespierre and the ending of the Reign of Terror; on the cordial reception which the French National Convention gave to James Monroe, the new American minister to the French Republic; and on the ignorance in which Monroe was kept respecting the Anglo-American treaty John Jay was then negotiating at London. In a striking manner it conveys the pro-French enthusiasm of American Republicans of that day. For Joshua Barney, in common with other disciples of Thomas Jefferson, was convinced that the cause of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" throughout the world was dependent upon the victory of the French Republic over George the Third and the combined monarchs of Europe.

By way of preface to Barney's letter it might be noted that the Marylander's zeal for France had recently been augmented and intensified by unhappy experiences with the British. Early in this year of 1794, on a trading venture to the French in Haiti, his ship *Sampson* had been seized by the British and he himself had almost been hanged as a "pirate." In Jamaica he had been

forced to stand trial for piracy because, on a previous voyage, when the *Sampson* was illegally captured by three British privateers, he had retrieved his vessel from the prizemaster and inflicted wounds upon two of the prize crew. His trial had caused great excitement in Baltimore, where retaliatory threats had been made against the life of the British consul. Eventually Barney was released. But he had been plundered of his vessel and cargo, and the affair had whetted his hatred for Tory Britain.[3] On the other hand, when mercantile matters took him to Paris shortly thereafter the French greeted him as a hero, gave him the fraternal embrace, and urged him to accept a commission in the French navy. Barney wrote of these marks of consideration, and glowingly reported on conditions in France, to his brother in Baltimore. His letter was intercepted by the British and a copy of it, which is printed below, was sent by Lord Grenville, the foreign secretary, to George Hammond, the British minister to the United States.[4]

Bordeaux, Dec. 21, 1794.

My Dear Brother,

I now sit down to write you a few lines, and to inform you how things go with me, and in this Country in general. I arrived at Paris on the 3d August, a few days after I accompanied Mr. Monroe to the National Convention,[5] where we were received amidst 700 Members, and several thousand Spectators, with the loudest clapping of hands and cries of "Live the Convention, Live the United States of America, our brave Brothers," we were in fact received more like beings of a superior nature than men. The Convention voted that the Flag of the United States should be placed in the Hall of the Convention with the Flag of France: in Consequence Mr. Monroe had a most elegant one made of Silk, with Silver Stars and gold Fringe and tassels, under my direction. On the 11th Septr. I went to the Convention in order to present it and was received with as much applause as we had experienced before. The Convention received the Flag, which I presented by order of our Minister, & in the name of the United States, and decreed that I should be

[3] See Footner, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-190.

[4] It was enclosed with Grenville's instruction to Hammond of June 5, 1795, No. 12, Series 115, Volume 4, Foreign Office Records (hereinafter cited as F. O.), Public Record Office, London. The copy of Barney's letter (presumably to his brother, William Barney) which was sent to Hammond is reprinted here exactly as it was written.

[5] Barney and his young son William had sailed from Baltimore for France June 28, 1794, on the same ship with James Monroe, the *Cincinnatus,* owned by Oliver and Thompson of Baltimore. Footner, *op. cit.*, p. 195. Although Beverly W. Bond, Jr., *The Monroe Mission to France, 1794-1796* (Baltimore, 1907), does not mention Barney, this work should be consulted for Monroe's activities as American minister to France.

invited into the Convention, and receive from the President the Kiss of Friendship. At this time Several Members rose and demanded a decree should pass for to employ me in the Service of the Republic, which was instantly adopted. But having at that time four Ships arrived with Flour, and all my Affairs of the West Indies to settle, I could not instantly accept. This business has kept me ever since engaged, nor have I been able to put a finish to it. I left Paris on the 15th November. Two days before my departure the Minister of Marine offered me a 74 gun Ship, which had been taken from the British a few days before; and which I was obliged to refuse. I shall return to Paris in a few days; my desire is a fine Frigate, with liberty to appoint my Officers, and mann her with Americans and then to cruise where I please. If they agree to this, I am ready, but otherwise I shall be cautious how I accept of any Command. I suppose the History of the whole World does not afford such a scene of Success as the late Campaign has been the French Arms have every where been superior to all their Enemies. It would amaze the world still more to see the immense Sums of gold and Silver, which are daily brought to Paris from the conquered Places *little Jesus's, Virgin Mary's, Saints* of all Sizes melted down and deposited in Barrs, ready to carry on the War. The Country, notwithstanding appears perfectly quiet as if no War existed. You travel with ease and security; not a beggar to be seen, every child as well as Men and Women, go daily to the municipality and receive their bread; and they have been blessed this year with an abundant harvest. In fact, the Country is one large Family and the Convention provide for all. Since the Death of Roberspierre, things have taken a great change indeed, there is no more taking off of heads the prisons are nearly empty. Among the rest is our friend Thomas Paine who has again taken his seat in the Convention after a confinement of a number of Months,[6] with seventy one members more. Every day, before I left Paris brought forth new Victories. Every day there arrived the Keys of some conquered Town, and the standard of the flying Enemy. It would astonish you to see the palace of the Convention filled with Flags taken from the *Germans, Prussians, English, Dutch, Spaniards, Italians, &ca.* all hanging up *reversed*; at the same time to see the Flag of America standing along side that of France respected gives me satisfaction. I wish America would pay the same respect to it. The French are preparing for a severe Campaign by Sea next Spring: they will have out by the 1st of May 55 Ships of the Line from the Ports on the Atlantic, and 20 Ships of the Line in the Mediterranean, which will make their Enemies look sharp besides near 60 Frigates, some of which I think the finest in the world. Unless the Dutch make a peace this winter, Amsterdam must fall into the hands of the Republic before Spring, for the French do not know anything about going into winter quarters; and if the Dutch are foolish enough to overflow the Country, and the winter

[6] Thomas Paine, after yeoman service in the American Revolution, had gone to France to work for the cause of the French Revolution. He had offended the extremists by his moderation, and had been imprisoned during Robespierre's Reign of Terror.

should be severe, the French will overrun them upon the Ice, for no weather nor difficulties stop them. In fact how can it be otherwise, conceive to yourself fourteen Armies, consisting of twelve hundred thousand men, from eighteen years of age to twenty seven, all well cloathed and fed, commanded by Officers, who would rather die than retreat, Armies who have nothing but to conquer; composed not as other Armies are of Vagabonds but men of Character, fortune, and a high sense of liberty, men who would rather die ten thousand deaths than desert or leave the Enemy Victors. Every Soldier looks upon his Character at Stake, to believe this suppose the Company you Command were called out, do you think they would not defend their Fathers, Mothers &c, better than a Band of Ruffians, the thing will not bear a reflexion, and this is the case with the Armies of France. Spain by all accounts is seeking to obtain a peace, Prussia also, the Dutch must give up, Germany loses her Provinces, and England must pay for all. In every conversation I have had with the Members of the Convention, I find all agree in continuing the War against England, they declare, that they never will make peace with her, until she is so reduced as never to have it in her power to trouble the peace of Europe. O happy moment for America to be revenged the Million of insults which that haughty and Ambitious Nation has given her, this [is] the time to put it for ever out of British Power to insult her more, drive them out of Canada leave no such troublesome Pirates near her a Nation of Robbers, this I can say with safety. By your Paper the thing speaks for itself in the conduct of Major Campbell with Genl. Wayne.[7] Congress, I expect now see the folly in taking off the Embargo [8] that would have had more effect than 100,000 Men in Arms, but we have men in that *virtuous body,* men, who ought to be made food for a Guillotine, the people will and do see it, and I hope will act with Spirit; however I do not wish to judge for others, let every man be his own Master, and he will have no person to blame. I am very desirous to hear how Congress will act, and what Mr. Jay has done in England,[9] for we cannot learn any thing about him in this Country, not but we have sufficient Communication, but every thing is

[7] In 1794 war between the United States and Great Britain had seemed imminent because of Britain's wholesale seizures of American merchantmen and impressment of American seamen, and because of the aid given by the British of Canada to the Indians of the Ohio Valley, against whom General Anthony Wayne was campaigning. In violation of the Treaty of Peace of 1783 Britain was still occupying many frontier posts on American soil along the northern border. One of these was the Ohio post of Fort Miamis, commanded by Col. William Campbell, which was in the line of Wayne's victorious advance against the Indians. In August of 1794 a clash between Campbell and Wayne was narrowly averted. The posts were not evacuated by the British until 1796, as provided for in Jay's Treaty of 1794.

[8] The Embargo to which Barney refers had been enacted by Congress on March 26, 1794, to shut off American supplies to the British and to protect American shipping engaged in foreign trade by keeping the vessels within American harbors. It was in effect during April and May of 1794.

[9] Samuel F. Bemis, *Jay's Treaty, A Study in Commerce and Diplomacy* (New York, 1924), gives a detailed account of John Jay's negotiations and of Anglo-American relations from 1783 to 1795.

kept a perfect secret, *if he has done any thing.* I must finish this letter, as it is much longer than I expected to have made, but as it is the first I have wrote you since my arrival in France, I could not but give you some accounts of things.

God bless you and yours & am yours sincerely
Joshua Barney,

My Son Wm. is at Paris and well, he swallows with pleasure the Acts of heroism by the French, and I hope to see him one day fighting the cause of liberty. G. Stiles [10] is here and well, he is about loading for the Isle of France.

Barney's intention to enter the French naval service, as announced in this intercepted letter, was of special interest to Lord Grenville. In November of 1794 Grenville had concluded a treaty with John Jay which made it lawful, under Article 21, for Great Britain to hang as a pirate any American she might capture who held a commission in the French navy or served on a French privateer. The foreign secretary called this article to the attention of British Minister Hammond, and, with Barney in mind no doubt, stated that " it may become necessary to make some striking example . . . in order to deter others from a practice which is now carried on to so great an extent." [11]

Meanwhile Barney had become the owner in whole or in part of three French privateers, which bore the significant names of *La Vengeance, Le Vengeur,* and *Revenge.* Furthermore, in spite of the grim penalty awaiting him if captured by the British, he entered the French navy, harassed British commerce with his squadron during 1796 and 1797, and in general, as a British diplomat reported, " distinguished himself by a ferocious zeal in the service of the French Republic." [12] Later on, during the War of 1812, with an even greater zeal he distinguished himself in the service of the American Republic. His letter of marque *Rossie* in forty-five days captured fifteen British prizes. His Chesapeake Bay gunboat flotilla successfully defended the Patuxent approach to Washington until 1814. And, when the British finally marched on the national capital, Joshua Barney and his sailors contributed the only redeeming feature to the engagement Americans still shamefacedly refer to as " The Bladensburg Races."

[10] Presumably Captain George Stiles of Baltimore.
[11] Grenville to Hammond, July 1, 1795, No. 13, F. O. 115: 4.
[12] Robert Liston, British minister to the United States, to Grenville, Sept. 6, 1796, No. 11, F. O. 5: 14.

POE IN AMITY STREET

By May Garrettson Evans

Affixed to a humble little dwelling in an obscure quarter of Baltimore—No. 203 North Amity Street—is a bronze tablet bearing the following inscription:

IN THIS HOUSE LIVED

EDGAR ALLAN POE

The marker was lately placed by the Edgar Allan Poe Society of Baltimore, one of whose purposes is *To protect existing memorials of Poe in this city from neglect or encroachment.* Hitherto the Society has marked the location of the room in which Poe died in the hospital on Broadway, now the Church Home and Infirmary; and it has placed on the monument over his grave in the old Western Burial Ground, known as Westminster Churchyard, a portrait in enduring bronze—a replica of the marble medallion carved deep on the memorial stone but fast disintegrating under the stress of time and tempest.

The place in which the poet died and the place in which he is buried are familiar spots to Baltimoreans. But no place in which he *lived* seems to be generally known. Some simple directions, therefore, to those who may wish to make a pilgrimage to the house on Amity Street, may not be amiss: Go straight along West Lexington Street until you come to about the middle of its nine hundred block. There you will find, cutting through the block, the lowly street with the lovely name. A few paces up on its east side, just above Lexington Street, is No. 203 North Amity Street. You can't miss it. Besides, there is the bronze marker to guide you.

After much uncertainty and tribulation this small abode—where old echoes of song seem still to linger—has been admitted at last into Poe memorabilia in Baltimore.

On June 4, 1938, there appeared in the Baltimore *Sun* an announcement which was startling to at least *some* Baltimoreans. The opening paragraph read:

> Baltimore's Housing Authority prepared yesterday to swing into action on plans for building low rental housing units after President Roosevelt approved the city's $18,462,400 program.

The article was accompanied by a map of "groups of 'blighted' blocks in the old residential core of the city," selected for the "slum-clearance" project of the Federal Housing Authority and the Baltimore Housing Authority, to make way for the erection of new model homes. One of these areas was listed as follows:

> Site H—Bounded by Saratoga street, Fremont avenue, Lexington street and Amity street. For Negroes. Total area, 7 acres.

Amity Street, between Lexington and Saratoga Streets? Dwellings to be razed to the ground? Why! Poe once lived there!

As soon as this disconcerting fact was borne in on some members of the Poe Society they sat up with a start. Vigorous protests were voiced, and an earnest appeal was made to the Baltimore Housing Authority to spare the twin dwellings in one of which Poe is reputed to have lived with his aunt Maria Clemm, his cousin Virginia Eliza Clemm, and his paralytic grandmother, Mrs. David Poe, the mother of Mrs. Clemm, from 1832[1] or 1833 to 1835.

The Baltimore Housing Authority was most coöperative. But first the Commission put it up squarely to the Poe Society to establish the authenticity of the Poe house:

"Which one of the twin houses, 203 or 205, did he live in?" it asked. "We cannot preserve both."

Thereupon intensive examination of available material was begun. The research was devoted chiefly to a study of land records, maps, surveys, directories, house-numbering ordinances, structural details indicative of the age of the twin houses, and biographies of Poe.[2]

[1] It is possible that Mrs. Clemm, as several biographers state, moved to Amity Street in 1832. That she was living there as early as the spring of 1833 is evident from the fact that the directory in which her name and Amity Street address appear was "Corrected up to May 1833."

[2] Grateful acknowledgment is made of valuable assistance received from Mr. Edward V. Coonan, Mr. Clarence H. Forrest, Mr. John Q. Boyer, Mr. Edgar Allan Poe, Sr., Mr. G. Corner Fenhagen, Mr. Arthur P. Vollerthum, Mrs. Harry L. Eichelberger; librarians of Peabody Institute, Johns Hopkins, Enoch Pratt, and Maryland Historical Society libraries; officials of the Baltimore Housing Authority,

The evidence pointed to No. 203—fortunately little altered since it was built more than a century ago—as the home of our most distinguished poet. The Baltimore Housing Authority, after careful consideration, agreed to spare the house. Subsequently it decided to name the whole Area H project "The Edgar Allan Poe Homes." The use to which No. 203 Amity Street will be put

The Clemm-Poe House, No. 203 North Amity Street (at right) and No. 205 before Alteration.

Drawn by Howard Frech for the Sunday Sun, Baltimore, 1933, from an old picture.

has not yet been determined by the Housing Authority; but it is considering plans to make the house serve some philanthropic purpose for the advantage of the neighborhood.

The preserving of No. 203 North Amity Street, southernmost of the twin houses, was not, by the way, an easy task, owing to the close construction of the pair as a unit. The problem was this: How could these lightly-built semi-detached houses be separated

the City Hall, the Court House, the Bureau of Plans and Surveys and the Division of Property Location in the Municipal Building, and the Municipal (Peale) Museum. Detailed notes of the Amity Street researches are in the possession of the Edgar Allan Poe Society of Baltimore.

and one of them demolished without causing the other to totter and fall? As the architect expressed it: "It will be like a surgical operation on Siamese twins!" But it has been accomplished—a real achievement. Even the front of the little "diving alley" between the lower floors of the houses, belonging equally to both, has been preserved and cleverly converted into an approach to the brick veranda of the adjoining new apartment building.

The interior of the two-story-and-attic dwelling is still very primitive. Wandering through the small rooms one falls inevitably to reconstructing the scene in the Clemm-Poe household of old. One sees in fancy a little family group chatting in the tiny parlor into which the front door gives direct entrance, or partaking of an all-too-meagre repast in the back room which probably served as both kitchen and dining-room. And the redoubtable Mrs. Clemm toiling carefully up the steep, step-ladderlike stairs to her room on the second floor, where she ministers tirelessly to her bedridden mother. And Poe, probably domiciled in the adjoining room, working feverishly, far into the night, in the creation of a poem or a tale. And the child Virginia climbing perilously to a cot in the attic. Or was it Poe, not Virginia, who was quartered in the attic? Biographers rather like to depict Poe in Mrs. Clemm's attic. It may be so.

Outside, one notes with rejoicing that accretions of ugly grey paint have been removed from the lovely old red bricks, and that the exterior of the building is pleasing and well proportioned—much more so, indeed, than most of the little Baltimore houses of later periods. One conjures up another picture: Mrs. Clemm and Edgar and Virginia—strange trio—sitting cooling off of a summer evening on the small box seats that once formed part of the front stoop.

The Poe Society is, naturally, deeply gratified that the Amity Street house has been saved. To quote Dr. John C. French, founder of the Society:

> The name of Poe is probably known to more persons throughout the world than that of any other person who ever made his home in Baltimore. The modest dwelling in which he is believed to have served his literary apprenticeship is destined to be one of the two or three historic structures in the city most sought out by visitors in years to come.

Tradition had long associated with Poe the southernmost of the two houses (No. 203 according to the decimal system now in

vogue). And this despite the assertion to the contrary of at least one biographer, whose claim, by the way, was not accompanied by any sort of evidence. The printed word and diagram, however, took root and added to the uncertainty already existing because of the fact that these were twin houses and because their numbers had been repeatedly changed. The problem was further complicated by the disappearance from the directories of *all* house numbers in the entries of Amity Street addresses for over ten years after 1833, the year in which Mrs. Clemm's name appears.

At the outset there seemed little to go on except the following entry in the directory of 1833:

Clemm mrs. Maria, 3 Amity st between Saratoga and Lexington sts

In the hope of finding further clues every address in the volume was scrutinized. Only two other addresses in the block on Amity Street between Lexington and Saratoga Streets were found:

Owen Thomas, 5 Amity st [3]
Simmons Samuel F. 1 Amity st betw Saratoga and Lexington sts [4]

Four other addresses of householders, about two blocks south of the foregoing, were listed simply as "Amity st near Baltimore." Above these few scattered dwellings which had not yet attained the dignity of bearing house numbers there was a large unimproved tract between Fayette and Lexington Streets. This part of Amity Street was not declared a public highway until nineteen years later.

There were, then, in 1833 three dwellings on Amity Street between Lexington and Saratoga Streets. No. 3, the residence of Mrs. Clemm, was obviously the middle one of the three; with a neighbor on the south (Mr. Simmons, in No. 1); and a neighbor on the north (Mr. Owens, in No. 5). Even in those days of loose

[3] No. 5 Amity Street is not indicated in the directory of 1833 as being between Saratoga and Lexington Streets, but is evidently the same as in the entry: "Owen Thomas G. Amity st n of Lexington," in the succeeding directory, 1835. The old directories contain many variants of names and addresses—misspellings, changed initials, omissions, etc., including several other renderings of the name of Thomas Owen or Owens. Matchett, publisher for many years of the old Baltimore directory (or "director," as he preferred to call it), had his troubles. "Houses and parts of houses are shut up," he wailed, "and we have to take the names from their neighbors, *if they know,* if not, we cannot remember in all cases to call again."

[4] J. H. Whitty and several other biographers refer to a Mrs. Samuel F. Simmons as a Baltimore neighbor and friend of Mrs. Clemm and Poe to whom Poe is said to have given the manuscript of his tale *Morella.*

numbering in Baltimore there was at least an attempt at orderly sequence of numbers.

In order to follow up the several house-numbering systems, every address in the directories (usually published biennially) from 1827 through 1855 was examined. This brought the survey up to the numbering decreed in the ordinance passed in 1853; which numbering immediately preceded that decreed by the ordinance passed in 1886—the present decimal system. The directory of 1887, the first one issued after the passage of the ordinance of 1886, contains in its preliminary pages a list of the new decimal numbers side by side with the numbers of the preceding system. (This listing of the old numbers that immediately preceded the decimal system is, in the case of the one block on Amity Street between Fayette and Lexington Streets, inconsistent in placing even numbers on the west side and odd numbers on the east side. For consistent, logical numbering in this block see Bromley's *Atlas,* 1885, Vol. I, Plate 18.)

A study was made of the addresses of householders who had lived in the same dwellings for many years and through changes in house-numbering systems. This made it possible to compare old numbers and locations of houses with those of succeeding years.

One of the most convincing results of the scrutiny of these old directories was the confirmation of the claim that there were no houses north of No. 5 until a later period than 1833. Even as late as 1865 the directory contains no addresses on the east side of the block north of the twin houses except one near the corner of Saratoga Street. A comparison with reliable maps and surveys confirmed the evidence of the directories. (See, for instance, the area on the east side of Amity Street north of the twin houses in the Poppleton-Simmons map of 1851, of which Mr. Clarence H. Forrest made an enlarged diagram to facilitate the research; the Sachse *Bird's Eye View of Baltimore,* begun about 1865 or 1866 and published in 1869; and Owen Bouldin's survey of 1842, of which the original plat is in the Bureau of Plans and Surveys, Municipal Building.[5]

[5] A map of the city by Fielding Lucas, Jr., seems to indicate by a shaded area that the east side of the Amity Street block north of Lexington Street had been entirely built up by the time of publication, 1841. This is absolutely at variance with other records. It is possible, however, that the Bouldin 1842 survey of building lots was in progress or in contemplation in 1841, and erection of houses expected in the near future; though the evidence of other maps and the directories shows that the lots were not built upon until many years later.

It is, then, not only logical but evident that in Mrs. Clemm's time of residence in Amity Street the northernmost of the twin houses, *being also the northernmost house in the block,* must have borne the highest number, 5, in the series of three; and that No. 3 must have been the southernmost of the two houses. If, on the other hand, No. 3 was the upper one, and No. 1 the lower one, of the twin houses, where, then, could No. 5 have been? A phantom house existing somewhere in mid-air?

When the first ordinance for the numbering of houses in Baltimore, passed in 1844, decreed that numbering on streets running north and south and crossing Baltimore Street should commence at Baltimore Street, the twin houses became No. 53 and No. 55, respectively—as definitely established by a comparison of land records and directories. The number of houses at the time on North Amity Street between Baltimore and Lexington Streets had not actually approached fifty; but there was space for just about that number of building lots, improved or unimproved, in this area, including those later surveyed and built on in the tract between Fayette and Lexington Streets. It is evident therefore that the City, looking to future improvements on the vacant area, allowed for numbers which might soon be required.

When, in accordance with a later ordinance (1853), odd numbers were, for some unexplained reason, switched over to the west side and even numbers to the east side of North Amity Street, No. 53 and No. 55 became No. 46 and No. 48, respectively. (There were actually more than forty-four building lots, improved or unimproved, between Baltimore and Lexington Streets. This would have brought the first number on the east side of the block above Lexington Street into the fifties, instead of to 46, had it not been for the fact that several houses on the east side in the block between Baltimore and Fayette Streets had numbers which duplicated the numbers on other houses in the same block.)

In accordance with the ordinance (1886) introducing the decimal system, even numbers were returned to the west side of North Amity Street and odd numbers to the east side, as at present. The twin houses then became No. 203 and No. 205, respectively.

An inevitable question now arises: Where was No. 1 Amity Street in 1833? Being the next number below the southernmost of the twin houses, No. 3, it could only have been somewhere on the Amity Street side of the lot on the northeast corner of Lexing-

ton and Amity Streets, which extended sixty feet along Amity Street to the south wall of the twin houses.

Two theories as to the elusive No. 1—both tenable, but with the preponderance of likelihood in favor of the second—have presented themselves in the course of the research:

At first, it was surmised that No. 1 was either a former structure on the Amity Street side of the corner lot, or else the back section of a corner house, sublet as a separate dwelling place and having an Amity Street side door as its own numbered entrance, but without separate land title. There were and are in Baltimore innumerable examples of such subletting of the rear part of a corner property, with its own entrance; in some cases the sublet section using the number of the main corner house, in others adopting a number of its own in the orderly sequence of the numbering of the intersecting street. Such adopted numbers are, for convenience in identifying properties, recognized as unofficial or "memorandum" numbers and are so indicated in the municipal files.

The second theory is like unto the first—though somewhat in reverse. It developed in an interview with a former owner of No. 203 North Amity Street—Mrs. Harry L. Eichelberger, from whom the Baltimore Housing Authority acquired the house. Mrs. Eichelberger is specially qualified to speak on the subject; for, besides having inherited No. 203 North Amity Street from her father, she lived for years in the corner house, Lexington and Amity Streets, which had been in her family since 1855.

The structure of this corner property plays an important part in determining the location of No. 3 Amity Street, Mrs. Clemm's home in 1833. In 1855 Mrs. Lemuel Brown, maternal grandmother of Mrs. Eichelberger, acquired the property at the northeast corner of Lexington and Amity Streets—then a two-story-and-attic dwelling in the style of the period of the Poe house. Said Mrs. Eichelberger: "It had two rooms on each floor, with an entrance on Amity Street between the two first-floor rooms, leading to a small passage-way with a staircase. The door on Amity Street had small box seats on the sides of the stoop. The entrance to 203 Amity Street also formerly had box seats on the stoop, which I removed." In 1887 Mrs. Brown transferred the corner property to her son-in-law, Mr. Richard H. Thomas, and his wife, parents of Mrs. Eichelberger. Mr. Thomas enlarged and re-

The Clemm-Poe House, No. 203 North Amity Street (at right) and No. 205 after Alteration.

Photograph by James W. Foster.

The Clemm-Poe House after Erection of the Edgar Allan Poe Homes by the Baltimore Housing Authority.

Photograph by H. Clifton Kaufmann, Jr.

modeled the dwelling, building a double store-front in the Lexington Street section, where he conducted for a while a grocery business; replacing the attic with a full third story; adding a two-story back building; and changing the style of the Amity Street entrance. This was the form of the house when it was later acquired and occupied by Mr. Arthur P. Vollerthum, from whom it was purchased by the Baltimore Housing Authority.

I do not recall [said Mrs. Eichelberger] that there was a store-front on the Lexington Street side of the house before my father remodeled it. When it was still owned by my grandmother, I, in my girlhood, often accompanied her when she went to collect the rent from her tenant. The family entrance to the house was on Amity Street. After my marriage, and after my father had remodeled the house, my husband and child and I went there to live. The Amity Street door was still the family entrance to the dwelling. Though we used the Lexington Street decimal number, 926, it could just as well have been 201 North Amity Street for the family entrance.

Mr. Vollerthum also, during his thirty-five years' occupancy of the house, used the Lexington Street store entrance in his paint business and the Amity Street door as his family entrance, with the address, 926 West Lexington Street, serving for both.[6]

Asked her views as to the theory that No. 1 Amity Street in 1833 may have been a sublet back section of the Lexington Street corner property, with an Amity Street number, Mrs. Eichelberger expressed the opinion that it was probably the other way round—that the Amity Street door was the main entrance to the house, as in the time of her grandmother's ownership, and that the Amity Street number was used for the house proper, not merely for a subrented back room or section.

If there was any subrenting [she said], it is more likely to have been the room at the corner of Lexington and Amity Streets on the first floor. My grandmother's tenant, by the way, subrented this room to a woman who made molds for hat-blocking, probably for some factory; and I recall seeing her carry the molds out through the Amity Street door.

[6] As early as 1842 a directory entry shows that one Joseph Hall conducted a dry goods store at the northeast corner of Lexington and Amity Streets. This, however, does not necessarily imply that the original two-story-and-attic dwelling had been altered at this time to include a store-front. (Small retail businesses were and are often conducted in private dwellings without store-fronts. Such, for instance, was the case at No. 205 North Amity Street, northernmost of the twin houses, where two sisters used to operate a grocery store in the first floor of their home.)

The owner of the corner property, from whom Mrs. Brown acquired it, was one Patrick Skiffington, carter, whose address in the directory of 1853 is given as "cor Amity and Lexington" (not Lexington and Amity)—another evidence that the corner house was formerly regarded as fronting on Amity Street.

Unexpected and fortunate confirmation of the claim that No. 1 Amity Street in 1833 was the address of the property on the corner of Lexington and Amity Streets was found in the directory of 1845, following the first numbering ordinance (1844). This directory contains the following entry:

Hellman Christian, cooper, 51 N. Amity st

There were at this time on Amity Street only a few houses between Baltimore and Fayette Streets (numbered 1 to 20); and there were no houses on Amity Street between Fayette and Lexington Streets, which, as has been stated, was not declared a public highway until 1852. It follows that No. 51 N. Amity Street in 1845 was above Lexington Street, the dwelling next below No. 53, southernmost of the twin houses. No. 1 Amity Street between Saratoga and Lexington Streets in 1833 and No. 51 North Amity Street in 1845 are mutually corroborative. Subsequently, Amity Street numbering of the house on the northeast corner of Lexington and Amity Streets disappeared from the directories. After the ordinance of 1853, when odd numbers were switched to the west side of Amity Street, the number, 51, was used on the west side of the block.

Conclusions reached with respect to changes in certain house numbers on the east side of Amity Street, between Lexington and Saratoga Streets, may be summarized as follows:

	1833	1845	1855	1887
House No. 1		51	(Lexington St.)	
House No. 3		53	46	203
House No. 5		55	48	205

Though in the beginning of this investigation the only problem that presented itself was the uncertainty as to which of the dwellings, 203 or 205, was the Poe house, some other pertinent questions have arisen in the course of the research. For example:

Were the twin houses built as early as 1833? If not, what house bearing the number, 3, did Mrs. Clemm occupy?

In answer to this question, it must be admitted that the exact date at which the houses were built has not yet been ascertained, owing chiefly to the fact that, on inquiry at the City Hall, it was learned that the building permits of the period had been destroyed, and that some other relevant records had disappeared. There is, however, material of other kinds which sheds light on the subject. For instance:

1823: Publication of a *Plan of the City of Baltimore as enlarged and laid out under the direction of the Commissioners appointed by the General Assembly of Maryland in February, 1818, by T. H. Poppleton, Surveyor to the Board.* The map shows Amity Street as a country region, with only a few scattered houses on it near Baltimore Street.

October 3, 1829: Luther Ratcliffe assigned to Charles Klassen for the sum of $800 a piece of ground beginning 386 feet from the southeast corner of intersection of Saratoga and Amity Streets, and running thence southwardly, bounding on the east side of Amity Street 126 feet more or less. There is no indication of any kind that, at the time, the lot contained buildings. (The upper part of this tract included the 28-foot-front piece of ground which was set aside, probably later on, for the twin houses.)

March 5, 1830: Ordinance No. 11 was approved. It provided for the opening and extending of Lexington Street from Cove Street (now Fremont Avenue) to the city line westward; or, as in another official record, from Cove Street to Republican Street (now Carrollton Avenue). Included in the ground condemned by the City for this purpose was the lower part of the land acquired by Charles Klassen from Luther Ratcliffe on October 3, 1829.[7]

The next transfers of the property (three in number, made only a few days apart) were in the fall of 1834, and each one indicated that the ground had been improved:

October 22, 1834: Charles Klassen assigned to William Patterson for the sum of $2083.33 the "lot fronting upon Amity Street

[7] William H. Freeman also was a property owner in this region, and part of his land was included in the area acquired by the City for the opening and extending of Lexington Street. In the following year, 1831, Freeman had a survey made by the City of his land at the southeast intersection of Amity and Saratoga Streets, and the southwest intersection of Amity Street and Wagon Alley (north of Lexington Street). But no evidence has been found that building was begun on these tracts until periods later than Mrs. Clemm's tenancy of Amity Street. (See Owen Bouldin's surveys of 1842 and 1848.)

. . . together with all and singular the buildings and improvements thereon made and erected." From this lot the width of Lexington Street had been deducted in 1830, leaving about 88 feet on Amity Street—60 feet being the Amity Street side of the corner property and the remaining 28 feet the site of the twin houses. The great increase in the valuation of the property (notwithstanding its reduced dimensions) since the acquisition of the lot by Charles Klassen five years before was doubtless due to the opening of Lexington Street and the erection of buildings meanwhile. (Note that although Lexington Street in this region had been opened for several years, the corner lot is designated in the assignment as *fronting* on Amity Street.)

October 25, 1834: Patterson assigned to Samuel Moale in trust the upper part of the property on Amity Street: 28 feet front, beginning 60 feet north of Lexington Street; " together with the improvements."

November 6, 1834: Moale leased to Patterson the aforesaid 28-foot-front property; " together with the buildings."

January 31, 1835: Patterson subleased to Mary Lybrand the northernmost half of the property, " together with the use and privilege of an Alley two and a half feet wide opening into Amity Street [the " diving alley " between the lower floors of the twin houses] . . . together with all the improvements thereon made."

March 5, 1835: The southernmost half of the property was assigned by Patterson to Elijah Miller, . . . " to include compleatly the two story brick house erected upon the lot . . . the same being a part of all that lot and parcel of ground which was heretofore demised and leased by Samuel Moale trustee to the said William Patterson . . . together with all and singular the buildings and improvements made and erected . . . "

The evidence of all the city directories of the period shows that no owner of this property lived in it until some years after Mrs. Clemm's tenancy.

A comparison of directories with land records yields further data. Amity Street first appears in the directories of 1827, 1829, and 1831, but only in lists of Baltimore streets, lanes, and alleys; not in addresses of householders—except, in 1829, in connection with a grocery fronting on Baltimore Street, at the northeast corner of Baltimore and Amity Streets. (No directory was published

in 1832.) The first addresses of tenants on Amity Street—seven in number, as already stated—appear in the directory of 1833.

The foregoing land records and directories would seem to indicate that the twin houses were built not later than early in 1833.

Another significant piece of evidence regarding the approximate age of the twin houses, confirmatory of the conclusion that they had been built before Mrs. Clemm moved to Amity Street, has been afforded by an examination of certain structural details by Mr. John Q. Boyer, member of the Poe Society. Mr. Boyer's observations, based on his experience in the architectural field and without recourse to any public records, are as follows:

> The period in which the twin houses were built I would place at about the first quarter of the nineteenth century, or approximately 1825. The characteristics of the building are: the type of frames, those for the windows without weights for the sash, which were held up by supports; the style of outside shutters, without the middle cross rail; the narrow interior trim or casing; the type of doors, some plain square-work, others tongue-and-grooved, batten doors; the Colonial mantel; the wide flooring and hewn joist—all bearing marks of hand-made material.

Mr. Boyer places the houses on the west side of the block as of a later period than the 1830's, and those north of the twin houses, on the east side (now demolished), as of a still later period.

The following statement in the Baltimore Housing Authority's Report of History and Procedures (1939) is also to the point:

> A project known as the Edgar Allan Poe Homes is now rising on the site of a former slum. According to the records, this region has been a low-rent area since the time of Poe, whose initial success as a struggling poet and writer came to him while living on Amity Street. The *early nineteenth century house,* in which Poe is said to have rented a room, has been saved from demolition because of his connection with it, and because *it is typical of the less pretentious dwelling of that period.* [The italics are ours.]

There remain to be considered two other points which have been evolved in inquiring minds. The first of these:

"I wonder whether Mrs. Clemm really ever lived in Amity Street," said one doubting Thomas.

"The city directory lists her address there," was the reply.

"Directories sometimes make mistakes," the skeptic contended.

"True. But how about this newspaper notice?"

Died yesterday morning, July 7th, in the 79th year of her age, Mrs. ELIZABETH POE, relict of General Poe, of this city. Her friends are requested to attend her funeral, without further invitation, from the residence of her daughter, Mrs. William Clemm, in Amity Street, at 9 o'clock this morning.—*Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser,* July 8, 1835.

" Well, that does settle it," conceded the skeptic.[8]

Finally: What evidence is there that Poe was a member of his aunt Maria Clemm's household in Baltimore either before or after her removal to Amity Street? Did he or Mrs. Clemm specifically state that he was? No, not specifically—at least in so far as the present research has revealed. But the implications in Poe's letters and those of Mrs. Clemm so strongly support the claim that one can but accept them as evidential. Then, too, there is a cloud of witnesses in the affirmative—biographers,[9] several of whom were Poe's or Mrs. Clemm's personal friends or acquaintances.

Since it is not expedient in a limited space to quote copiously, only a few notes bearing special personal evidence are given herewith:

As early as 1829, when Poe first came to Baltimore to live, while awaiting enrollment as a cadet at West Point, we find him in close touch with his Aunt Maria's affairs. Note, for instance, the bill of sale of a Negro slave, December 10, 1829, by Poe to one Henry Ridgway (an item recently discovered by Mr. Edward V. Coonan in the Court House, Baltimore, and kindly put by him at the disposal of the present writer). This document begins thus: "KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS that I Edgar A.

[8] The directory of 1835 does not contain the name of Mrs. Clemm, though she was still a resident of Amity Street in that year. The omission is accounted for by the fact that though the directories were usually completed earlier in the year, that of 1835 was apparently belated, having been " Corrected up to September "—the month in which Mrs. Clemm was breaking up the little household preparatory to moving to Richmond. There would, therefore, have been ample time before publication to omit the name of the outgoing tenant and substitute that of an incoming one.

[9] See Hervey Allen, H. E. Buchholz, Killis Campbell, Eugene L. Didier, William F. Gill, James A. Harrison, David K. Jackson, John A. Joyce, Joseph Wood Krutch, Emile Lauvrière, Thomas Ollive Mabbott, Mary E. Phillips, Elizabeth Ellicott Poe, Una Pope-Hennessy, Arthur Hobson Quinn, Arthur Ransome, Edward Shanks, Mary Newton Stanard, Edmund Clarence Stedman, R. H. Stoddard, Sophie Treadwell (playwright), Augustus Van Cleef, Susan Archer Weiss, J. H. Whitty (by inference: see footnote 4), Lambert A. Wilmer, Vylla Poe Wilson, George E. Woodberry, Mrs. John C. Wrenschall.

Poe agent for Maria Clemm of Baltimore City and County and State of Maryland"; and is signed by "Edgar A. Poe for Maria Clemm" and "Henry Ridgway X his mark." (Chattel Record, Liber W G, No. 43, f. 180.)

In the same year, 1829, Poe writes to his foster father, John Allan, asking for "a piece of linen of which I am much in want . . . if you could get me a piece or a ½ piece at Mr. Galt's & send it to me by boat, I could get it made up gratis by my Aunt Maria."

Later, 1831-1832, in the Wilk Street home of Mrs. Clemm, Poe was a member of the household. This is recorded in an interview by Augustus Van Cleef with his relative, Mary ——("Poe's Mary," *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, March, 1889). "When I first met Mr. Poe," she said, "I was about seventeen, and lived in Essex [Exeter] Street,[10] I think it was, in the 'old town' of Baltimore. . . . Our house adjoined that of a Mr. Newman, who was our landlord. He had a daughter of about my own age, whose name was also Mary. Mr. Poe had at that time recently come to live with his aunt, Mrs. Clemm, after leaving West Point, and while his relations with Mr. Allen, whom he always called father, were not pleasant. Mrs. Clemm lived around the corner from us, in a street which crossed ours."

Susan Archer Weiss, who, as Susan Talley, in her youth in Richmond knew Poe personally, writes (in *The Home Life of Poe*) that when he came to Baltimore after his rupture with the Allans, Mrs. Clemm took him into her home, "and from that hour attended and cared for him. . . . And from the day on which he first entered her humble abode Poe was nevermore to be a homeless wanderer . . . even to his life's end."

Poe "lived in a very retired way with his aunt, Mrs. Clemm," writes Lambert A. Wilmer, of Baltimore, who was an intimate friend and associate of Poe's in 1832 and later (see "Recollections of Edgar A. Poe," *Baltimore Daily Commercial,* May 23, 1866[11]).

[10] No "Essex Street" appears in the list of Baltimore streets in the directory of 1831, but the following names and addresses are given: Lawson Newman, carpenter, Exeter st near Wilk; Mrs. Maria Clemm, Mechanics row, Wilk st [near Exeter]. Wilk or Wilks Street is now Eastern Avenue. The exact location of Mrs. Clemm's home there is not known.

[11] A copy of this issue of the *Baltimore Daily Commercial* is in the Library of Congress; also, Wilmer's article is included in Thomas Ollive Mabbott's edition of Wilmer's poetic drama, *Merlin,* 1941.

Eugene L. Didier, of Baltimore, writes (in *The Poe Cult and Other Papers*):

> When Poe's adopted father . . . drove him from the only home he had known for twenty-two years, the outcast was received into the family of his aunt, Mrs. Maria Clemm, in Baltimore, and until his unhappy life ended, his home was with her . . . I knew Mrs. Clemm in her last years, when she was an inmate of the Church Home, in Baltimore . . . It was while Poe was living in Baltimore, with his aunt, that he made his first success in literature, by gaining the . . . prize offered by the *Saturday Visiter* [October 12, 1833].

Of all the biographers consulted in this research, only one, John H. Ingram, has attempted to controvert the claim that Poe was a member of Mrs. Clemm's household in Baltimore. It is proper to state here that Ingram, a painstaking and able biographer, was an Englishman residing in London, and therefore must have been largely dependent on correspondence in seeking special information. He evidently was not familiar with much material to which other writers have had access.

Referring to Mrs. Clemm's removal from Wilk Street to Amity Street, Ingram, in his biography (1880) states that "extant correspondence proves that her nephew did *not* reside with her then, and, apparently, that he never lived with her until *after* his marriage." No letters confirming his claim that Poe had never been a member of his aunt's household until after his marriage to her daughter are known to the present writer. If the claim had been made that Poe, when he *first* came to Baltimore to live (1829) while awaiting enrollment at West Point, had written letters which seemed to give the impression that he was not living in his aunt's home, Ingram might have had some ground for his assertion (though even that point would be open to question). For instance, in 1829 Poe sent several letters to John Allan, appealing for money: [12] "Grandmother is not in a situation to give me any accommodation," he wrote in one of these. And again: "The lady with whom I board is anxious for her money." That "the lady with whom I board" was Mrs. Clemm is asserted by at least one biographer, who probably regards the statement as a mild Poe subterfuge intended to make the board bill seem more urgent than if it were merely a family matter.

[12] See *Edgar Allan Poe Letters till now Unpublished,* edited by Mary Newton Stanard, 1925, for the Valentine Museum, Richmond.

In his biographical sketch in the memorial volume, *Edgar Allan Poe,* edited by Sara Sigourney Rice (Baltimore, 1877), Ingram writes: "In Richmond [1836], where he was among his own kindred, he met, loved and married his cousin Virginia, . . . while marriage had the further advantage of bringing him under the motherly care of his aunt, Mrs. Clemm." Ingram is palpably in error here, except as regards the marriage (Poe and Virginia were publicly married in Richmond in May, 1836). As has been shown, Poe, for years before his removal to Richmond in 1835, had known Virginia and had felt the motherly care of Mrs. Clemm. Indeed, in the course of the Amity Street period he had grown to love his child cousin, had become betrothed to her (with Mrs. Clemm's approval), and even had obtained on September 22, 1835, a city license to marry her. (It has been said that a private marriage took place at this time; but no documentary evidence that the Baltimore license was ever used has been discovered.)

Poe left Baltimore in the summer of 1835 to take a position on the *Southern Literary Messenger*; but he returned in the fall for his aunt and his betrothed and established the little family in Richmond.

In a letter to William Poe, written in Richmond, October 7, 1835,[13] Mrs. Clemm says: "We arrived here Saturday evening last [October 3]. Edgar went to Baltimore for us. . . . Here, myself & daughter, have some one to love and care for us, there we had no one. . . . My daughter is with me here, . . . we are entirely dependent on Edgar. He is indeed a son to me and has always been so."

One other reference—not formal legal evidence to be sure, but none the less a revealing human document which bears its own significant testimony: Poe's autobiographical tale *Eleonora.* Coinciding with the Amity Street period, its first part depicts the happy life together of the two cousins, the gradual unfolding of their love, the vow of constancy.

> We had always dwelt together . . . in the Valley of the Many-Coloured Grass . . . to reach our happy home, there was need of putting back, with force, the foliage of many thousands of forest trees and of

[13] See *Edgar Allan Poe. Letters and Documents in the Enoch Pratt Free Library,* edited by Arthur H. Quinn and Richard H. Hart, 1941.

crushing to death the glories of many millions of fragrant flowers . . . its exceeding beauty spoke to our hearts in loud tones of the love and of the glory of God.

So it befalls that humble little Amity Street is transformed, by the enchantment of the poet's pen, into the resplendent Valley of the Many-Coloured Grass.

Thus it was that we lived all alone, knowing nothing of the world without the valley,—I, and my cousin, and her mother.

POLITICS IN MARYLAND DURING THE CIVIL WAR

By Charles Branch Clark

(Continued from Vol. XXXVI, page 262)

In addition to geographical sectionalism within Maryland and the existence of economic and social ties with both North and South, the State was further divided in sentiment by the political events of the 1850's. The latter included the rise and decline of the Know Nothing Party, violations of the Fugitive Slave law in cases affecting the State, the Dred Scott decision, and the John Brown raid. Maryland voted for Breckinridge in 1860 and from that time until late in 1861 secession was a strong possibility. Much pressure was brought to bear upon Governor Thomas H. Hicks, but he refused to call a special session of the State legislature until April, 1861, for fear that it would authorize a convention that would adopt an ordinance of secession. By April the Federal government realized the importance of keeping Maryland in the Union and made certain that secession was thwarted.

The Maryland legislature was placed under close military surveillance, its disloyal members were arrested and imprisoned, and in November, 1861, the State election was supervised to such an extent that a loyal legislature and governor, in the person of Augustus W. Bradford, were elected. It was Federal military force, therefore, that in the end made sure that Maryland remained in the Union. The people of the State, despite their economic ties with the North and their love of the Union, were enraged at the passage of Federal troops over their soil, at the establishment of martial law, at the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, the suppression of the newspapers, the supervision of elections, and the arrest of many leading citizens. Friction between the Federal government and the State continued throughout the war.[1]

[1] The most complete account of the political background of Maryland's actions during the Civil War is the writer's unpublished doctoral dissertation (University of North Carolina library). Chapters III-VII, omitted in this publication, are entitled: "Politics of the Fifties and the Election of 1860"; "The Period of Indecision, November 6, 1860-March 4, 1861"; "Lincoln's Call for Troops and the Baltimore Riots"; "The Special Session of the State Legislature"; and "Federal Military Suppression of Maryland." These chapters are based upon all available sources. The outstanding published work for this period is George L. P. Radcliffe's *Governor Thomas H. Hicks of Maryland and the Civil War* (Baltimore, 1901).

III. MARYLAND IN THE SPECIAL SESSION OF CONGRESS, JULY, 1861

When President Lincoln issued his call on April 15, 1861, for 75,000 volunteers to suppress the rebellion and "cause the laws to be duly executed," he also called Congress to meet in special session on July 4. Members of the Senate and House of Representatives were summoned to "consider and determine such measures as, in their wisdom, the public safety and interest may seem to demand." Governor Hicks issued a proclamation soon thereafter directing that an election be held on June 13 to elect representatives to the special session of Congress.[2] Ordinarily, an election would have been held in November for the regular session of Congress that assembled in December.

The election in the Fourth District[3] caused much excitement. Henry Winter Davis was pitted against Henry May. Davis had been elected by the American party to the Thirty-fourth Congress, and as a Republican to the two succeeding Congresses. He ran as the candidate of the Unconditional Union group in 1861 despite the fact that May had been a prominent Unionist leader in that district. The *Baltimore Clipper* warned Davis on June 12 that his enemies would strike against him with all the force they could muster—influence, corruption, industry, and fraud. He was, said the paper, more violently hated than anyone else in the party. His vote for Pendleton, Republican speaker of the House of Representatives, in 1859, had much to do with this. But his "fidelity to the Constitution and to the Government are preeminent. His integrity is unimpeached and unimpeachable. His influence in the national councils is unsurpassed, and his brilliant talents, his wonderful ability, and his immovable firmness are everywhere admitted."[4] The *Clipper* argued that Davis alone could win a victory for the Union over disunionists in Baltimore.

Thousands, however, opposed Davis from the beginning on the ground that he did not represent the Union party. He had opposed its creation and continued to hamper it after its organization.[5] And Davis's stand had lost him many of his best friends. Henry May, meanwhile, had secured the support of a vast num-

[2] *National Intelligencer*, May 6, 1861.
[3] The Fourth District then comprised wards 9-20 inclusive of Baltimore City.
[4] *Baltimore Clipper*, June 12, 1861. [5] *Ibid.*, June 14, 1861.

ber of Union men and his speeches prior to his nomination had led them to believe he was a sound Union man and free from the objections urged against Davis. May had professed on June 5 an "unconditional reverence for and obedience to the principles and authority of our Federal Constitution, which, having created our Union of States, is alone competent to maintain it."[6] This was a reaffirmation of the position he had taken in a letter to the public on May 14, authorizing his nomination. In that letter, he said: "By a compromise amending our Constitution, I can yet see *the paths of peace,* which, with the favor of Heaven, I intend always to point out to my countrymen and for myself most faithfully to follow them." The geographical position of Maryland, said May, required that her representatives hold the olive branch rather than the sword. Such was Maryland's "honor as well as her interest," and upon this point Maryland should be a united people. He denounced the Republican party as a "sectional and aggressive party," and said he was "ever sternly opposed" to its "platform of principles and hostile policy." May declared that he was on the side of peace and compromise against those who favored "military coercion and a desolating war."

May and Davis were opposed by a third candidate who was chosen by the State Rights group. This group, variously called, had solicited Ross Winans to be its candidate, but had been unsuccessful.[7] In what was called a Southern Rights Convention this group then nominated Robert M. McLane,[8] late minister to Mexico, as its candidate. Because of Federal troops in Baltimore, McLane was not expected to be an important factor in the election, but the fight between May and Davis gave McLane some hope.[9] The *Baltimore American* thought that the nomination of Davis, an unconditional Unionist, and McLane, "an avowed Secessionist and Revolutionist" would place "the contest upon the right grounds—that of Union and Disunion, of continued peace in Maryland or revolution and disorder."[10]

The *Baltimore Clipper* supported Cornelius Lawrence Ludlow

[6] "Speeches of Henry May," *Maryland Pamphlets*, 1861-1863 (Baltimore, 1863), I, Appendix, p. 37.
[7] *Baltimore Clipper,* June 14, 1861.
[8] *Baltimore American,* June 1, 1861; *National Intelligencer,* June 3, 1861.
[9] *New York Times,* June 12, 1861.
[10] June 4, 1861; see also *National Intelligencer,* June 5, 1861.

Leary as the Union candidate in the Third Congressional District.[11] No single objection had been urged against him, and the opposition was challenged to produce a man with anything like equal qualifications. "He is known and universally acknowledged to be honest, able and faithful. None doubt his integrity, his ability has been amply proved, and his fidelity to the Union and the Constitution and the flag of our country is the pride and boast of his constituents."[12] The paper warned that unless Davis and Leary were elected to Congress the tyranny of April 19-23 to which Union men were "mercilessly subjected" would fade into nothingness compared with the "more heart-sickening outrages and exaggerated despotism that would assuredly be imposed in the event of a defeat of the Union candidates."[13] Voters were urged to lay aside all prejudices and preference for other candidates and support Davis and Leary. On the day of election this paper made a final plea:

> Some of you perhaps don't like Mr. Leary but will you permit your simple personal prejudice to imperil the whole Union? Some of you don't like Mr. Davis and have declared your intentions never to support him for Congress again. When these declarations were made the present circumstances did not exist. Mr. Davis was not then the candidate of the Union men and his defeat did not then involve the triumph of the disunionists in our midst. *Now,* the defeat of Leary or of Davis will be howled over by the disunionists as a secession victory and all who do not give their votes will be branded as secessionists and opponents of the Union. It is not for the men that you will vote, but for the cause they represent and let it be remembered that every vote cast today against the Union candidates and every vote withheld from them will be a vote for secession and against the Union.[14]

Leary was opposed by William P. Preston, State Rights candidate, who waged a vigorous campaign. As McLane in the Fourth District, Preston was commonly called a secessionist by his Union opponents.

In the First Congressional District[15] John Woodland Crisfield, Unionist, was opposed by Daniel M. Henry of Dorchester County.

[11] Then consisting of wards 1-8 inclusive of Baltimore City, annd districts 8-12 of Baltimore County.

[12] *Baltimore Clipper,* June 12, 1861.

[13] *Baltimore Clipper,* June 12, 1861.

[14] *Ibid.,* June 13, 1861.

[15] This District embraced the six lower Eastern Shore counties: Somerset, Worcester, Dorchester, Talbot, Caroline and Queen Anne's.

Henry was nominated by a State Rights Convention at Cambridge on May 28. The Convention adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Convention the coercive policy of the Administration is unwarranted, unconstitutional, and subversive of the principles on which this government was founded.

Resolved, That, voting money for the prosecution of this unholy and unjustifiable war, now waged against our sister Southern States, will be contrary to the wishes and sentiments of the voters of the first Congressional district; and anyone so acting will grossly misrepresent them.

Resolved, That we are in favor of a peaceful settlement of our difficulties, and the withdrawal of all invading armies, and the immediate recognition of the Confederate States Government, as the only means whereby peace and harmony can be restored between the contending sections, and of averting the horrors of civil war now already commenced.[16]

Crisfield defined his position in a letter published by the daily press. He believed that "the Union of the States is essential to national security and happiness; that the secession of a State is not warranted by the Constitution or by any right reserved by the States themselves; and at this time is justified by no sufficient cause, and is not a remedy for any wrong of which the South justly complains."[17] In case of well-founded wrongs the Constitution provided for amendments, a "peaceful and ample remedy"; therefore revolution was not justifiable, "at least till Constitutional redress has been sought and been deliberately refused, and the grievance has become oppressive." Crisfield declared the "distinctive doctrine" of the Republican platform to be "sectional, inconsistent with national harmony, and ought to be abandoned." And the course of the Lincoln administration "has not been characterized by wisdom, prudence, and a proper national spirit, and ought not to be approved and is not approved by the people of Maryland." But "it is at the same time admitted that Mr. Lincoln was lawfully elected President of the United States, and, in the just exercise of the powers invested in him by the Constitution and the Laws, he must be respected." Finally, Crisfield believed that "loyalty to the Union and Constitution is as well the interest as the duty of Maryland, and all attempts to lead her in a different course ought to be discontinued, but, consistent with her loyalty, her influence and efforts should

[16] *National Intelligencer,* June 1, 1861. [17] *Ibid.,* May 28, 1861.

be earnestly directed to the restoration of peace and fraternal accord." [18]

Crisfield and Henry thus made similar complaints against the policy of the administration. The remedy proposed, however, was different. Both stood for peace and for averting the horrors of civil war, but Henry's party would recognize the Confederacy, while Crisfield would have Maryland remain loyal and aid in the maintenance of the Union.

In the Second and Fifth Districts the Union candidates were unopposed. Edwin Hanson Webster was nominated in the Second District [19] by the Union County Convention held at Bel Air, county seat of Harford County. The local press said: "We have heard of no objection to him in any quarter, and we believe the people of the district will see the propriety and importance of returning him to the House without any serious opposition." [20] Francis Thomas was nominated by the Unionists of the Fifth District.[21] His opponents were left without a candidate when George Schley, nominated by the State Rights men on June 3 at Hagerstown,[22] declined the nomination.[23]

The Sixth District was regarded as the secession stronghold of the State,[24] and a bitter and close contest was expected between Charles Benedict Calvert and Benjamin Gwinn Harris. Calvert was nominated by the Union men at their convention at Bladensburg, on June 1. His acceptance was generally applauded by the Union men throughout Maryland, his intelligence and public spirit, and his devotion to the interests of scientific agriculture having made him well known throughout the State at large. He stated his position as follows: "If Maryland has grievances under

[18] *National Intelligencer,* May 28, 1861.

[19] This district comprised the first seven districts of Baltimore County, the bordering counties of Carroll and Harford, and the two upper Eastern Shore counties, Kent and Cecil.

[20] *Bel-Air American,* quoted in *National Intelligencer,* May 6, 1861.

[21] Then composed of the three far western counties: Allegany, Washington, and Frederick.

[22] *Baltimore American,* June 4, 1861; *National Intelligencer,* June 5, 1861.

[23] A correspondent to the *Baltimore American,* June 7, 1861, sized up the situation as follows: "Mr. Schley was generally regarded as the most available candidate and it is thought none other, whose chances of success approach to a probability even, will be found willing to incur what is regarded as a political sacrifice."

[24] This district embraced Southern Maryland and the central Western Shore counties of Anne Arundel, Calvert, Charles, Howard, Montgomery, Prince George's, and St. Mary's.

the general government she should seek a remedy for them in and not out of the Union." [25] Calvert said that, since his first vote in 1829, he had been a Whig of the Henry Clay School. He had supported Fillmore in 1857, not because he was the American Party candidate, some of whose principles, particularly its want of toleration in religion, he could not accept, but because of Fillmore's conservative character and his patriotic sacrifice in behalf of the just rights of the South in 1850. In 1860, Calvert had urged the defeat of both Republican and Democratic parties, sectional parties, in order to preserve the Union, for he believed the South aimed to destroy the Union if unsuccessful in that election. He had supported Bell and Everett. He said "the whole question which you have to decide" in the congressional election of 1861 is whether there is any good and sufficient reason for Maryland seceding, or for recognizing the right of any other state to do so. He concluded by saying that Maryland should be the last to subscribe to the doctrine of a dissolution, as her interests and prosperity were more closely connected with and dependent upon a preservation of the Union than any other state. "This whole scheme of a dissolution of the Union originates in the design of reckless politicians to maintain their power by the overthrow of all the great interests of the country, and in defense of the will of the masses." [26] Harris, a resident of St. Mary's County, was nominated by the State Rights Convention of the Sixth District. Despite the vigilance exercised by the Federal government in Southern Maryland, Harris had a sizable following and Calvert did not underestimate his strength in the campaign.

On election day, June 13, there was none of that wild excitement and fear that Baltimore had known in April and which Baltimore and Maryland were again to experience in the gubernatorial election in the coming fall. In June the City was to all appearances loyal and there was no interference by the military, although the latter was ever ready to preserve order.[27] General Banks specifically forbade any interference by the United States troops in Baltimore and vicinity. He wrote to Mayor Brown that

[25] *National Intelligencer,* June 4, 1861.

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] On June 12 a correspondent wrote from Baltimore: "There are some rumors of anticipated trouble, but I believe there is no ground for such expectations." *New York Times,* June 13, 1861.

In pursuance of this authority no soldier will be permitted to leave his post or enter the City during this day without positive orders from the general in command, except those who are voters under the constitution and laws of Maryland, and whose rights as voters, as I understand, have been recognized in a communication addressed by you to my predecessors in command of this department.[28]

The presence of troops had helped to preserve order in the active canvass before the election. "There is no doubt, indeed, that the display of so strong a force on the loyal side has had its effect in preventing the institution of that reign of terror, without which the elections in the seceding States could not have obtained their appearance of unanimity." [29]

The results of the election indicated that the people of Maryland would maintain the Union and support the administration in its efforts to reinstate the supremacy of the national government. May was elected in the Fourth District over Davis by a vote of 8,328 to 6,287. The vote for McLane, the State Rights candidate, was negligible. Davis's defeat was the only one sustained by the Unconditional Union group. The defeat was neither surprising nor disappointing, for May, as an Independent Unionist, claimed to be an uncompromising enemy of secession. The *Baltimore American* expressed its view as follows:

When Mr. Davis was nominated we declared that he was not the choice of the Union men of the District, and that he could not be elected. Mr. Davis and his friends, however, persisted in burthening the Union cause with the dead weight of his personal and political unpopularity, and the result has proved the truth of the declaration we then made. The whole contest has been unfortunate in its manifold cross purposes, but it is some consolation to know that Mr. May, the successful candidate, although not so decided in his expression of Union sentiments as could be wished, is yet one upon whom the Secessionists cannot depend for any 'precipitation' movements.[30]

The *Baltimore Clipper* asserted that the defeat of Davis was personal, not a Union party defeat.

It is the defeat of Davis—not the election of May—which has enlisted in the struggle between them the sympathies and efforts of the States' Rights men. . . . It will thus be seen that even our most determined

[28] *Official Records,* 1st Series, II, p. 681.
[29] *New York Times,* June 12, 1861.
[30] June 14, 1861.

opponents admit that the defeat of Mr. Davis is no defeat of the Union party, and in the face of this defeat, we maintain that the majority of the people of Baltimore are for the Union and the Constitution.[31]

The *Baltimore Daily Exchange,* an open and avowed advocate of disunion, supported this view, stating that the election did not "represent the real opinions of the majority of the people."[32] The Baltimore *South,* which aspired to be the organ of the disunionists, said that May represented opposition to Davis rather "than the views of any considerable number of voters, and his election will be hailed rather as a negative than a positive triumph."[33]

In the Third District Leary barely nosed out Preston, the vote being 6,381 to 6,061.[34] From the point of view of the Unionists this vote was considered satisfactory, especially since Breckinridge had been given a majority in this District in the presidential election of 1860.[35] Crisfield was elected over Henry in the First District by a majority of 1,800, the largest ever recorded in that District.[36] The election of Webster and Thomas, in the Second and Fifth Districts respectively, was assured since they had no opposition. In the Sixth District, Calvert won by a comfortable majority over Harris. The *Baltimore American* called his victory the "crowing point of the triumph which has demonstrated the unshaken loyalty of the State." The secessionists of this district, confident in their strength, met the issue more squarely than in the others. "The result speaks for itself, and, more than any one fact of the election, has an earnest and unmistakable significance."[37]

Maryland was thus represented by May, Calvert, Thomas, Leary, Crisfield, and Webster in the special session of Congress. Four of them had served previously in the House of Representatives.

[31] *Baltimore Clipper,* June 14, 1861. This paper claimed that the "straight-out" Republicans had voted against Davis.
[32] June 13, 1861.
[33] June 13, 1861.
[34] *Baltimore Clipper,* June 14, 1861. The vote in the Third District was variously reported. In the *National Intelligencer,* June 15, 1861, the figures were given as 6,555 to 6,061. The *New York Times,* June 15, 1861, gave Leary a majority of 375. Preston led Leary in the City wards by 311 votes, having 5,342 to the latter's 5,031. But in the Baltimore County districts, Leary led by a vote of 1,350 to 719.
[35] *New York Times,* June 15, 1861.
[36] *National Intelligencer,* June 17, 18, 1861.
[37] *Baltimore American,* June 14, 1861.

Francis Thomas,[38] had the most distinguished career, having previously served ten years in Congress and been Governor of Maryland. He was early a Democrat, but after nearly ten years of retirement he ran unsuccessfully as an independent for Congress in 1853.[39] In 1860 Thomas spoke in advocacy of the election of Douglas, but his support was so questionable that his real preference was thought to be for Bell. After Lincoln's election Thomas embraced the cause of the Union with great zeal and ability. He recruited 3,000 soldiers in Frederick and Washington counties.[40] He urged the people to stand by the Union, the Constitution and the laws. Throughout the war and for two years after its close, Thomas was the most conspicuous figure in Western Maryland, and in Congress he often spoke authoritatively for the whole State.[41]

John W. Crisfield[42] had served in the Thirtieth Congress, 1847-1849, while Henry May[43] had served in the Thirty-third Congress, 1853-1855. Edwin H. Webster[44] had represented Mary-

[38] Thomas was born in Frederick County on February 3, 1799. He was educated at St. John's College in Annapolis and admitted to the bar in 1820. He served for three terms in the Maryland House of Delegates and was a Democratic member of Congress from 1831 to 1841. Thomas was Governor of Maryland for one term, 1841-1844, and served again in Congress from 1861 to 1869 as a Union Republican. At one time he was President of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company and from 1870 to 1872 he was collector of internal revenue. He closed his active career as Minister to Peru from 1872 to 1875. Thomas was killed by a locomotive on January 22, 1876.

[39] He was defeated by William T. Hamilton, Democrat. Thomas lived in virtual recluse from 1846 to 1860 because of a domestic calamity—his divorce from his young wife, the former Sallie Campbell McDowell, daughter of Governor McDowell of Virginia, whom he married in 1841, when he was 42 annd she 20 years of age. Thomas and Williams, *History of Allegany County* (Cumberland, 1923), I, 284-287.

[40] Thomas' anti-slavery convictions (he sold his slaves at auction at the Frederick County jail in November, 1858, for $13,257) led him to break with the Democratic party, and aided Hamilton's victory over him in 1853. *Ibid.,* I, 284.

[41] *Ibid.,* I, 284-287. See also Will H. Lowdermilk, *History of Cumberland* (Washington, 1878), pp. 359-396.

[42] Crisfield was born at Chestertown, Maryland, on November 8, 1806. He was educated at Washington College and began the practice of law in Princess Anne. He served in the House of Delegates in 1836 and was a Whig in the Thirtieth Congress. He was a delegate to the Maryland Constitutional Convention in 1850-1851 and at the Peace Conference in Washington in February, 1861. He died on January 12, 1897.

[43] May was born in Washington, D. C., on February 13, 1816, and was admitted to the bar in 1840. He was sent by President Pierce to Mexico to investigate the celebrated Galpin frauds. He established residence in Baltimore in 1850.

[44] Webster was born in Harford County, Maryland, on March 31, 1829. He was admitted to the bar in 1851 and served in the Maryland Senate from 1855 to 1859. He was an elector on the Fillmore ticket in 1856. He later served as Collector of Customs at Baltimore.

land in the Thirty-sixth Congress. During the period of indecision which intervened between the secession of South Carolina and the outbreak of the war, Webster exerted his influence in Maryland in behalf of the Union, and in Congress for pacification. He was active and vigilant in thwarting the efforts of the commissioners from the seceding states, and those citizens in Maryland in sympathy with them, and was prominent among those who sustained Governor Hicks in resisting the pressure brought to bear upon him to convene the legislature in special session. When the war broke out he favored its vigorous prosecution by the government and was reelected in 1861 to Congress on that issue.[45]

The other two members of the House, Charles B. Calvert and Cornelius L. L. Leary were in Congress for the first time in 1861, although both had served in the State legislature. Calvert[46] is credited with founding the first agricultural research college in America, now the Agricultural College of the University of Maryland, chartered in 1856. Leary[47] had been a Whig member of the House of Delegates in 1838 and a presidential elector on the Fillmore ticket in 1856.

When the Congress convened many expected the Maryland representatives to support the administration. It should be remembered, however, that some of these men had specifically stated that they did not favor the policies of the administration. May had not proven his loyalty and the people of Maryland were not united in support of the Lincoln administration. The *New York Times* suggested that the Unionists had been greatly aided by the "fact" that their opponents had no intention of taking part in Federal legislation. "Their aim is simply to defeat the Unionists, and so to leave Maryland without representatives in Congress." A majority of the people, therefore, supported the Union candidates in order not to be "deprived of all influence in national affairs."[48] It is

[45] J. T. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 692. See also *Portrait and Biographical Record of Harford and Cecil Counties*, p. 183.

[46] Calvert was born in Prince George's County, Maryland, on August 24, 1808. He was interested in all questions dealing with agriculture and its promotion. He served in the House of Delegates in 1839, 1843, and 1844.

[47] Leary was born in Baltimore on October 22, 1813. He was educated at St. Mary's College in Baltimore and admitted to the bar, at which profession he was engaged until his death on March 21, 1893.

[48] *New York Times*, June 12, 1861.

more probable, however, that the secessionists, if successful, would have attempted to thwart the efforts of the national government.

Maryland was represented in the Senate by James Alfred Pearce and Anthony Kennedy. Pearce had represented Maryland for many years in Congress, first as a representative and then as a senator.[49] He was elected to the Senate as a Whig in 1849 and 1855, but in 1861 sought reelection as a Democrat and was unsuccesful. Pearce was accused of shifting to the Democratic party after its "glorious victory" in the 1859 Maryland elections, when control of the legislature was wrested from the Know Nothing party. This shift insured his reelection to the Senate.[50] Edward Bates recorded in his *Diary* that in "Fillmore's time, Mr. Pearce was a good Whig and a very respectable Senator. But, like many another pretty good man, he lacked the courage to stand up for the right, against a truculent ruling party."[51] Until the Democrates won the Maryland legislature Pearce, says Bates, had not the hardened conscience necessary to become a Democrat, although his conscience "hurt him for deserting the Whig cause."[52] But if the Douglas Democrats could help Pearce win a seat in the Senate, he was willing to announce his conversion. When his election was pending in the legislature, Pearce declared in a letter that he had joined the Democrats in 1855, and that he intended to support the Charleston Democratic nominee of 1860 regardless of who he was and what his platform. Bates, contended, however, that Pearce had become a Democrat in 1854 when he voted for the Kansas-Nebraska Act, but had denied in a speech in Chestertown in 1856 that he was a Democrat.[53] At any rate, Bates was

[49] Pearce was born at Alexandria, Virginia, on December 8, 1804. He was educated at Princeton and took up the law profession in Dorchester County, Maryland, in 1824. He served in the House of Delegates in 1831 and as a Whig Congressman from 1835 to 1839.

[50] This was the opinion of the *Washington State,* quoted by the *Missouri Republican,* November 17, 1859. See Edward Bates, *Diary,* p. 61. Bates wrote that the *State,* the organ of Stephen A. Douglas, "is so eager to win adherents in all quarters, that it over steps the bounds of modesty and prudence, in making its meretricious advances to all available politicians whose old party connexions have become, by any cause, relaxed."

[51] Edward Bates, *Diary,* p. 61. Bates said Pearce "caved in" during Pierce's administration, when "as I think against his judgment and conscience," he supported the Kansas-Nebraska bill, "that fruitful source of all the evils that have followed from the various misgovernment of Kansas down to Brown's rebellion."

[52] Edward Bates, *Diary,* p. 61.

[53] *Ibid.,* p. 103. Bates claimed that ex-Senator Ezekiel F. Chambers, neighbor and personal friend of Pearce, gave him this information in Baltimore at a Whig Convention in September, 1856, over which Bates presided.

not pleased with the actions of his old Whig ally, and denounced Pearce as follows:

> He, I believe, has many good qualities in him, but they seem not to be mixed in due proportion. He loves truth and justice and would act them out, *if convenient* and *consistent with his personal success*: And he loves official rank and party influence and would like to enjoy them along with conscious rectitude, *if he could*. But he seems to lack courage and will: He halts between opinions not fully resolved which to sacrifice—his ambition to truth and justice, or truth and justice to his ambition. Most likely he will fall, as men commonly do who try to sit on two stools at once.[54]

Senator Pearce's colleague, Anthony Kennedy,[55] was a younger brother of John Pendleton Kennedy who had served with Pearce as a member of the House of Representatives in the Twenty-seventh Congress. Kennedy was elected as a Union Democrat to the United States Senate in 1856.

(*To be continued*).

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] Kennedy was born in Baltimore on December 20, 1810. He studied law and moved to Virginia where he served in the House of Delegates from 1839 to 1843 and as a magistrate for ten years. He returned to Maryland in 1851, and served in the House of Delegates before his election to the United States Senate in 1856.

THE MARYLAND GERMANS IN THE CIVIL WAR

By Dieter Cunz

Some writers consider the conflict between the North and the South which led to the Civil War in 1861 as resulting from the divergence of a democratic and an aristocratic republic. When seen from this point of view, there could be for the majority of German immigrants during the nineteenth century no doubt whatever as to which side they ought to join. In the decades after 1815, the age of the restoration and of the Holy Alliance, as well as during the years following the abortive revolution of 1848, many Germans had come to America because of their dislike of the conservative and even reactionary course of German government, and these liberals, after having undergone all the difficulties and hardships of emigration, would scarcely feel inclined, now that they were on this side of the Atlantic, to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the aristocratic landowners of the South. The concept of slavery stood in the sharpest contrast to their liberal and progressive ideas. Naturally they knew nothing of the specifically American background, the economic conditions, which for a certain period had made slavery understandable and pardonable; what they did observe was the horror of slavery as judged from the standpoint of their ideals and theories.

The constitutional aspects of this struggle left the Germans cold. Older Americans were influenced—frequently in favor of the South—by the fact that the conflict hinged, among other things, also on the question as to whether the individual State could act as it pleased or whether it had to surrender important rights to the federal government. German immigrants of the nineteenth century cared little about "states' rights"; in fact they tended to oppose them because they appeared as a parallel to the splitting up of the nation into numerous petty states, a phenomenon that had proved baneful in the course of German history. For them the United States was an entity; it made no difference to them whether they lived in Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, or Texas —so long as they could live according to the ideals for the preservation of which they had undertaken the long journey into a foreign land.

There were, in addition, purely economic motives to win these Germans to the side of the North. In general, the Southern plantation owners were opposed to immigration. They had no conception of the high cultural value of European immigration. The economic system of the South did not require new blood, for its principle was mass production by unskilled labor. The social structure in the South had a relatively small top level: there were only about 2300 large plantations with slave populations numbering between 100 and 1000.[1] The middle class was very small and quite insignificant. Hence there was no social sphere except in the cities in which a German immigrant might win a position for himself. Precisely for the small farmer of German stock who contributed so much to the winning of the West there was no room in the economic system of the South. This was also true for the new territory of the Southwestern states, just opening up at this time. Every sensible farmer knew that his laboriously conquered farm land would lose enormously in value if next door to it a Negro plantation could be established.

These idealistic, practical, and emotional causes constitute the main explanation (although of course there were various minor reasons) why the majority of the Germans in America joined the side of the North in the Civil War.

This attitude not only brought new allies to the cause of the Union, but ultimately proved extremely useful also for the Germans.[2] The Forty-Eighters who had fled because of the German Revolution at first considered their stay in America as strictly temporary. Only reluctantly did they learn English, and did little or nothing to acquaint themselves with American conditions; there seemed no reason to do so, since they hoped shortly to return to the Republic of Germany. Carl Schurz was one of the very few to follow a different course. A large majority considered the sojourn on these shores as an ephemeral matter and the keynote of their relationship to the new country was a tone of carping criticism toward everything. This sterile, negative attitude was the reason why most of them, far from progressing materially and intellectually, found themselves in a sort of blind alley.

[1] A. E. Parkins, *The South. Its Economic-Geographic Development* (New York, 1938), p. 206.

[2] *Cf.* Wilhelm Kaufmann, *Die Deutschen im amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg* (München, 1911), pp. 101 ff.

When, after a few years, they became aware that they would have to establish themselves permanently in this country, because there was not the slightest chance for the revival of liberal ideas in Germany, their despair and gloom were great since they considered the fight for their ideals a total loss. Furthermore, most of them had by this time exhausted their financial reserves without having gained any footing in the social or economic structure of America.

At this very time, around the year 1854, when the danger of moral and intellectual decay was greatest for the Forty-Eighters, the anti-slavery struggle entered its final and decisive phase. There was thus opened up an entirely new and welcome field of activity for liberal German hot-heads. The old humanitarian ideals they had vainly fought to realize in their Fatherland could now be fitted into the scheme of current American politics. This helped them to get out of the rut of emigrant cliques: through their agitation against slavery they got into touch for the first time with the American people and American conditions, and learned to know, to love, and to struggle for their adopted country. The significance of the anti-slavery movement for the Forty-Eighters lies in the fact that a burning question of current American politics touched the very core of their natures, and enabled them to find a bridge leading from the dry ideas and theories of their past to a responsible, useful activity in the present.

This explanation refers particularly, of course, to the North and the northern part of the Middle West. The only Atlantic State south of the Mason and Dixon Line in which the ideals of the Forty-Eighters were carried over into American politics and played a part in the decision of the Civil War was Maryland.[3]

Since Maryland lies on the border line between North and South, the attitude there toward the issues of 1860 was far from unanimous. This State reflected in a microcosm as it were, the picture of the situation as it existed in the entire country. The plantation owners in the southern part of the State with their tobacco culture, stood opposed to the independent farmers of the northern or northwestern counties who raised grain and cattle. Between these two parts lay the only metropolis of the State, Baltimore, which belonged economically to the North due to its

[3] For the special situation of the Germans in Texas see Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1940), pp. 417 ff.

great industrial development, but socially and intellectually was very closely linked with the South.

In the South it was taken for granted that Maryland was Democratic and favorably inclined toward secession. Everyone in the South believed that the State would join the Confederacy as soon as Confederate troops entered its territory. This proved to be true only in part. It was doubtless the case regarding the southern counties and the Eastern Shore. In Western Maryland, however, the Confederates experienced on their first visit in 1862 the annoying surprise that feeling was definitely divided and favored in considerable majority allegiance to the Union. The two counties which most energetically opposed secession were Frederick and Washington, that is, the very counties that contained the oldest and largest settlements of German stock.

To be sure, seen from the point of view of party politics, this region also was Democratic; in the election of 1860 there was but a small scattering of votes for Lincoln.[4] The press of this region expressed frank regret concerning Lincoln's election, but was far from considering this a cause for secession. A big Union meeting was held in Frederick, on December 15, 1860, which was followed a few days later by a big county meeting " for the preservation of the Union." [5] The names of the leading men at these meetings show that they were of good old Maryland-German stock: Haller, Eberts, Baer, Biser, Boteler, Cramer, Eichelberger, Brengle. Similar meetings were also organized in Hagerstown after the election and after the outbreak of the War, and we find among the most ardent fighters for the Union men called Daniel Weisel, Daniel Startzmann, and Henry Dellinger—all purely German names.[6] Indeed, it was a descendant of an old German family who after Lincoln's call for troops in 1861 organized the first regiment of soldiers from Frederick County: Captain B. H. Schley, who was later advanced to the rank of major.[7] Thomas E. Mittag, of Ger-

[4] The results of the voting in Washington County were: Bell 2567, Breckenridge 2475, Douglas 283, Lincoln 95. Thomas J. C. Williams, *History of Washington County, Maryland* (Hagerstown, 1906), p. 304.—In Frederick County: Bell 3617, Breckenridge and Douglas 3609, Lincoln 103. T. J. C. Williams, *History of Frederick County, Maryland* (Frederick, 1910), p. 364.

[5] Williams, *Frederick County,* pp. 364 ff.

[6] Williams, *Washington County,* p. 306. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1882), p. 216. Other German names appearing at different Union meetings in Hagerstown, Keedysville, Middletown (all in Western Maryland) were: Spigler, Sprecker, Kitzmiller, Rohner, Christmann, Lantz, Ecker, Christ, Hoppe.—Cf. Scharf, *op. cit.,* pp. 197 ff.

[7] This Frederick regiment fought throughout the entire course of the war.

man descent, was the owner of the Western Maryland paper which stood most emphatically for the preservation of the Union —*The Herald and Torchlight* of Hagerstown. It invariably referred to the Confederacy as "the hellish rebellion" and frequently expressed the view that the steps undertaken by Lincoln's government against the secessionists were far too feeble.[8]

Naturally enough in these two "German counties" there can be found German names also among the minority sympathetic toward the South. In Hagerstown a Colonel George Schley belonged to the leaders of the Peace Party, which consisted almost exclusively of camouflaged secessionists.[9] The organ of this Peace Party, *The Hagerstown Mail,* was edited by Daniel Dechert, a man of pure Pennsylvania German stock. His articles, no less violent than those of the *Herald,* led to his arrest and a jail sentence of six weeks.[10] After this his tone became somewhat gentler, but not sufficiently conciliatory for the Unionists, for in the course of an anti-secessionist riot the office of the *Mail* was attacked and plundered.[11] From Middletown, Maryland, comes the report of an enduring enmity between two German families, the Riddlemosers and the Crouses, the one in sympathy with the North and the other with the South.[12] In general, the attitude of Western Maryland was pro-Union.[13]

The story of Barbara Fritchie, who, according to Whittier, fearlessly hung out the Union flag in the face of the Confederate troops, is certainly rather legendary than historical, yet it characterizes in a striking way the prevailing mood of Frederick.[14] A

[8] Williams, *Washington County,* p. 307. A striking sentence characterizing the attitude of this paper during the year 1860: "It is our duty as Southern men to hold back secession until the sober thought of the North can be put into operation for the preservation of the Union."

[9] Williams, *Washington County,* p. 304.

[10] *Ibid.,* p. 317.

[11] *Ibid.,* p. 324.

[12] J. H. Apple, "The Border Woman," in *The Pennsylvania German,* XI (1910), 300 ff.

[13] Abdel R. Wentz, *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Frederick Maryland* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1938), pp. 233 ff.—The municipal election in Cumberland shows clearly the steady increase of the Union party in Allegany County. The same thing is proved by the election to the Maryland legislature of the Unionist delegate Fiery from Washington County. George L. P. Radcliffe, *Governor Thomas H. Hicks of Maryland and the Civil War* (Johns Hopkins Studies, Baltimore, 1901), p. 94.

[14] Barbara Fritchie (1766-1862) was the daughter of a German, Nicholas Hauer and wife, née Catherine Zeiler. Hauer emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1754 and in 1770 settled in Frederick. *National Cyclopedia of American Biography* (1909), Vol. X, p. 113. Williams, *Frederick County,* p. 378. *The Pennsylvania German,*

quotation from the memoirs of the most famous German soldier on the Southern side, Colonel Heros von Borcke, is very illuminating. He relates that during the days when Confederate troops were in Western Maryland he was at one time observing some Germans who were sitting in an inn, smoking and drinking. "I am quite sure that most of them were decided Yankee sympathizers, but as a gray uniform was right among them, and many others not far off they talked the hottest secession." [15] Though this testimonial is not altogether flattering to the Germans in Frederick, it shows clearly that even the Confederates had no longer the slightest doubt regarding the Union sympathies of the Germans in Western Maryland.

Some quotations from an unpublished diary of Jacob Engelbrecht (1819-1878), a German inhabitant of Frederick, may illustrate the feelings of the German element in the western counties. On November 17, 1860, Engelbrecht wrote: "As soon as the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency was known, the South Carolineans & Allabamaens were ready to seceed from the Union of the U. States and at this time they are making wonderful preparation to leave this glorious Union. For my own part I say go as quick as you please . . . the sooner they go the better for the piece & quiet of our Country." On December 21, 1860, after the secession of South Carolina, we read: "Thank you, Gentlemen, you have been dominaring long enough, and I hope you will stay out of the Union." On April 11, 1861, we find the remark: "I hope Uncle Sam (or rather now Uncle Abe) will give the seceding boys a good sound drubbing. The Constitution and the laws must be sustained." [16]

A further proof of the fidelity to the Union cause of the western counties can be derived from an examination of the exciting history of the Maryland legislature at the beginning of the War. Senator Radcliffe has described in detail the policy of the then governor, Thomas H. Hicks, his "masterly inactivity" shown by

IV (1903), 339 ff.; J. H. Apple "Barbara Fritchie," *Pennsylvania German,* VIII (1907), 366 ff.; *New York Times,* December 4, 1927; *Baltimore Sun,* January 17, 1937.

[15] Heros von Borcke, *Memoirs of the Confederate War of Independence* (New York, 1938), I, p. 190.

[16] Quoted from an unpublished Johns Hopkins University dissertation by George A. Douglas, "An Economic History of Frederick County, Maryland, to 1860" (Baltimore, 1938), pp. 35-42. The original orthography of Jacob Engelbrecht is reproduced.

long hesitation in summoning the legislature, because he wished to prevent all hasty or anti-Union resolutions. When Hicks finally did call the legislators together he summoned them to Frederick because of the well-known pro-Union attitude of this town, as he himself explained at the time.[17] The legislature, meeting on April 26, 1861, held its first meeting in the Frederick County Court House, but moved then for all subsequent meetings to the German Reformed Church, corner of Church and Market Streets.[18] Even before the legislature convened in Frederick, the Home Guard of Frederick had been founded, often called after its organizer, Captain Alfred F. Brengle, the "Brengle Home Guard." The name Brengle leaves no doubt concerning the German descent of its owner, and the list of members contains so many German names—about half of the 400 names—that lack of space does not permit us to mention them. This Brengle Guard had been founded to espouse the cause of the Union in Western Maryland and was supported by the citizens of Frederick.[19]

Except for the western counties, Frederick and Washington, the city of Baltimore had then—just as it has today—the largest percentage of Germans or descendants of Germans. But the situation there was slightly different. The Germans in Western Maryland had at the beginning of the War no love whatever for Lincoln because they were loyal Democrats, but, as I have said, they, for the most part, favored the Union. In Baltimore, party politics further were complicated by a new angle. There was published here the only Republican paper in the State of Maryland, the only one in Maryland to advocate openly and energetically the election of Lincoln: the German daily, *Der Wecker.* There is no need here to say much about its founder, Carl Heinrich Schnauffer,[20] particularly since he died only three years after he had founded the paper, in 1854. But his family continued the paper in his spirit and the *Wecker* maintained the attitude of its founder, the liberal Forty-Eighter who had fought in Germany against tyrants and the rule by princes. Here can be seen clearly,

[17] Radcliffe, *op. cit.,* p. 69. Frederick and Baltimore were designated by Lincoln in his call for troops in April, 1861, as the two places in Maryland where troops were to be mustered into service.

[18] *Ibid.,* p. 71.

[19] *Maryland Historical Magazine,* VII (1912), 196 ff.

[20] *Cf.* A. E. Zucker, "Carl Heinrich Schnauffer," *in Twenty-fourth Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* (1939), pp. 17 ff.

as we mentioned above, that the younger generation of German immigrants of the fifties conceived of the Civil War as a continuation of the struggle of 1848.[21]

As a Republican paper the *Wecker* advocated the freeing of the slaves unconditionally. It returned to this question again and again. It was well aware how difficult this problem was and that the abolition of slavery would by no means establish the equality before the law of the Negroes. After emancipation there should come education for the colored folk. "The negroes ought to become whatever they can make of themselves"[22]—but they must be given the *opportunity* to make something of themselves. True emancipation cannot be attained by law, it must grow historically; freeing the negroes from slavery must be followed by legal, political and social emancipation. It would not be right to tax the negroes without giving them the vote, for taxation without representation was the injustice that drove the Colonies to revolution in 1776.[23]

To be sure, when compared to the radical abolitionist New England sheets the *Wecker* appears decidedly moderate. In reply to some complaints from readers that the *Wecker* did not attack the slavery question with sufficient energy, the editor replied that he must perforce impose moderation on himself since the paper was being published in a slave State and that he could not willfully endanger the only progressive organ in Maryland; he would prefer to win over to his side fellow-citizens who were still undecided in their attitude, rather than rebuff them by violent fanaticism.[24] Shortly afterward he took sharp issue with some bigoted abolitionists, when he argued that their plan to send the Negroes

[21] An appeal by Leonard Streiff to his German fellow-citizens (*Wecker,* June 18, 1861) shows this plainly; he states that the same principles were and are involved in the Europe of 1848 and the America of 1861. An address delivered at a *Turner* festival in Berlin in 1861 harks back to an even earlier point in German history. In welcoming representatives of American *Turner* societies the orator assured them of his sympathy in their fight against barbarism and went on to state that the year 1861 represents for German-American *Turner* the same crucial test in the fight for freedom that 1813 had meant for German *Turner.* (*Ibid.,* July 18, 1861).

[22] "More Schools for the Negroes," *Ibid.,* June 22, 1865.

[23] *Ibid.,* June 22, 1865. The fact that Professor W. C. F. Walther in the *Lutheraner* published in St. Louis, defended slavery on the basis of his interpretation of some Biblical passages as well as citations from the works of some Reformation leaders is eagerly seized upon and castigated by the *Wecker.* This is part and parcel of the anti-clerical attitude of this as well as most papers conducted by Forty-Eighters. *Ibid.,* January 14, 1864.

[24] *Ibid.,* July 4, 1860.

back to Africa after their liberation did not spring from a feeling of humanity but from arrogance and intolerance. These people were eager to free the slaves but after that they never wished to see them again. Such a course would prove impossible. It was nonsense to call them "Africans," for they were Africans just as little as Lincoln was a European. The Negroes were Americans, they formed the lowest class of agricultural laborers, and as such they had a right to their position in the American economic system as much as anyone else, regardless of color or race.[25]

Though the *Wecker* at times showed a conciliatory spirit regarding the question of slavery, in regard to Lincoln it proved all the more absolute and adamant. It never felt the slightest doubt that Old Abe was the best man in the country. This is all the more noteworthy since the *Wecker* and the *Turner* paper were the only ones in Maryland at the time taking this point of view. Originally the *Wecker,* like most German papers, had been more inclined to favor Seward. When on May 16, 1860, the paper presented to its readers the ten men who came in question for the Republican nomination, Lincoln—in contrast to Seward and Wade—was mentioned only briefly and not very hopefully. He was characterized curtly as "America's greatest debater, witty and original." But two days later, after Lincoln had been nominated, the *Wecker* did all it could to strengthen Lincoln's position in Baltimore and on the day of Lincoln's visit to Baltimore it extended to him a cordial greeting.[26] The paper printed in full every one of Lincoln's messages, in 1864 it came forward as one of the first to advocate his reelection, and on the day after his assassination it appeared in mourning with a wide black margin.[27] When some German Republicans attacked Lincoln because his administration seemed not sufficiently energetic, the *Wecker* defended the President's deliberate hesitation.[28] When the same group complained regarding a rebuff Carl Schurz had received as a member of the new cabinet the *Wecker* came forward with conciliatory explanations. It reported with evident pleasure how Lincoln had expressed himself in an interview regarding the Germans, stating that he appreciated them as "straight-forward, honest people,"

[25] *Ibid.,* December 7, 1861.
[26] *Ibid.,* November 1, 1860, and February 23, 1861.
[27] *Ibid.,* June 13, 1864, and April 15, 1865.
[28] *Ibid.,* April 5, 1861.

that he regretted that he could not talk with them in German, but that one of his secretaries was regularly translating for him clippings from German papers for he was very much interested to know what the Germans in America thought about him.[29]

The *Wecker* was in full accord with Governor Hicks because it came to realize very quickly that the hesitant policy of this statesman was quite favorable to the Union cause.[30] In view of this the *Wecker* even forgave Governor Hicks his old association with the Know-Nothings, even though at regular intervals it continued to attack in the sharpest terms this as well as other nativistic groups. "It is wrong to say that adopted citizens should keep aloof from the quarrel. They are citizens and as such they must take their place—for the preservation of the Union." [31]

"Preservation of the Union" was the chief slogan of the *Wecker* throughout the years of the Civil War. It warned the Germans in Virginia, "Within the Union happy, outside the Union unhappy." [32] For this very reason the *Wecker* showed such great interest in the events in West Virginia and did everything to strengthen the anti-secessionist position of this State.[33] Once the war had gotten under way, it demanded that it be fought to the end for the sake of the Union. "No talk of peace now," it exclaimed in August, 1861, "that would be too soon. A peace concluded now would not serve the Union cause." [34]

These quotations probably characterize sufficiently the attitude of Baltimore's German Republican paper. What about its Democratic counterpart, the *Deutsche Correspondent*? The *Correspondent* had been founded in 1841 by Friedrich Raine, a German immigrant. It is characteristic of the founder as well as of the paper that both adapted themselves very rapidly to the American milieu. The *Correspondent* was the first German paper in the United States to adopt the make-up of the American press. Raine himself was already firmly planted in the life of this country and quite acclimatized when in 1851 Carl Heinrich Schnauffer, the

[29] *Ibid.*, January 31, 1861.
[30] *Ibid.*, January 2 and 8, 1861. Similarly the *Turnzeitung* called Governor Hicks a "white raven" and defended his policy (January 10, 1860). The Democratic *Deutsche Correspondent*, however, was against Hicks, "the Know-Nothing man," all the more so since it lumped together the Know-Nothings and the New England Puritans, identifying both with Governor Hicks. *Correspondent*, January 14, 1858.
[31] *Wecker*, June 2, 1861.
[32] *Ibid.*, January 28, 1861.
[33] *Ibid.*, April 12, 1861.
[34] *Ibid.*, August 31, 1861.

founder of the *Wecker,* came to Baltimore, filled with the liberal ideology of the Revolution of 1848. Raine had been moving in the Democratic atmosphere of the State of Maryland for fully twenty years before the Civil War broke out; naturally enough he had become rooted in the Democratic party, and he never left it. Thus he and his *Correspondent* took their attitude toward the current events on the basis of the Democratic party position.[35]

The volumes of the *Correspondent* from the Civil War years are unfortunately not preserved. We must attempt to supply this lack from a secondary source and from items in the later volumes of the paper, as when on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary the attitude of the *Correspondent* toward the Civil War is retrospectively outlined and explained.[36] The *Correspondent* did not openly advocate secession; among a hundred German papers in America in 1860 only three favored secession.[37] Regarding the slavery question the *Correspondent* took an essentially different position from that of the *Wecker.* To be sure, the *Correspondent* did not go so far as to praise and defend slavery as a divine institution. "In our state there was probably not one adopted citizen who was a slave-owner, not one who did not consider negro slavery a regrettable institution within a free republic, but"—there was the Constitution and the *Correspondent* always took refuge in this sacred document. Maryland happened to be a slave State and "one must never forget that the Constitution of the United States in support of which every adopted citizen of the Republic has sworn an oath of loyalty sanctions and protects the institution of slavery." It was not the stubbornness of the Southern slave barons that had caused the trouble, but the greed of the northern Yankees.[38] "If the humanitarianism of the North could have persuaded itself in the interest of human kindness to purchase the freedom of the three million slaves in the South at only $600 a head, an arrangement with which the Southern States

[35] Cf. Edmund E. Miller, *The Hundred Year History of the German Correspondent* (Baltimore, 1941), pp. 9 ff.

[36] *Correspondent,* May 13, 1891.

[37] Lonn, *op. cit.,* p. 46. The *Correspondent* was opposed to all tendencies that favored a centralization of the government. Yet it did not concede the South the right of secession, because it held that a State can leave the Union only with the consent of all.

[38] *Correspondent,* January 1, 1866: The Puritanical clergy of the North were to blame for the miserable Civil War. "What good can come from Massachusetts"? was a question the paper repeated again and again.

in 1857 would probably have been satisfied, then a financial sacrifice of 1,800 million dollars could have prevented the Civil War, which cost far more than 2,500 million dollars plus vast numbers of human lives and tears!—The *Correspondent* can point with pride to the fact that it has recommended this possible compromise very urgently in a number of editorials." The Republican notions concerning the emancipation of the Negroes were treated with irony and mockery, at times even with cheap demogogic arguments. In the New Year's issue of 1866 the *Correspondent* demanded suffrage for white women who should really be considered much more important than Negroes. "Heaven and earth are set in motion to get the vote for four million freed Negro slaves and they forget the white women. Why should these fifteen million paragons of creation be less favored politically than the four million bowlegged and flat-nosed kinky-heads?" On another occasion, after a discussion of the vast loss of human life and property in the War, the paper said "For this triumph, we are eternally indebted to the British Abolitionists without whose efforts we should still find ourselves in the condition of barbarism which existed here before 1861.[39]

This makes it readily understandable that during these years the *Correspondent* was none too fond of the great German-American Carl Schurz. It quoted Schurz as demanding that no State be readmitted to the Union before it had granted the vote to the Negroes, and commented that this demand was prompted by "purely party-politics." It held this to be on the same plane as the word of the Maryland politician, Henry Winter Davis, "What we need is votes, not intelligence." All these Republican maneuvers, it stated, had the one aim, namely, to get votes for the Republican party, since without the Negro votes of the South the Republican party of Mr. Carl Schurz would be lost. The *Correent* then asked menacingly: "How soon will the nation take a stand and expose these traitors in their true colors?"[40]

While the *Wecker* always spoke with contempt and disgust of the "rebels" and the "slave barons of the South," the *Correspondent* had profound understanding for the difficult situation after the war of the former "insurgents" and "Southern landowners."[41] Their money had been swallowed up by the war,

[39] *Ibid.*, January 3, 1866.
[40] *Ibid.*, January 6, 1866.
[41] *Ibid.*, January 6, 1866.

their soil was ruined, their property, i. e., the slaves, was now lost; in fact, the South could be saved only by means of generous loans on the part of Northern financiers. But the *Correspondent* had grave doubts as to whether "Yankee patriotism" would go so far. It held that Southern prosperity was essential to the welfare of the entire nation. The Government in Washington had not yet grasped the fact, for the unfortunate Freedman's Bureau,[42] far from aiding the solution of the problem, was making it worse by egging on the Negroes [43] and thus was turning it into a purely political tool, the strategic center of the Republican party for the domination of the South.

Since the volumes from the early sixties are no longer extant we are not in position to learn anything about the attitude of the *Correspondent* toward Lincoln. We find some discussion however of President Buchanan. As late as 1891 the paper said of him that history had not yet accorded him justice, that writers still continued to minimize his merits, and that he had never neglected his duty of defending the Constitution.[44] This sounds quite different from the peppery articles of the *Wecker* on, or rather against, Buchanan, "that old sinner." [45] In the election campaign of 1860 the *Correspondent* as a matter of course supported Breckenridge, the candidate of Southern Democrats.

In one respect the *Correspondent* deviated from its usual course and this occurred whenever it turned to the discussion of European politics. In the course of a retrospective New Year's Day article the events of 1865, so unhappy for members of the Democratic party, suddenly took on a new constructive value. The editor called on the readers to be proud of this victory of a republic, for as such it would serve to strengthen republican tendencies in Europe.[46] Thus when there was a question of evaluating the

[42] The purpose of this organization of the Federal Government was to aid Negroes in setting themselves up on small farms or in various trades.

[43] Naturally enough the *Correspondent* mentioned every Negro uprising in the country, designating each as one more failure of the Republican party.

[44] *Correspondent*, May 13, 1891.

[45] On one occasion when a Cincinnati paper spoke of Buchanan's poor health the *Wecker* remarked savagely, "Buchanan, the old billy-goat won't die so soon, as he is an extremely tough fellow for his age," (August 11, 1860). Naturally enough the *Turnzeitung* also viewed Buchanan extremely critically, "His course vacillated between love of peace and incitement to rebellion, truth and illusion, honesty and hypocrisy," (December 11, 1860).

[46] January 3, 1866. The article is reprinted from the New York *Staatszeitung*, but without commentary, hence with the editor's approval.

republican United States against monarchistic Europe the *Correspondent* showed a sort of a "feeling of American solidarity" and, face to face with the thrones of European princes, the old party fights between Republicans and Democrats were forgotten.[47]

The presidential election of 1860 was the first great political event in the history of the United States in which German *Turner* played an effective rôle. Five weeks before the Republican convention the associated *Turner* societies issued an appeal in the Baltimore *Turnzeitung* for the formation of local organizations for the purpose of exerting some influence on the course of the convention in Chicago.[48] In Baltimore, too, one of the leading *Turner,* Dr. George Edward Wiss, was closely associated with the early beginnings of the Republican party.[49] The first steps of the

[47] Polemics between the two German papers occur rather rarely. Occasionally one finds in the *Wecker* a few digs at the Democratic rival ("It is not at all ashamed of its incredible lies," *Wecker,* October 17, 1860). On November 15, 1860, the *Wecker* felt it its painful duty to report that the Baltimore *Correspondent* remained the only German paper still continuing with its attacks on the Republicans.

[48] *Turnzeitung,* April 10, 1860. "We must have our own representatives on the spot lest we be treated as on former occasions when before the election we were called 'our German friends' and afterward 'the voting cattle' and then treated accordingly."

[49] Despite considerable inquiries it has not been possible to learn much about George Edward Wiss (often called merely Edward Wiss). Requests for information adressed to the State Department and the National Archives have elicited the following facts: Dr. Wiss was born in Bavaria (probably in 1822), but became a naturalized citizen of Prussia. He immigrated to the United States in 1848 "with the full consent of the Prussian Government." Around 1852 he settled down in Baltimore as a practicing physician. He was also a prominent member of the *Turnverein,* from 1859 to 1861 one of the editors of the *Turnzeitung,* but in 1861 he resigned this post after a number of violent quarrels. He was a member of the executive committee appointed to look after the choice of the electoral ticket in 1860. In 1861 he applied for a consular post in Germany and was recommended by the Republican candidates for presidential electors of the City of Baltimore and the State of Maryland. According to the appointment records in the Department of State he was appointed American consul at Rotterdam, Netherlands, on June 5, 1861, (recess appointment) and on July 26, 1861, (confirmation appointment), and served from November 28, 1861, to August 29, 1866. (Cf. *Deutsche Amerikanische Turnerei,* I (1890), 91, and *New York Herald,* April 27, 1860, p. 10, col. 1.) In 1866 he applied for the position of minister resident at the Hague, but was not appointed. His official dispatches to the Department of State while consul at Rotterdam comprise about 400 manuscript pages. There are also on file in the National Archives his letters of application for positions and others recommending him. In E. F. Cordell's *Medical Annals of Maryland,* pp. 628-629, he receives only brief mention: "He was a regular graduate of a European medical school and sustained a satisfactory examination before your Board." (*Report of the Board of Examiners of the Western Shore,* June 1, 1850.) In the *Index Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office of the United States Army,* XVI (1895), 514, two of his works are mentioned: *De tenotomia in universum,* 32 pp., Berolini, 1845 (obviously his doctoral dissertation written in Latin) and *The Healing and Prevention of Diphtheria* (Berlin, 1879), 37 pp.

young Republican groups in Baltimore were not particularly fortunate. It stood completely under the influence of the Blair family, which was exerting its influence vigorously in the three border states, Maryland, Missouri, and Kentucky, for the nomination of Edward Bates. Under the leadership of Dr. Wiss the German Republicans of Baltimore had joined the American Republican Association, with the understanding that they be permitted to vote for Seward or some other equally prominent Republican. At the Maryland State Republican Convention which met in Baltimore April 26, 1860, with only about thirty delegates present there were some extremely turbulent scenes.[50] The adherents of Bates—according to the *Turnzeitung*, almost all of them former Know-Nothings—under the leadership of Montgomery Blair pushed through a vote to the effect that the eleven Maryland delegates to the Chicago convention were to vote as a group for Bates. This candidate, a judge from Missouri, was anathema to the Germans because in 1856 he had identified himself completely with the Whig platform, one plank of which aimed to increase the probationary period for immigrants from five to twenty-one years. Hence Dr. Wiss, the representative of the German Republicans of Baltimore, declared that he could not accept his appointment as alternate delegate to the convention. It would mean a vote contrary to his convictions and very poor representation of the German Republicans of Baltimore if he were to deliver an obligatory vote for Bates; therefore he would not go to the convention as a delegate, but he hoped to find ways and means of informing the convention regarding the position of the German Republicans.[51] For a while the Germans planned to agitate violently against Bates, but then the latter's chances began to grow more and more hopeless anyway. Wiss was present at the Chicago convention, even though not as official delegate. He was the only representative from Maryland at a meeting held at the *Deutsches Haus* in Chicago May 15, 1860, at which the German Republicans agreed on the position they were to take. Some historians believe their united stand on the convention floor brought about the nomination of the "dark horse" candidate Abraham Lincoln.[52] Even

[50] *Wecker*, April 27, 1860.
[51] *Turnzeitung*, May 1, 1850.
[52] Frank I. Herriott, *The Conference of the German Republicans at the Deutsches Haus, Chicago, May 14-15, 1860* (Transactions of the Illinois Historical Society, 1928).

without the presence on the floor of Dr. Wiss, the Maryland delegates protested immediately against the instructions of the Blair clan to vote *en bloc* and insisted on voting individually.[53] Of German Republicans only one man took part in the convention, James F. Wagner, who became chairman of the executive committee of the Maryland Republican Party.[54] His name does not appear in any other record. Dr. Wiss, however, deserves considerable credit in helping to make impossible the candidacy of the reactionary Judge Bates and thus to clear the road for Lincoln's nomination.

At the next Republican Convention, held in Baltimore in 1864, a descendant of an old German family represented the Germans of Baltimore, Henry W. Hoffman, the grandson of a German who had immigrated in Revolutionary times and had, about 1780, established one of the first paper mills in this country.[55] Hoffmann had distinguished himself in the political life of Maryland during the years before the Civil War; among other things he served for some years as a member of the Legislature. As chairman of the Maryland delegation to the Convention of 1864 Hoffmann seconded the renomination of Lincoln.[56] At the close of the Convention he was elected the Maryland representative on the National Committee of the Republican Party.[57] In the autumn of the same year his name once more became prominent, when Maryland was to vote on the adoption of a new constitution which was to abolish slavery and Hoffman turned to Lincoln for an expression of his opinion. Two days before the voting, October 10, 1864, the President sent an open letter to Henry W. Hoffman, which, as the latter had hoped, aided in winning over the public in favor of the new constitution.[58]

Jacob Tome's share in the activities of the newly-founded Republican party in Maryland should not be overlooked. Tome

[53] *Report of the Proceedings of the Republican Convention in Chicago, 1860.* One of the delegates, Armour, declared, "We were recommended, not instructed." On the second ballot out of the 11 Maryland votes 8 were given to Bates and 3 to Seward and on the third 2 to Seward and 9 to Lincoln.

[54] *Report of the Republican Convention, 1860,* p. 144. *Report of the Republican Convention, 1864,* p. 1. The only other information I was able to find regarding Wagner was a brief mention in John Tweedy, *A History of the Republican Conventions* (Danbury, Conn., 1910), p. 42.

[55] *Biographical Cyclopaedia of Representative Men of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), p. 316.

[56] *Proceedings of the Republican Convention in Baltimore in 1864,* pp. 31 and 74.

[57] *Ibid.,* p. 76.

[58] Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1890), VIII, p. 467.

(1810-1898), one of the wealthiest merchants in Maryland during the latter part of the nineteenth century, was a descendant of Pennsylvania-German forebears. The original form of the name was Thom. His memory is preserved in the name of the school he founded, Tome School, at Port Deposit, Md. Tome was elected state senator in 1863 by the Union Party in Cecil County. He retained his seat until 1867 and took an active part, especially in questions of finance.[59]

Another enthusiastic follower of Lincoln among the Germans was William Julian Albert, the director of a large mining company in Baltimore.[60] Albert presided over the first meeting of citizens of the Union party held in Maryland, which assembled at Catonsville, to denounce the proceedings of South Carolina, and to pledge Maryland to the support of the Government. In 1861 Albert was delegated to go to Washington to explain to President Lincoln the difficult situation of Baltimore and to ask for help; his attempt to bring new life to the commerce of the city which had been injured by the war was as successful as possible under the circumstances. Albert's house was the gathering place of the unionists in Baltimore. He cooperated most ardently to organize the Republican Party and to found the Union Club of which he later became president. In 1864 he was president of the electoral college of Maryland for the approaching presidential election.

The *Turner* were the first group in Baltimore to support the nominee of the Chicago Convention, Lincoln, as a body and energetically. The headquarters of the *Turner* Societies of America were at the time located in Baltimore and here also its organ, the weekly *Turnzeitung,* was published. Consequently the history of the *Turnzeitung* of these years forms part of the history of the Germans in Baltimore.[61] One ought not underestimate the political influence of the *Turnzeitung,* since it spoke for 20,000 members of the *German Socialist Turner Society.* When therefore the Baltimore *Turnzeitung* first raised its voice in favor of Lincoln there was great joy in the Lincoln camp because of these new adherents.[62] Needless to state, the Baltimore editors of the paper

[59] *Bibliographical Cyclopaedia,* p. 5 f.

[60] *Baltimore Past and Present* (Baltimore, 1871), pp. 169 ff.; Hamilton Owens, *Baltimore on the Chesapeake* (Garden City, N. Y., 1941), p. 281.

[61] Of the volumes of the *Turnzeitung* published in Baltimore 1859-1861 there is extant only a single copy, property of the Boston Public Library.

[62] William Baringer, *Lincoln's Rise to Power* (Boston, 1937), p. 190.

—Wilhelm Rapp, Dr. Edward Wiss, and Dr. Adolph Wiesner—were all thorough Republicans. From Baltimore the *Turner* headquarters sent on October 16, 1860, an appeal to all *Turner* societies to campaign for Lincoln. "We Turner fight against slavery, Nativism, or any other kind of restriction based on color, religion, or place of birth, since all this is incompatible with any cosmopolitan view-point."[63] Since the attitude of the *Turnzeitung* is identical with that of the *Wecker* it is unnecessary to repeat details, except to mention their reaction to the events at Harper's Ferry. Both papers show no sympathy for John Brown; his actions were described as "a mad *Putsch* of a fanatic driven to despair by an unkind fate."[64] The *Turnzeitung* blamed the South for making a mountain out of a molehill by demanding a search for "wire-pullers," of which there were none at all. It went on to say that one could almost believe that Southerners had been the stage managers of the affair, were it not that John Brown was just as honest as he was fanatical, because this mad raid certainly served to inflame public opinion in Dixie. The calm, measured judgment here expressed concerning John Brown was angrily criticized by more violent *Turner* from northern states; especially the Boston *Turner* protested against the location of the editorial office in a slave state where it was subject to a certain amount of local pressure.[65] The riots of April 19 and 20, 1861, caused the precipitate removal from Baltimore of the editorial offices of the *Turner* Societies.

It seems in place to say a bit more concerning these riots. The *Turner* had never made a secret of their enthusiasm for Lincoln.[66] Among the thirty-two Germans who in the middle of April, on the very day after Lincoln's appeal, went to Washington to enlist as volunteers, fully one-half were *Turner.*[67] Regiments of German *Turner,* among them many from Baltimore, held Washington until troops from the North arrived.[68] Thus everyone in Baltimore knew what was to be expected of the *Turner,* and that led to an event that in a tragi-comical vein followed the turbulent Baltimore street battles of April 19, 1861.[69] On this very day a

[63] *Baltimore, Seine Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Baltimore, 1887), p. 234.
[64] *Turnzeitung,* October 18, 1859.
[65] *Ibid.,* November 1, 1859.
[66] Reports on Republican mass meetings in the *Turnhalle. Turnzeitung,* October 30 and November 6, 1860.
[67] *Wecker,* April 19, 1861. [68] *Ibid.,* May 20, 1861.
[69] *The Pennsylvania German,* VIII (1907), 19, 62, 117.

violent mob had appeared before the *Turnhalle* on West Pratt Street to demand from the *Turner* that they lower the Union banner and hoist the Maryland flag. This was to no avail, for the *Turner* had declared that they would rather blow up their hall than lower the Union flag.[70] When on the following Saturday, April 20, the news spread throughout the city that the German company of *Turner* Rifles had two days previously sent arms to Washington and had offered the services of the company to the Government, a violent riot ensued. A mob collected before the *Turnhalle,* which contained the armory of the *Turner,* invaded the building and smashed everything to bits, from heavy furniture and gymnasium apparatus to the dishes in the kitchen and the bottles in the bar. The only weapons that the mob discovered were four old muskets, which they of course carried off. Then the police appeared—after everything had been smashed and the mob had disbanded—and Captain Gardener with his fifteen policemen solemnly locked the building. The majority of the *Turner* had to flee, most of them going to the Union army.[71]

A similar fate on the same day overtook the office of the *Wecker* on Frederick Street. Here too a boisterous mob appeared and made preparations to storm the building. Windows were smashed and some of the machinery, employed in printing the only two Republican papers in Maryland, the *Wecker* and the *Turnzeitung,* was destroyed. However, the rioters had to withdraw before they could complete their vandalism. Whether this was because courageous Mrs. Schnauffer faced down the mob or whether the police arrived this time more promptly, is a matter regarding which reports differ.[72] The *Wecker* building was evi-

[70] Heinrich Metzner, *Geschichte des Turnerbundes* (Indianapolis, 1874), p. 77. Franz Hubert Cortan, *Geschichte des Turnverein Vorwärts 1867-1892* (Baltimore, 1892).

[71] Baltimore *Sun,* April 22, 1861; Cortan, *op. cit.,* p. 1; Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore,* p. 600. Cortan reports that the mob "was led by a German," but investigation has yielded no information on this point. Scharf, who on account of his sympathies with the South did not wish to represent the outbreak to be a violent act of the mob, says that "this act was committed by a number of indignant Southern men."

[72] Zucker, *op. cit.,* p. 22; J. T. Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Baltimore, 1881), p. 630. *The Sun,* April 22, 1861, reports: "The crowd soon dispersed, not, however, until the Southern flag had been thrown out. No violence was done, and all good citizens regretted that any such demonstration was made." However, the *Sun* stands alone in reporting no violence. Cortan as well as Scharf speak of destruction—"office completely wrecked, building seriously injured" (Scharf). Probably the machinery was destroyed in part, for the *Wecker* could not be published from April 20 to 29; and after that it appeared for a considerable period as a so-called "extra," a single fly-leaf.

dently not destroyed completely. The editors had to flee and the paper could not be published for several weeks. Only after the city had been occupied by troops, the editor of the paper, William Schnauffer, a brother of the founder, could return to resume publication.

A similar outbreak of mob violence took place a few days later against Leopold Blumenberg (1827-1876), a merchant with strong Union sympathies. Blumenberg, of German-Jewish descent, was born in Brandenburg, Germany, and came to Baltimore in 1854, where he soon attained considerable prosperity. He was one of the first to follow Lincoln's appeal in 1861. In 1863, together with three other Germans, Bartell, Kühne and Straubenmüller, he founded a special German "Unionsverein." [73] He retired from business for the purpose of devoting himself to the Union cause, and spent a good deal of his own money in helping to raise the Fifth Regiment of Maryland Volunteers.[74] This earned him the bitterest enmity of Baltimore Secessionists who openly threatened his life and made it necessary that after an unsuccessful attack Blumenberg's house had to be guarded by the police for several nights. Blumenberg became a major in the Fifth Regiment and fought for some time under McClellan. He led his troops against Lee's army in the Battle of Antietam and was wounded so severely that for more than a year he was bedridden.[75] Lincoln then appointed him provost-marshal of the Third Maryland District, a post he held until the close of the draft, and President Johnson named him a brigadier-general for his valiant services in battle.

If on the other hand one examines the troop lists of the Maryland regiments who fought on the side of the South, the absence of German names is most striking. Of course, here and there a few German names are found but the percentage is extremely small, especially among the officers. Only one German—or German-Swiss—name occurs among the officers of the Maryland Infantry, a Lieutenant William P. Zollinger who distinguished

[73] *Wecker,* September 23, 1863.

[74] *Biographical Cyclopaedia,* p. 477; *Wecker,* April 30, 1861.

[75] *History and Roster of Maryland Volunteers, War of 1861-1865* (Balt., 1898), I, 179, 181; Scharf, *History of Western Maryland,* I, 249. Some of the German names among members of the Fifth Regiment killed or wounded at Antietam are: (Officers) Magnus Moltke, Leopold Blumenberg, William Bamberger; (Privates) Warmboldt, Preiss, Stahl, Harochkamp, Bruder, Kohler, Merling, Kohlmann, Braun, Bremermann.

himself particularly in reorganizing the Second Maryland Infantry Regiment in Richmond.[76] In addition we find just a few more in the lists of the Maryland Infantry: W. H. Slingluff, William Ritter, Alfred Riddlemoser, Joseph Wagner.[77] In the First Maryland Cavalry we find only two German names among the twenty officers: A. F. Schwartz and F. C. Slingluff; in the Second Maryland Cavalry Herman F. Keidel is mentioned among the staff officers.[78] In the Maryland Artillery the only Germans that occur are Corporal W. F. Bollinger and Captain W. L. Ritter.[79] There were thus some Germans among the Maryland Confederate troops, but they constitute a mere scattering and their percentage compared with the great participation of Germans in the Northern cause is strikingly small. It might be noted that the Maryland Line in the Confederate Army was recruited particularly from Southern Maryland, where there had been least German immigration.

Up to this point there has been mention only of riots against German groups faithful to the Union. Naturally enough in the later years of the War we find that the opposite took place, namely that Southern sympathizers—among these also some Germans—were pelted with rocks. In the course of such a demonstration on May 25, 1862, the building of the *Deutsche Correspondent* was visited by an excited mob. Scharf reports on this as follows: [80]

> The office of the German Correspondent was then visited, but the proprietors stated that they were about to display their flag, when the crowd proceeded to . . . On returning, the crowd went again to the Correspondent's office, where a portion of the flag, showing the stripes, was hanging from an upper window, but this was not satisfactory to the crowd, who required that the entire flag, with the stars, should be exposed to view.

It has been stated that the *Correspondent* was Democratic but not Secessionist. Among the Germans of Baltimore, particularly among those of the upper classes, there were quite a number of adherents of the Confederacy. The *Turner* Societies who sympathized with the Union were composed mostly of members of the middle and lower classes. The social center of the élite was the

[76] W. W. Goldsborough *The Maryland Line in the Confederate Army, 1861-1865* (Baltimore, 1900), pp. 85, 86, 152.
[77] *Ibid.*, 76, 155 ff.
[78] *Ibid.*, 166, 246.
[79] *Ibid.*, 270, 315.
[80] *Chronicles*, p. 624.

Germania Club and this club was considered a hot-bed of Secessionism;[81] hence when the city was placed under martial law the Club was very quickly closed on the command of General Butler. The Germania Club in these years was an organization of merchants. Baltimore's tobacco trade at the time was almost exclusively in German hands. The two chief ports for tobacco export and import, respectively, were Baltimore and Bremen and hence the tobacco trade was largely in the hands of Bremen merchants who had branch houses or business partners in Baltimore. This seems to be the explanation of the fact that the merchants who were members of the Germania Club and who dealt mostly in tobacco sympathized with the tobacco-raising Southern states; their economic interests and friendly social relations with Southern planters had naturally produced this result. The events of the war years made their impression also on this Club, as when in 1862 the president, Frederick Schepeler, a tobacco merchant, had to withdraw, because he had been a bit too free in his expression of sympathy for the South and thereby had endangered the existence of the Club during the period of martial law under General Butler.[82] In the guest books of the Club one finds during the first years of the War innumerable entries of the names of merchants from Southern states, all the way from Virginia to Louisiana. At times a guest entered as his place of residence "Confederate States" or "Confederacy," which in these days was meant to convey a declaration of political principles. From 1863 on, the Union sympathizers came more and more to the fore. The Secessionist Schepeler was succeeded as president by his business partner, Albert Schumacher, a thorough Unionist. When the Club made a declaration to the effect that in political matters it was absolutely neutral, General Butler gave permission to have it reopened; thereupon the members could foregather again—to be sure under a Union flag suspended in the club house, whether they liked this or not.[83]

Next to the Germania Club the Concordia Society was the social center of the well-to-do Germans. Here, too, there was to

[81] From an unpublished speech by Henry G. Hilken on the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of the club, 1910. (In possession of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland in the Enoch Pratt Library, Baltimore.)

[82] *Ibid.*

[83] Dieter Cunz, *History of the Germania Club* (Baltimore, 1940), p. 13.

be found a fairly large Secessionist group. August Becker, for some time editor of the *Wecker,* relates an occurrence that was probably quite symptomatic of the general attitude in the Concordia Society. Becker was chatting one evening in 1861 in the club rooms with his friend, Justus Bruehl, concerning the probable outcome of the war and gave frank expression to his Union sympathies. Thereupon all other members left the room by way of a demonstration of their feelings, leaving Becker and Bruehl finally quite alone. "You spoke too vigorously," said Bruehl, "These gentlemen are all devoted to the Confederate cause." [84]

One well-known Forty-Eighter is found even among the adherents of the Southern cause: Dr. Adalbert John Volck.[85] His house in Baltimore became a rendezvous for Southern sympathizers in the earlier years of the War, and at times he offered Confederate soldiers a hiding place there. Further than that, Volck actively assisted in smuggling medical supplies into the South. Suspicion fell on him so definitely, that in 1861, at the instance of General Butler, he was for some time incarcerated in Fort McHenry.[86] It was as a caricaturist that Volck gained his chief importance during the Civil War. Quite consciously he attempted to counteract the influence of the famous cartoonist on the Northern side, Thomas Nast, who also happened to be a German Forty-Eighter. Under the pseudonym, "V. Blada," he published a series of cartoons, in which he attempted to heap ridicule on the Union, especially on President Lincoln and General Butler.[87] His *Con-*

[84] *Der deutsche Pionier* (Cincinnati, 1869), I, 286. Strongly pro-Southern, too, was Gustav Wilhelm Lurman, a wealthy Baltimore merchant, who had come from Bremen before 1835. Mrs. Elinor S. Heiser, his granddaughter, characterizes him in her reminiscences, *Days Gone By* (Baltimore, 1940), p. 90: "His sympathies were strongly with the South in the Civil War, and in its behalf he gave and lost largely his fortune."

[85] Adalbert J. Volck (1828-1912), was born in Augsburg, Germany. After his participation in the Revolution of 1848 in Berlin he had to flee Germany and came to the United States in 1849. Following a two-years' stay in the Middle West he was called in 1851 as instructor to the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery. He was a Charter member of the Maryland State Dental Association and a founder of the Association of Dental Surgeons. See *Dictionary of American Biography, Encyclopedia Americana* (1939), Vol. 28, pp. 172 f. A full account of his life and work is given by George C. Keidel in *Catonsville Biographies* published in the Catonsville, Md., *Argus,* Oct. 2-Nov. 20, 1915.

[86] When after the conclusion of the War General Butler was a candidate for the governorship of Massachusetts Volck's caricatures helped considerably in bringing about his defeat.

[87] Albert Shaw, *Abraham Lincoln. A Cartoon History* (New York, 1929), I, pp. 12, 63; II, pp. 236, 253.

federate War Etchings and his *Sketches from the Civil War* in which he shows markedly artistic gifts, were of considerable aid to the cause of the South. It was either he or his brother, the sculptor Frederic Volck, who made the famous bust of Jefferson Davis which was engraved on the ten cent stamps of the Confederacy.[88] Adalbert Volck's sketch of Stonewall Jackson was very popular in the South and his portrait of Robert E. Lee hangs in the Valentine Museum in Richmond, Va. Volck continued in his love for the South to the very end of his days, displaying it also in another art at which he later tried his hand, the work of the silversmith. The last significant work he undertook in this field was a memorial shield, completed in 1909, three years before his death: "To the Women of the South—As a continual reminder . . . of the splendid example of self-sacrifice, endurance and womanly virtues displayed during the war between the States." Volck is particularly interesting because he was an exception to the vast majority of the liberal Forty-Eighters who favored the side of the North.

From all this it becomes evident that the picture presented by the Maryland Germans during the Civil War is by no means a unified one and that their attitude cannot be set down in a simple statement. Still one might generalize from the evidence as follows: in the western part of the State where the German element had largely been amalgamated by other groups of settlers, the exceptionally vigorous pro-Union attitude of Frederick and Washington Counties can probably be justly attributed to the strong German element in the population. It is in the rural districts, in the western counties, that we find the large number of Marylanders of Pennsylvania-German stock who clung conservatively to their traditional membership in the Democratic party and yet remained adherents of the Union. In Baltimore the Germans were much more recent arrivals, the German language and German social life still flourished there, and therefore one can speak here of a more definitely German attitude than in the western settlements dating back to Colonial times. The Germans in Baltimore represented the most southerly outpost of the Republican Party. Hence there were to be found here the most fiery Lincoln adher-

[88] August Dietz, *The Postal Service of the Confederate States of America*" (Richmond, Va., 1929), p. 222.

ents south of the Mason and Dixon Line. In Western Maryland the Union sympathizers remained within the Democratic Party organization, whereas in Baltimore they were Republicans as a matter of course. This keen party feeling in turn drove the Democratic Germans of Baltimore into the radical, secessionist wing of the party, in contrast to the conservative Democrats of Western Maryland. The urban section of the German element in Maryland separated itself, politically speaking, approximately along the lines of its sociological strata. Among the wealthy Germans, bound to the South by the ties of the tobacco trade, there were many Secessionists or at least Southern sympathizers.[89] Just as there was in Baltimore the southernmost group of Lincoln enthusiasts so there was here also the northernmost clique of German adherents of the Confederate cause. The latter were mostly men who had been in the country for a considerable time, generally more than ten years, and had become quite acclimatized. The middle and lower social strata of German immigrants, men who were in general associated with the *Turner* movement, stood as a group behind the Union cause. Their intellectual leaders were liberal refugees from the Revolution of 1848 who without the least hesitation flocked to the Republican banner. We have mentioned above how important it was for this group, perhaps the most valuable to America of all German immigrants, that they found it possible through joining in the fight for a holy cause to unite themselves spiritually with their new fatherland. On the other hand, it is unnecessary to dwell at length on the advantages accruing to the Union cause through the fact that the strong and enterprising young men of this generation of German immigrants placed their strength at the disposal of the North. This was of decisive importance especially in the border states where public opinion was divided and where a few brave individuals counted for ever so much more than in the homogeneous and safe atmosphere of Northern states. And how important it was to preserve for the Union Maryland in particular can be seen by one glance at the map and the geographical position of the nation's capital.

[89] Cf. Robert T. Clark, Jr. "The New Orleans German Colony in the Civil War," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly,* XX (1937), pp. 990-1015. Clark shows that also in New Orleans the wealthy members of the German colony were ardent adherents of the Confederacy, "because their income was derived in one way or another from the proceeds of slave labor."

It seems fitting to close this essay with a quotation from a speech by President Theodore Roosevelt delivered in 1903: [90]

The other day I went out to the battle-field of Antietam, here in Maryland. There the Memorial Church is the German Lutheran Church, which was founded in 1768, the settlement in the neighborhood of Antietam being originaly exclusively a German settlement. There is a list of its pastors, and curiously enough, a series of memorial windows of men with German names—men who belonged to the Maryland regiment recruited largely from that region for the Civil War, which Maryland regiment was mainly composed of men of German extraction. In the Civil War it would be difficult to paint in too strong colors what I may wellnigh call the all-importance of the attitude of the American citizens of German birth and extraction toward the cause of the Union and liberty, especially in what were then known as the border states. It would have been out of question to have kept Missouri loyal had it not been for the German element therein. So it was in Kentucky,—and but little less important was the part played by the Germans in Maryland.

[90] Quoted in *The Pennsylvania German,* V (1904), 44.

WILLIAM FARIS, 1728–1804

Silversmith, Clock and Watch Maker of Annapolis, Md.

By Lockwood Barr*

The period from 1725 up to the American Revolution, was one of expanding prosperity on the Atlantic seaboard. It manifested itself particularly in the tidewater section in the country estates and city mansions of those families drawing wealth from commerce and shipping, from tobacco, cotton, rice, indigo. Williamsburg, the capital of the Virginia Colony, had reached a high degree of culture by 1760-70. Annapolis was the social and political centre of Maryland—thronged at the time of the court and assembly sessions and during the races of the Maryland Jockey Club. Philadelphia had become the principal commercial city of the colonies. As in the mother country, that period was a golden era in art, architecture, furniture, home decorations. There were attracted from England and the Continent to the colonies master craftsmen, skilled in all lines of trade who produced for their patrons things as beautiful as those made by their overseas contemporaries.

The most picturesque figure among eighteenth century Maryland silversmiths is William Faris of Annapolis. Silversmith, watchmaker, clock maker, designer, portrait painter, cabinet maker, tulip grower, tavern keeper, dentist, diarist and gossip, he arrests and deserves our attention. In addition to his sundry notices and advertisements in the newspapers, we have his diary, . . . his account books, and what to the lover of old silver is even more interesting, a book of drawings with his beautiful designs for silver, probably the only existing example of original working drawings and patterns of an eighteenth century American silversmith which has come down to us, and one which shows that he was a craftsman and artist of no mean ability.[1]

Doubt as to the exact date of his birth is raised by the fact that William Faris on the 16th of August of the years 1795, 1796 and

* Berenice Owens, wife of the author, is the daughter of Florence (Chappell) Owens, daughter of William Pitt Chappell, son of Rebecca Maria Pitt and John George Chappell of Baltimore. Rebecca Maria Pitt was the daughter of Ann Faris and Capt. William Pitt. Ann was the daughter of William Faris of Annapolis.

[1] The quotation is from the biographical sketch of William Faris in *Maryland Silversmiths, 1715-1830*, by J. Hall Pleasants and Howard Sill (Baltimore, 1930).

1797, in his Diary recorded the date as the anniversary of his birth and stated his age as 67, 68 and 69 years respectively. Yet he made the following entry 18 October, 1793, stating his birthday as 7th August, 1728: "... Major Simms was with me this afternoon and in conversation told me that he was born June 1728, or that he is 2 mos. older than I am, as I was born on 7th August the same year..." Probably he was born in London, although that cannot be established beyond question. He died in Annapolis 5 August, 1804, aged 76 years.

According to family tradition, William Faris was the son of Abigail and William Faris, a London clockmaker and Quaker who died in an English prison because of his religious beliefs. When the son William was six months old, the Widow Abigail fled to the colonies, arriving in Philadelphia in the spring of 1729. The persecution in England of the Quakers during the period 1650-1736 is described by Joseph Besse in several books published in London—one a résumé in 1736 and in a second edition of two large volumes in 1753. In the preface there is the following passage:

> They were entertained with scorn and derision, with beatings, buffetings, stonings, pinchings, kickings, dirting, pumpings, and all manner of abuses from the rude and ungoverned Rabble; and from the magistrates who should have been their Defenders they met with Spoiling of Goods, Stockings, Whippings, Imprisonments, Banishments and even with Death itself.

Family tradition states that when Widow Abigail arrived in this country she brought with her five clocks made by her husband in London. This tradition was recorded in 1939 by the late Charles T. Stran, a great-great-grandson of William Faris.

> ... Widow Abigail arrived from London with 5 or 6 clocks made by William the father. She sold some of the clocks to obtain money. One was sold in Philadelphia and was lost sight of until quite by accident it was discovered by Mrs. Thomas P. Stran, who was Kate Abrahams. She and Mr. Stran were visiting a friend in Philadelphia many years ago and she noticed that her host wound a tall clock in his possession left-handed (from right to left). As all the Faris clocks were supposed to be wound left-handed she examined this clock and discovered the name of William Faris, London, inside the case.

Philadelphia church records fail to disclose the baptism of the infant William Faris; however, they do shed some light upon

Mrs. Faris. On 11 January, 1735, Widow Abigail Faris married a second time, her husband being John Powell, according to the marriage records of the First Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia. On 27 November, 1738, Widow Abigail Faris Powell married, thirdly, Philip Petre (or Petro or Pedro) in the Old Christ Church (Episcopal) in Philadelphia.

On 31 October, 1749, it is recorded that "William Faris *of Philadephia, Clockmaker,* son of Abigail Petro (or Pedro) of the same City, *Shopkeeper"* purchased a plot of ground in Philadelphia. The deed was witnessed by Abigail Petro, Widow. William Faris was then just twenty-one years old, and if he was buying property, it is possible that he had for some time been a successful clockmaker in his own right—or had inherited money from England.

In William Bradford's *Weekly Advertiser or Pennsylvania Journal,* 16 May, 1751, appeared the following advertisement: "A House & Lot to be let at Spring Garden. Enquire of Abigail Pedro at the corner of Market & Water Street, Philadelphia." This was the same property which her son William had bought in 1749. The ledger of Alex. Hamilton, a firm of Philadelphia merchants, contains an account with Widow Abigail Petro from 9 December, 1745, to 1 April, 1755, during which time she bought £80 of miscellaneous merchandise—tea, cloth, needles, pins, ribbons, etc.,—in quantities for resale, all paid in full. After 1755 she vanishes from the record.

Mrs. Faris died either in Philadelphia or in Annapolis before 17 April, 1763, for at that time William Faris sold the Spring Garden place in Philadelphia. Had Widow Abigail been living then she would have signed the deed, or witnessed it, as evidently from the records she had some kind of financial interest in the property and her signature would have been necessary in the passing of title. There is a family tradition which, taken at its face value, would indicate that Widow Abigail died in Philadelphia. It is a note made in a family Bible in 1863 by Charles Faris Pitt.[2] It reads:

> The small round tea table with carved feet (with my mother) belonged to great grandmother Abigail Faris, she having given it to my grandfather

[2] Descended from William Faris through his daughter Ann who married Capt. William Pitt.

(William) then a single man in Philadelphia, and at the death of my grandmother was taken by grandfather Faris to Annapolis.

An oil portrait of Widow Abigail is owned by Miss Sophie Pitt of Baltimore, a descendant. It is the likeness of an austere old woman, done in the manner of Hesselius, the Annapolis artist. Unfortunately the face was torn and the canvas was not skillfully repaired, so that the lower part of the head, particularly the mouth, is distorted. Charles Faris Pitt made this record of the portrait in the family Bible:

I obtained from Mr. Wm. McParlin at Annapolis, in a dilapidated state, my great grandmother Abigail Faris' likeness and had it renovated by a Baltimore artist (Volkmar). This likeness was painted by my grandfather William Faris.

When and where William Faris learned clockmaking may never be established, but there is circumstantial evidence worthy of being put into this record. Most of the early Philadelphia clockmakers, silversmiths, cabinet-makers, and other master craftsmen of that period, had their shops on Front, Second and Third Streets, within the confines of two blocks south of Market Street. Peter, William, Isaac and Samuel Stretch, Henry Flower, Francis and Joseph Richardson, John Wood and others, all clockmakers of the 1720-50 period, lived within a stone's throw of each other. William Faris' name is associated with Stretch and also with that of Henry Flower, who in 1747 witnessed papers for Faris. Henry Flower had his shop on Second Street between Black Horse Alley and Chestnut Street.

If Faris by 1749, when he was only 21 years old, had accumulated sufficient money to buy property upon which he subsequently erected a home and other buildings, he must have been working successfully for several years as a clockmaker. During the ten years that followed he evidently continued to work in Philadelphia, although search of the newspapers does not disclose announcements by him. This is strange, if he was in business for himself, for in subsequent years he was a prolific advertiser.

On 8 October, 1754, there was recorded a mortgage for 50 pounds given by "William Fareis of City of Philadelphia, Clockmaker" to one James Bagley.[3] On 1 May, 1755, "William Faris of the City of Philadelphia, Watch-maker, to Robert Greenway,

[3] City Hall, Philadelphia, Liber X2, p. 543.

Merchant" gave a mortgage for 108 pounds on the Spring Garden property. A witness to his mortgage was Isaac Stretch, a member of the famous clockmaking family of that name.[4]

It would be interesting to know why Faris chose to leave Philadelphia about 1756, then a thriving city and destined to become the principal commercial and political center of this country, and why he chose Annapolis, then but a seaport village. Annapolis in 1768 had a population of only 1217. The town achieved the height of its prosperity and commercial and social importance between 1750 and 1775, but thereafter failed to hold its own in face of the competition of her rival, Baltimore.

The earliest record of Faris at Annapolis appears in the *Maryland Gazette* of 17 March, 1757. In this announcement he stresses his skill as a maker of both 8-day and 30-day clocks. He does not mention silversmithing until four years later.

WILLIAM FARIS

Watch-Maker, from Philadelphia,

At his Shop near the Church, next door to
Mr. Wallaces', in Church Street, Annapolis,

CLEANS and REPAIRS all Sorts of WATCHES and CLOCKS, as well and neat as can be done in any part of America; And takes the same Prices for his Work as are taken in Philadelphia.

He also makes CLOCKS, either to Repeat or not, or to go either *Eight Days or Thirty*, as the Purchaser shall fancy, as good as can be made in London, and at reasonable Prices. And all Gentlemen who shall be pleased to employ him, may depend on having their Work done with all possible Dispatch, by

Their humble Servant,
WILLIAM FARIS

Again, 8 November 1759, there appeared the following announcement:

William Faris, Watch-Maker from Philadelphia. Has removed from Church Street to the Home late in the Occupation of Andrew Buchanan, the Sign of the Crown & Dial, opposite Mr. Creagh's, where he continues to Repair and clean Watches as neat and well as can be done in any Part of America, and at Reasonable Prices. He has procured a *Clockmaker* who makes Clocks of all Sorts which he will warrant to be good. N. B. He gives the Best Prices for Old Brass.

[4] Liber X2, p. 606, Mortgages.

The Faris home, shop and tavern, during the later part of his life, stood on a plot now occupied by business buildings at 25-27 West Street—not far from the Circle in which is St. Anne's Church. The tract ran back to Cathedral Street where now stand two dwellings numbered 98 and 100. This property was occupied by Philip Syng, silversmith, until his death in 1738. There were two separate tracts, one Syng had leased from the Widow Carroll, grandmother of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the Signer; and the other he had leased from the rector and vestry of St. Anne's Parish. These leases were inherited by William Reynolds, " Hatter," who had married Deborah Harper, widow of John, the son of Philip Syng.

Faris leased from William Reynolds the first tract on 16 November, 1761, and the second on 12, January 1763. The original indenture of 1763 is now in possession of Mrs. Eleanor McParlin Davis, the granddaughter of William McParlin, apprentice of William Faris. Incidentally the document bears the only official signature of William Faris which has been found. The Faris home was occupied by McParlin until his death in 1850, and by his family until 1922-23 when it was removed to make way for business property. The house was built on West Street. The open space at the rear of the stores now on West Street, and the back lot of the dwellings on Cathedral Street, was then the garden which is so frequently mentioned by Faris in his Diary. All that now remains of the garden is a giant holly tree, standing in what was once the centre of the garden. William McParlin told his descendants that Faris transplanted from the woods before 1800 a dozen or more small holly trees, which were his pride and joy, and that he kept them trimmed like a " sugar loaf." This one tree is all that remains and it is more than 4 feet in diameter and stands over 50 feet high.

Although William Faris was recognized as the outstanding Maryland silversmith of his era, it is strange that it was not known that he prided himself upon being a watch and clockmaker. During his long and busy career in many lines, his principal activity, according to his numerous advertisements, was making clocks and watches.

In his advertisements Faris styles himself as being from Philadelphia. Had he learned his trade in London, he surely would have described himself as " late of London." That was the adver-

tising custom of those days followed by the English artisans who, having served their apprenticeship in London, looked down upon their fellow craftsmen who had learned their trade in the colonies.

Few of the early craftsmen in the American colonies are known to have made 30-day clocks and still fewer made musical clocks, although such clocks were commonly made by clockmakers in England during the early eighteenth century. In Faris' book of designs for silver there is a drawing labeled in his handwriting " A Calliper of a Months Clock "—the scale drawing for the movement of a 30-day tall clock, the only such known drawing by an American colonial clockmaker.

" William Faris, Clockmaker " was the title of an article in the magazine *Antiques*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (April, 1940), by the present writer. In that article were shown as illustrations two tall clocks, one of which is owned by Mrs. W. E. Thomsen of Baltimore, a descendant. This clock has a very ornate brass dial, cast brass spandrels, a silvered ring for the hours, and in the half circle above is a cast brass British coat-of-arms. This clock is unique in that it is a timepiece—that is, it has no strike train. It has the power-sustaining attachment so that the weights continue to drive the movement while being wound, common in England but seldom used by colonial clockmakers. Originally designed to run a month, this clock still runs over three weeks at each winding. There is no name on the dial or the movement.

The family tradition regarding the clock owned by Mrs. Thomsen, as handed down from Mrs. Eleanor McParlin Davis, is:

> As for the Faris clock Cousin Kate [Mrs. Thomas P. Stran, née Kate Abrahams] had, it was, I understood from my father [General McParlin, Paymaster-General, U. S. N.) one of three clocks left him by his mother at her death, my grandmother having bought out the house and business of William Faris at his death. His widow, Priscilla Woodward Faris, lived with my grandmother, Cassandra Woodward McParlin, who was her niece, until her death, leaving her among her belongings the clocks and William Faris' Diary. The clock you now have is, I believe, the old Town Chronometer by which all the town clocks [in Annapolis] were regulated. My father gave the clock to Cousin Kate shortly after the death of his mother. It was not purchased, but was a gift.

This clock is not to be confused with another Faris clock discovered by the late Mrs. Stran, all trace of which has been lost.

The second clock used as an illustration in that article belongs to Martin B. Faris who acquired it in 1939 from an antique

dealer in Easton, Maryland. The beautifully pebbled brass dial has an imposed silvered hour ring and the cast brass spandrels are very ornate. The name "William Faris, Annapolis" is engraved in italics with appropriate flourishes in the semi-circle at the top of the dial. The movement has three winding arbors: one for the time-train; one for the strike-train; and the third for the musical attachment. This musical mechanism is like an old-fashioned music box with the roller in which there are pins actuating the levers, striking the series of eleven graduated bells. It plays the tune "Robin Adair," a ballad first heard in England in 1729. The words of the song were written about 1753.

This clock doubtless was originally designed to run thirty-days, but is now arranged to operate eight-days at one winding. Inside the case of this clock is a gilded cardboard plaque which reads:

> Faris C. Pitt, Jr., from his father 1910. This clock was imported from England by William Faris of Annapolis, Md., great-great-grandfather of the Donor in 1791.

This statement may be entirely correct, for Faris C. Pitt, Sr., was a descendant of William Faris through Capt. William Pitt and Ann Faris, the daughter of William. At the sale in 1805, of the effects of William Faris a musical clock was bought by Capt. William Pitt for $36. It may have been that William Faris did import movements or parts and brass dials from England and assembled them—as was done by some of the colonial clockmakers. However, this is difficult to reconcile with his continued advertisements in which he proclaimed himself a "Maker of clocks either to Repeat or not and to go 8-Days or Thirty as the Purchaser many fancy as good as can be made in England and at reasonable Prices." It is difficult to believe he would have engraved his name upon the dials of clocks he did not make—any more than it is to be believed he would have put his touchmark upon silver not made in his shop. Incidentally, this clock from the appearance of the movement and dial was made nearer 1760 than 1790.

Since the publication of that article in *Antiques* there has been found the personal clock of William Faris which stood in his home in Annapolis. This clock is now in possession of Mrs. Eleanor McParlin Davis, granddaughter of William McParlin who took over the Faris business and bought the homestead and married the niece of Mrs. Faris. During the remainder of her

life Mrs. Faris made her home with the McParlin family and when she died in 1817 this clock was one of the possessions that passed to the McParlin family.

This clock does not have the name of William Faris on the dial or on the movement. It is a 30-day clock which has a musical attachment that plays four tunes—a march, "Lovely Nancy," "Foots Minuet," and a Cotillion. The movement is rugged and heavy. The plates are thicker and larger than the average run of such clock movements. The back plate has pits and discolorations because after it was cast it was not hammered and filed. The musical mechanism is like the old music boxes and consists of a brass cylinder in which are inserted steel pins actuating a series of levers which play the tunes on graduated bells. The upper left corner of the movement is notched out so that the cylinder and mechanism are inserted at right angles to the plates. There are three winding arbors: one for the time train; one for the strike train; and the third for the musical mechanism. There is no power-sustaining attachment. The striking mechanism is rack and snail. Behind the arched, cut-out portion above the face there is a revolving disc on which are painted the phases of the moon, and on the field of the disc are stars. The days of the month are engraved on the outer edge of this brass disc. There is also a ring carrying the days of the month which show through an aperture on the lower part of the dial.

The remarkable feature of this clock is the brass dial. The arched cut out portion at the top is etched and engraved with conventionalized leaves and flowers. The square section of this brass dial bearing the hours is painted in oil after the style of the painted wooden dials of Connecticut tall clocks of 1790-1812; also like the painted wooden dials on the 30-hour Terry shelf clocks. The painting is beautifully done with flowers and scrolls for spandrels in the corners. The phases of the moon are executed by an artist who had a flair for portraiture. This oil paint is very thick and heavy and has chipped off in spots, particularly at one corner where can be seen evidence that the brass dial was once engraved with an over-all pattern corresponding to the scrolls engraved upon the arch above the dial. The present owner, is loathe to remove this paint; consequently if under the paint there is the signature of William Faris, it must rest for some future owner to make the discovery.

This clock passed from Mrs. Faris to William McParlin, then to his son General McParlin, and then to the latter's children, of whom Mrs. Davis is one. The clock was in the Faris-McParlin West Street house until it was destroyed 1922-23, and since then it has been in one of the several McParlin homes in Annapolis. The case is mahogany after the style of early Philadelphia Chippendale. It is very plain and heavy. The height to the one wooden urn in the broken arch on the top of the hood is 93 inches. The narrow door in the waist of the case has an arched top showing Queen Anne influence. There are ogee bracket feet.

McParlin told his children that William Faris imported from England, as an indentured servant, a clockmaker who had specialized in making musical attachments for clocks. This 4-tune clock by Faris is supposed to have been the first of his series of clocks, with the attachment, made by this English workman; and incidentally this particular clock is supposed to have been the first musical clock made in the colonies. Nothing has been found in the official record to confirm or refute this tradition as to this indentured servant, although of course there are several advertisements by Faris announcing that he has just acquired a clockmaker who has served his regular apprentice in that trade. Further, it is strange that he does not mention making musical clocks in any of his many advertisements.

There is no way to positively fix the date of this clock. A study of the movement itself shows it was built after the style and plan of clocks made between 1760 and 1775. In his Diary, under the date of 24 September, 1793. William Faris made this entry: " Pollished the under coating of the 4 Tune Clock and laid on one Coate of the finishing Coating." In the poem, " The Will of William Faris," Charlotte Hesselius, the 19-year old friend of Faris' daughters, wrote:

> . . . Now I make my last will and prepare me to die
> Then I give and bequeath to my dear loving wife,
> In case she's a widow the rest of her life,
> The plates, spoons and dishes, pots, kettles and tables
> With the red and white cow that inhabits the stables.
> The landscape, and Judith that hangs on the wall
> And the Musical Clock hind the door in the Hall . . .

This was written before 1790 so that the 4-Tune clock was evidentaly an important piece in the Faris household at that time.

In the appraisal and inventory of the assets of William Faris, filed in 1805, there was listed a number of watches in various stages of repair or construction, and the following clocks:

2 Quarter Clocks with Cases	$140.00
3 Plain Clocks without Cases	105.00
1 Timepiece	20.00
2 Clocks with Cases	120.00
1 *Musickel* Clock with Case	100.00

In the record of the sale of effects of William Faris, deceased, dated 8 August, 1805, there was a "Musickel Clock" purchased for $36 by Capt. William Pitt, the husband of Ann, the daughter of Faris. There is no record of what happened to that clock. However, it doubtless is the clock now owned by Martin B. Faris, which bears the label on the case stating that it came to Faris C. Pitt, Jr. from his father.

In the *Maryland Gazette* of 4 December, 1760, Faris announced a departure which proved to be very important during the years to come:

WILLIAM FARIS

Watch and Clockmaker at the sign of the
Crown & Dial near the Church in Annapolis.

Makes or Repairs Clocks and Watches as usual in the best and cheapest Manner. He also, having procured an excellent Workman for that Purpose carries on the SILVERSMITH'S BUSINESS, Large, Small or Chas'd Work in the neatest, best and cheapest Manner. Also Jewelling of any Kind.

All Gentlemen or Ladies who shall be pleased to employ him may depend on good dispatch, from

Their humble servant,
WILLIAM FARIS.

Thus at the age of 32 years in 1760 he branched out upon the career of a silversmith, which, if it did not result in great fortune, at least brought him lasting fame. His business as a silversmith must have expanded for in the *Gazette,* 25 August, 1763, he announced the employment of another helper in that line:

WILLIAM FARIS

Watch-Maker in Annapolis.

Having procured from Philadelphia a very Compleat Silver Smith, who has served a regular Apprenticeship to that Business, hereby informs the

public that he can now supply them at the most Reasonable Rates, with all kinds of Silver Work in the most genteel and fashionable manner, and with the greatest Dispatch. He also carries on as usual the Jeweller's Business, having an excellent Workman for that purpose and will give the Best Prices for old Gold and Silver and all Sorts of Precious Stones.

Thomas Sparrow, the doorkeeper of the Lower House of the Assembly, sent his son to Philadelphia to learn the trade of silversmith. It is believed that Thomas, Jr., may have been the man referred to by William Faris in this advertisement. If so, Sparrow did not long remain in service, for 21 March, 1765, he advertised in the *Maryland Gazette* that Thomas Sparrow, goldsmith and jeweller from Philadelphia, "had open'd Shop on South East Street near St. Anne's Church." On 4 February, 1777, Thomas Sparrow borrowed 15 pounds from William Faris, giving as security several pieces of household furniture and numerous silversmith's tools. The collateral Sparrow forefeited. (Liber LB, # 5, p. 575.)

There are today in museums and in the collections of private individuals some beautiful examples of silver by William Faris; also silver by two of his sons, Charles and Hyram, who became noted silversmiths in their own right. In the Baltimore Museum of Art there is a magnificent exhibit of silver by early craftsmen of Maryland, collected by Mrs. Miles White of Baltimore. In that collection are two pieces made by Faris; one, a sauce boat; the other, a cream jug. Sumner A. Parker of Baltimore, a descendant, owns a piece of exquisite silver lace made by William Faris for the dress of his wife. In the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City there is a silver service by Charles Faris—a coffee pot, creamer and sugar bowl. His mark was C^{s} Faris. The Maryland Historical Society has a large, heavy silver ladle which bears the mark of Hyram Faris. No specimens of the silver of William, Jr., are known.

On 18 July, 1763, Jasper Hall sold to Allen Quynn, merchant of Annapolis, "Certain goods and chattels not specified," and Hall accepted a mortgage which he assigned to William Faris who paid him £4. 1s. 6d. on 8 April 1766. (Liber BB, # 3, p. 375.) Allen Quynn was the father-in-law of Abraham Claude, the principal business rival of William Faris. The following lines in "The Will of William Faris" reflect the attitude of Faris towards these two worthies:

. . . Thank God I have but two that I hate from my heart
And as ill luck would have it, they're not far apart.
I've the greatest dislike, God forgive me the sin,
But indeed there's no bearing that old Allan Quynn.
There's another I hate bad as Quynn for the fraud,
That his heart is so full of—that's Abraham Claude. . . .

On 29 March, 1761, William Faris, then 33 years old, made an important move—he took unto himself a wife. She was Priscilla Woodward, the 22-year-old daughter of Abraham Woodward and Priscilla Ruley of Anne Arundel County.[5] In her will, dated 18 October, 1771, Priscilla Ruley Woodward mentioned her daughter Priscilla as follows: "I give and Bequeath to my daughter Priscilla Farris one silver cupp, one best Bed and furniture and one saddle and my weareing apparel to her disposal."

Priscilla Woodward and William Faris had born to them between 1762 and 1778 five sons and four daughters. To his various other activities, including the rearing of nine children—no mean task—Faris with the aid of his wife added tavern keeping at their home in Annapolis. In the *Maryland Gazette* 2 August, 1764 Faris informs his clientele that ". . . he has now open'd Tavern. Gentlemen Travellers and others favouring him with their Custom will meet the best Entertainment and Kindest Usage," and in a subsequent advertisement promoting his inn-keeping he wrote that he had "supplied himself with the best of Liquors, Hay & Oats, where Gentlement meet with Polite Treatment and best Accommodations for themselves and Horses."

Apparently William Faris continued to act as Mine Host and thoroughly enjoyed it up to the end of his days. His advertising features that service to the public and his famous Diary and account books are filled with amusing entries and comment upon friends and travellers, who stopped with him for a "dish of China tea," "a nip of grog," "a todey," or board and lodging for the night. Many of his regular guests were officers on sailing vessels in and out of Annapolis and Baltimore.

It seems to have been a common custom for colonial silversmiths to undertake inn-keeping as a side line; and usually those ventures were not only financially profitable, but were a source of attracting trade. The Diary and Account Books of William

[5] She was born 27 February, 1739, and died 17 May, 1817, aged 78 years and was buried in Annapolis.

Faris throw much light on his activities as an innkeeper, watchmaker and silversmith. From them we learn that in his later years inn-keeping contributed more largely to his support than did his work as a craftsman. When he balanced his books for the year 1799 he found receipts from his inn-keeping amounted to £230; his expenses were £161 and therefore his profits were £69 —a considerable income from a pleasant side-line activity.[6]

In his Diary Faris frequently mentions tangles with the law, and never fails to recount with glee how he bested his antagonists in court. He does not record, however, that upon occasions he was perhaps not as careful an innkeeper as he should have been, and as a result found himself in trouble—as for instance in 1765 when he was indicted and tried before the Mayor's Court in Annapolis for selling rum to an apprentice—in those days a most serious offense.

These Account Books, now in the Library of the Maryland Historical Society, show that his regular customers in his shop and in his inn included the more notable personages of Annapolis and Baltimore of that day and age. Samuel Chase the "Signer" on 15 June, 1774 paid £1, 2 and 6, for "guilding the head of a Cane." Anthony Stewart, Annapolis shipowner and merchant, who owned the brig *Peggy Stewart* which was burned by the Annapolis Tea Party at the beginning of the Revolution, paid 7 and 6 for polishing a dozen knives and forks. In 1774 Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the "Signer," and his kinsman, Charles Carroll, the Barrister, author of the Maryland Declaration of Rights, were each charged 10 shillings for cleaning their clocks. Nicholas Maccubin is frequently mentioned in the Diary and Account Books. Maccubin changed his name by law to Carroll in order to inherit half the fortune of his wealthy uncle, Charles Carroll, Barrister. Maccubin was charged £1, 11 s. and 6d. for 15 silver coat buttons. Among other customers were Thomas Jenings, the attorney general; William Paca, the "Signer" and Governor who had a "spring clock" and a "kitchen clock" repaired; and General William Smallwood, the Governor. Messrs. Paca and Hammond on 14 May, 1773, were charged 5 shillings a bottle for 18 bottles of "Madara," 6 shillings each for 10 bottles of Red Port and 5 shillings each for 8 bottles of punch.

[6] See *Maryland Silversmiths* by Pleasants and Sill.

In the *Maryland Gazette* of 4 January, 1770, Faris announced an adventure into an entirely new line of business—furniture manufacture:

WILLIAM FARIS

Clock and Watch-Maker

At the Crown and Dial near the Church in West Street, Annapolis, Begs leave to inform the Public that he has engaged Two exceeding good workmen (one of them has been a finisher several years to the celebrated Mr. Allen) and carries on the above businesses in all their various Branches. The Gold, Silversmiths and Jewellers Business he still carries on in the neatest and best Manner.

He also executes any Orders he may be favoured with for *Chair Work*, having lately supplied himself with a good workman and now has for sale several dozen of very neat black Walnut Chairs. Those who please to favour him with their Commands may depend on being faithfully served on reasonable Terms, and with utmost Dispatch. He continues to keep Tavern, having supplied himself with the best Liquors, Hay and Oats, where Gentlemen meet with Polite Treatment and the best Accommodations for themselves and Horses.

To watch-making and clock-making, silversmithing, jewelering and tavern-keeping, William Faris during this period added another branch to his business—mirror making. Apparently he had established an outlet for his mirrors in Baltimore, for in the *Maryland Journal & Baltimore Advertiser* of 17 September, 1793, appeared this advertisement: "For Sale: A pair of remarkable large and elegant Looking Glasses (new) just being finished by the American Artist Mr. Faris of Annapolis, in a masterly manner. The plates are 4 feet by 2 feet, very true. A. W. Dorsey, Exchange Broker." [7]

And here is the reference to another activity of this versatile gentleman. The Diary records " 1795, 16 Dec.—This Day finished the Stand of my Forty Pio Anio—all but painting it."

[7] In the *Maryland Journal*, Baltimore, 9 November, 1792, appeared an announcement of the establishment of a looking glass factory *in Baltimore* by *a* William Faris. There is nothing in the records of William Faris of Annapolis to prove that he was in business in Baltimore at that time. The advertisement reads: William Faris takes this Method of Acquainting the Public that he has commenced the Business on Calvert Street a few doors below Water Street and carries on a Looking Glass Factory in its several Branches: Viz. Silvering and Framing the Plates, carving and Gilding the Frames; he likewise makes Picture Frames of any Dimension and to any Pattern that may be required with the Members either plain or carved, black or gilt; also Glazing of Pictures and Pieces of Work, which will be particularly attended to so as to prevent Dust or Insects from injuring the pieces. Cabinet work of all kinds executed in the neatest Manner and as he intends making those who please to favour him with their custom.

Besides three sons who helped him, William Faris always had men in his shop who had served their apprenticeship, as seen from his advertisements. One of these, whom he called "Billie" in his Diary, was none other than William McParlin, one of the famous names in the group of Maryland silversmiths. There was another apprentice who arouses curiosity. He was memtioned in an announcement in the *Maryland Journal* 9 November, 1778, which read:

> . . . To be Sold, a very likely young negro fellow, by trade a silversmith, Jeweller and Lapidary; there are few if any better workmen in America. Any person inclined to purchase the said negro may know further by applying to the Subscriber living in Annapolis.
>
> WILLIAM FARIS.

It would be interesting to know what became of this skilled artisan who had few equals in America.

The Diary makes frequent references to the play and the theatre. An old Annapolis theatre program of the early seventeen-eighties announces that ". . . Places in the Boxes for the Play may be had at Mr. Faris's, next Door to the theatre; where also Tickets may be had. . ." In the Diary it is recorded on 23 September, 1797, that "Mr. and Mrs. Pitt, and Abee & Rebecka, went to the Circus to see Feats of Horsemanship."

There was issued to *a* William Faris, citizen of the state of Maryland, with no mention of a city of residence, on 29 April, 1797, a patent upon a Carriage Propeller, now owned by the Long Island Historical Society. On 17 May, 1799, a patent on a Water Elevator was issued to a William Faris of Maryland. Few if any copies of early patents were issued. The Water Elevator patent is owned by Martin B. Faris of New York City, a descendant of the St. Clairsville, Ohio, Faris family. No connection has been established between the Faris family of Annapolis and that Ohio family. Since the patent owned by Martin B. Faris was handed down to him through his family, it raises the question of whether these two patents were issued to William Faris the Annapolis the silversmith, or to another William Faris.

The Diary of Faris is racy reading.[7] He told with candor and frankness the goings-on of the first families of Maryland and the

[7] Extracts from the Diary were published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXVIII (Sept. 1933), 197-244.

notables of his day. Birth, deaths, marriages are recorded with spicy comment. Family troubles, quarrels with his sons, illness, epidemics, tea parties, drinking bouts, balls, preachers, the theatre, horse races, cock fights, fires, public hangings, murders, are mixed with daily notes upon the weather, wind, tides, sea disasters, the arrival and departure of ships; and special notes on his gardens and beloved tulips. The Diary unfolds an intimate picture of the life of Annapolis in the late eighteenth Century—obtainable from no other source.

When William Faris died in 1804 his mantle was inherited by his apprentice William McParlin who in his own right became a distinguished silversmith. He married Cassandra Hillary Beall Woodward, niece of Mrs. Faris. McParlin bought the Faris home and came into possession of many of the Faris heirlooms, family portraits, furniture, private papers and documents, including the famous Faris Diary. If there were diaries covering his early life they have vanished. The existing one of 700 handwritten pages covers the last 15 years of his life. The Diary came to General McParlin and then to his daughter, Eleanor McParlin Davis, with the injunction that it was never to be published since it was so full of scandal. It passed to Mrs. Thomas Stran, a descendant, and after her death, to Sumner A. Parker of Baltimore.

A unique announcement appeared 29 July, 1791, in the *Maryland Journal & Baltimore General Advertiser* in which William Faris indignantly denied the truth of the malicious rumor that he was dead:

TO THE PUBLIC

WHEREAS certain evil-disposed Persons have knowingly, wickedly and maliciously counterfeited the Subscriber's Will and Testament, which was introductive of an erroneous Propagation, in several Counties of this State, that he departed this Life some Time in June last; and, as further indication of their malicious Disposition, they published, or caused to be published, a Funeral Sermon (possessed of very injurious Contents) to be delivered over his Body; both of which Circumstances, combined together, tend to very pernicious Consequences to the Subscriber's Trade and Manner of obtaining a Livelihood, by the Desertion of a considerable Degree of Custom which would otherwise have resorted to him—to detect Falsehood, disappoint Malice, and prevent Farther Injury to himself, he hereby certifies the Public, that such Propagations are not true, and hopes that no person will pay the least Degree of Attention whatever to them, as they were only circulated to impair and injure the Subscriber's trade; and the Public may rest assured, that he now remains in good Health, and full

Vigour of Life, in West Street, Annapolis, opposite Mr. Abraham Claud's, where he means to perservere in the Business of WATCH and CLOCK-MAKING in all its various Arts and Branches, and solicits once more the Patronage of a generous Public."

Annapolis, July 24, 1791.

WILLIAM FARIS.

The story of the "premature" death of William Faris was the prank of a friend of one of his daughters. She was Charlotte Hesselius, already referred to, the very clever 19-year-old daughter of John Hesselius, the famous portrait painter of Annapolis. The young lady's poem entitled "The Will of William Faris" was designed solely for private circulation, but apparently it got out of hand. Written by an outsider who knew all the family skeletons and all the town gossip, she told tales out of school. Thanks to her gifted pen we have an intimate picture of the amazing old man and the members of his interesting family. With acid she etches those different characters; with few words what pictures she paints! We are truly indebted to her for those vivid vignettes. Perhaps this incident of the spurious "Will" is the reason why Faris when he died left no last testament.

William Faris suspected that his principal competitor, Abraham Claude, was the author of "The Will." If he ever learned that the author was Charlotte Hesselius, he is not known to have admitted it. Strange that no reference to the incident is to be found in the Diary. Under the date of 5 June, 1792, there is the following entry in the Diary: "In the evening two of the Miss Hesselious was married. Mr. Walter Addison to Miss Charlot and Mr. Thos. Johnston to Miss Betsy." Thomas Jenings Johnson was the son of Thomas Johnson, the first governor of the State. Charlotte only lived a couple of years after her marriage and her death Faris duly chronicles in his Diary.

In the Diary and his private papers there is nothing to indicate that Faris himself took any active part in the Revolution. His sons were too young, with the possible exception of William, Jr., who, born in 1762, might have been old enough to have served towards the end of the War. It would be only logical to assume in view of his habit of recording in minute detail all manner of facts about himself and his children that had either he or his sons espoused with enthusiasm the cause of the colonists, he would have made some reference to his sentiments. In his Diary there

are only two entries that appear to shed any light. Under the date of 4 July, 1795, he wrote:

> No perading today, everything very ded & dull except the Flag being hoisted (etc.) and a Ball at night. Nancy's gone to Mrs. Green's to Dress & go to the Ball, but no Ladys Went except the 3 Misses Gassaways & 2 Misses Price, so she did not go but came home from Mrs. Greens between 9 & 10 oclock.

Under the date of 17 December 1799 he records: "There came an accot. to Town to Day that Genl. Washington died on Saturday night last." Just that and nothing more then or subsequently upon Washington the man or his contribution as Father of his country.

William Faris died from yellow fever after a few days' illness on 5 August, 1804. Presumably he was buried in Annapolis, but his grave and tombstone cannot be located. The *Maryland Gazette* recorded his death in just two lines: "Died yesterday morning Mr. William Faris, an old inhabitant of this City." If an obituary notice appeared in the newspapers subsequently, search has failed to find it. There is no record of his death or burial in the files of St. Anne's, Annapolis, which is strange since he was a vestryman, 1779-1783, and was made a warden in 1784.

Mrs. Faris in the absence of a will was appointed administratrix, and on 12 June, 1805, filed an inventory and appraisal, totaling $1,786.12. The inventory required eight pages in a large ledger. Following are some items from it, particularly clocks and watches, clockmaking and silversmithing tools:

9	Silver watches	$ 45.00	1	Drawer with sundry clockmakers tools	2.00
3	Gilt watches	9.00	1	Drawer of watch glasses	15.00
2	Quarter clocks with cases	140.00		Sundry silversmith tools in the forge	30.00
3	Plain clocks without cases	105.00	1	Large Laythe	2.00
1	Time piece	20.00	4	Anvils with blocks	4.00
1	Musickel clock with case	100.00	1	Mill for silver work	20.00
1	Clock and watchmakers tools	20.00	18	Silversmith's hammers	2.25
2	Clocks with cases	120.00	1	pair bellows	4.00
1	Case of Jewelry	150.00	6	Lead rings for silversmith	5.00
1	Nest of drawers for watchmakers tools	1.50	5	Ingot molds	1.00
1	Silversmith's cutting tools	1.50	4	Pair forging tongs	.25
1	Watch engine	20.00	1	Silversmith's anvil (Large)	1.50

1	Ounce of gold	17.40
1	Electrifying machine and apparatus complete	30.00
3	Fowling pieces	3.00
1	Gun barrel	.60
1	Navigator's Instruments	4.00
3	Pair pistols	$ 6.00
1	Small brass cannon mounted	.25
4	Pair bullet moulds	.50
3	Swords	3.50
1	Dirk	.12
1	Gunlock	.60
1	Pair handcuffs	.60
1	Box tools	7.00
1	Clock groving tool	3.00
	Scale with silversmith's tools	.12
3	Large tail vices	8.00
1	Large case with clock and watchmaker's tools	1.00
1	Large laythe with whole apparatus	2.00
1	Box clockmaker's patterns	.50
1	Tin box for baking clock faces	.25
11	Birdcages	5.12
1	Copper plate mill	.25
1	Lapidary mill	1.98
1	Machine for polishing clock faces	1.00
1	Cabinetmaker's screw	3.00
	Sundry distorted clock and watch tools	50.00
6	Books silver leaf	.50
2	Books gold leaf	.50
	Black lead pots, crucibles	4.00
	Sundry brass and iron wire	4.00
1	Lot tooth instruments	2.00
68	Pairs of cocks heels	10.00
155	Ounces tenpy. wt. plate	172.78

BOOK REVIEWS

William Henry Welch and the Heroic Age of American Medicine. By Simon Flexner and James Thomas Flexner. New York, The Viking Press, 1941. 539 pp. $3.75.

The eagerly awaited biography of the late Professor Welch has come to hand and it is not disappointing. The Flexners (father and son) have written the kind of volume that might have been expected of them. Simon Flexner, Welch's most distinguished pupil, Director Emeritus of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, and his son James Thomas Flexner, a master of literary style and author of *Doctors on Horseback,* have made use of the senior author's intimate personal knowledge of Dr. Welch during some fifty years and of the mass of materials collected about him and have produced a satisfactory life-history of the great pathologist. The book is easily readable by the layman (except for the technical chapter, which, if he likes, he may skip) ; the facts are reliable and are largely documented by references in the appendix. Harvey Cushing's biography of William Osler, Welch's most distinguished colleague, though widely read, would have had more readers if it had not been extended to two large volumes; the Flexners have been wise in restricting their account of Welch to a single volume of moderate size.

Born in 1850 in Norfolk, Connecticut, the son of a physician, young William H. Welch had a quiet but a rather austere and lonely childhood owing to the early death of his mother and to upbringing by an overly religious and awe-inspiring grandmother. Though his father expressed the wish that his son should become a physician, the boy had a repugnance for medicine and shrank from experiences of pain as well as from the sight of blood.

After his preliminary schooling he entered Yale where he became intensely interested in classical studies, graduating in 1870. He had hoped to return to Yale as a tutor in Greek but no opportunity offered. After teaching in a private school for a year he reluctantly agreed to respect his father's wishes and entered upon the study of medicine. Today, those who have the good of American medicine at heart shudder to think of the loss it would have suffered had Welch been able to secure the position in Greek that he sought! Though at the end of his first year in the Medical School (the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York) he was offered an appointment in Greek at Yale, he turned it down for he had already through contact with inspiring medical teachers suddenly developed a deep interest in medicine.

During his further studies Welch discovered that he would like to become a professor of pathological anatomy rather than a medical practitioner. To obtain training in microscopic work he went in 1876 to Germany, where he studied for two years under Waldeyer, von Recklinghausen and Hoppe Seyler in Strasbourg, under Wagner and Ludwig in

Leipsic, and under Cohenheim in Breslau. In Germany the young pathologist underwent a great awakening for he got entirely new ideas as to what scientific medical teaching and investigation could be. He wrote that his previous experiences compared with those in Germany were like "the difference between reading of a fair country and seeing it with one's own eyes."

On his return to New York Welch taught in a small laboratory at Bellevue under very discouraging conditions; he also was made assistant to Dr. Austin Flint. After struggling along for six years in the New York environment, Welch was offered the professorship of pathology at Johns Hopkins by President Gilman in 1884, on the strong recommendation of John Shaw Billings. His friends Dr. Flint and Dr. Dennis were much opposed to his leaving New York where fame, and if he wished it fortune, awaited him. Despite these objections Welch accepted the Baltimore offer, for he saw opportunities to build a laboratory according to his wishes, to found a new medical school and to give start and impetus to the spirit of scientific medical work so sadly lacking in America. After drawing up plans of his new department for President Gilman, Welch returned to Germany to qualify himself in Munich and Leipsic to carry on bacteriological studies.

Of Welch's early years in Baltimore, of the part he played in the choice of men to head the clinics at the Johns Hopkins Hospital (opened for patients in 1889) and in the organization later of the Johns Hopkins Medical School (of which he was the first Dean), as well as of his students, many of whom later attained distinction and some of whom are caricatured in Max Broedel's well-known cartoon "Some Welch Rabbits," this biography gives a full account.

As counselor to philanthropic foundations that later gave financial support to scientific medicine, Dr. Welch was outstanding. He so commanded the confidence of those who had large funds at their disposal that his advice regarding their disposition was eagerly sought. It was through his suggestion that the great School of Hygiene and Preventive Medicine (of which he was the first Dean) was established in Baltimore and it was after two visits of personal inspection by Commissions of which he was a member that a great modern medical school was established in China. It was in Dr. Welch's honor that the Welch Medical Library and the Institute of the History of Medicine were endowed at Johns Hopkins.

On Dr. Welch's eightieth birthday, a great celebration was arranged for in Washington, D. C., when President Hoover sat by his side and in his address referred to him as "our greatest statesman in the field of public health." As his biographers say, this celebration was a historical landmark, indicating a major change in American life. A revolution, more important perhaps than the revolutions created by politics or war, had taken place; "Welch, more than any other American, had inaugurated the new era of healing in the land." The name of Welch like that of Osler will always be revered by students of the history of Maryland.

LEWELLYS F. BARKER

Baltimore on the Chesapeake. By HAMILTON OWENS. New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1941. 342 pp. $3.50.

The hope of the undersigned that any high-powered promoter would ever get anywhere at establishing Baltimore as one of the really great cities of the United States by advertising and publicity weakened materially recently when *Time*, in an article mentioning Baltimore used the phrase, " a character known as ' The Bentztown Bard.' "

From this it seemed clear that there was no use going any further. When a noble institution like The Bentz, as firmly fixed and as stoutly defended as the Rock of Gibraltar, grounded in art, celebrated in myth and legend and nourished with cheers and applause so loud and long-drawn-out as to have echoed for half a century from the blue hills of Catoctin to the last outposts of the Chesapeake canvasback, is mentioned nationally as though he were somebody like One-Eyed Connolly it is time, ladies and gentlemen, to toss in the towel in the costly Battle of Ballyhoo and let nature take its course.

Hamilton Owens, the Editor of *The Sun*, finished writing his book *Baltimore on the Chesapeake* before this foul slur appeared, yet he had come virtually to the same conclusion. He decided it was no use.

" I wouldn't go so far as to say that the julep explains Baltimore," writes Mr. Owens in the very last paragraph of an interesting and enlightening 329-page search for some kind of explanation. " But it is the evidence of a spirit whch does explain Baltimore. Useful, yet leisurely, urban but not sophisticated, prosperous but not harassed—all these may be said of our city. If driving ambition plays but a small role with us these later days, what boots it? "

This was the phrase we had been looking for—" What boots it? " Mr. Owens took the words right out of our mouth even before he had read the calumnious crack, " a character known as ' The Bentztown Bard.' " Prescience like this is reserved for historians of the very first chop.

As such an historian Mr. Owens is not a high-powered promoter; indeed, he relates with relish an experience suffered by earlier civic leaders with such an artist at a cost of $100,000. Hence this is no ordinary rodomontade poured down a rat hole but a serious historical study of a great community's men and affairs. It was not written for the purpose of attracting conventions, crowds of tourists or new factories though it is not calculated to repel them.

For the truth is, this result of the labors of a first-rate journalist undertaken with great affection for his subject and sound technical equipment for his task, turns out to be a business history. Most consumers of municipal biography are not accustomed to having it dished up in terms of trade and produce. Yet that " angle " abounds in drama and romance as readers of Mr. Owens' story will discover.

" Man," he writes, " is a political animal," yet in Baltimore man for many years so successfully restrained this animal instinct as to make it appear that the chief aim of his existence was to get ahead in the tobacco business, the flour business, the clipper ship business, the railroad business,

the shoe business, the banking business, and the guano business, while promoting the general welfare with copper smelting, privateering, fighting yellow fever and slave-carrying. Occasional riots and mass assassinations notwithstanding, the typical Baltimorean appears to have kept his mind on business since the beginning with extraordinary fidelity. Boosterism began early. If the more urbane citizenry is inclined to shrink a little these days from the slightly brash maneuvers of local gentlemen in search of more annual conventions to entertain, let it read Mr. Owens' story of the late William Lux who actually brought the United States Congress to Baltimore. Mr. Lux was a leading Baltimore business man and booster of the noble days of 1776; and when the British moved in on Philadelphia and the Congress had to flee Mr. Lux was on the job with "the Baltimore presentation," as it would be called today—a complete prospectus showing available hotel rooms, entertainment facilities, a list of the choice local dishes, places of interest and the amount of the city's financial bid. There is no proof that Mr. Lux went about the job of signing up Congress in this modern fashion, Mr. Owens simply stating that "he was instrumental in persuading" the members, since they had to escape to somewhere, to escape to Baltimore. At any rate, Congress soon found itself appropriating valueless paper money, levying uncollectible taxes and drafting reluctant patriots in the brand-new three-story-and-attic tavern of Mr. Jacob Fite, corner of Sharp and Baltimore Streets.

So intent were Baltimoreans on the pursuit of business in those days that when amongst the great statesmen newly churning up the mud of Baltimore Street, John Adams arrived in town, that dour New Englander noted in his secret diary, according to Mr. Owens, the observation that the native Baltimoreans seemed more intent on driving business bargains than on driving out the British. Interpreting this phenomenon, Mr. Owens concludes that what Mr. Adams was seeing was an American citizenry "newly urbanized" and as pleased with metropolitan life as children with a new toy. While preoccupied with trade their lives were still set in the feudal pattern, everything contributing to the support of life in the old manor house in the back country far from the harbor and the smell of coffee and guano. "That ideal," writes Mr. Owens, "still obtains among the successful families of Baltimore. The city is the place where men make the money with which they support the country places to which they retire at every opportunity."

How the serenity of these charming old marts of trade could change swiftly into an inferno of rioting with 10 killed, 150 wounded; Belair Market a fortress, prominent citizens' houses being torn down by street crowds; folks dragging cannon around town as casually as people today haul around trailers—and firing them, too,—volleys of grape and canister right down a busy street with the sangfroid of Shriners tossing confetti at a parade—all is related with reportorial gusto by Mr. Owens who finds that somehow or other the mighty forces at work in the nation seemed to come into the most violent conflict with the most curious frequency in the streets of Baltimore—so frequently, especially during the "turbulent fifties" that "after a while the riots and anarchies seemed to have almost

no direct relation with what was going on outside." Inexplicably the dawn of a new day now and then seemed to find a majority of the citizens stalking the streets with murder in their hearts and loaded horse-pistols in their hands; and one particularly homicidal election day in the late fifties attracted newspaper reporters from all over the United States like a nationally important football game at the stadium nowadays, and even got international notice in the *Illustrated London News*, which devoted a page to it.

Geography made Baltimore and still controls its destiny Mr. Owens believes, and the particular item of geography involved is the harbor—a salt tide laving the city's docks and piers along nearly 100 miles of foreshore, almost 200 miles from the ocean. Upon that salt tide came first the people who made the city and next the trade upon which they existed and grew, and it has been so ever since.

RAYMOND S. TOMPKINS.

Newspaper Days, 1899-1906. By H. L. MENCKEN. New York, Knopf, 1941. 313 pp. $3.00.

By Light of Sun. By ELSIE SYMINGTON. Woodcuts by Clare Leighton. New York, Putnam, 1941. 196 pp. $2.00.

Here are two autobiographies by contemporary Marylanders so contrasting in the experiences they relate that it is not possible to read them both within a short period without being impressed by the complexity of a community which can produce two beings so disparate.

Mr. Mencken's book has already been widely discussed. It is, as most bookish people know, the second volume of his reminiscences. The first, *Happy Days* (reviewed in Vol. XXXV, No. 1 of this Magazine) took the author through his childhood. The present volume, as its title implies, describes the beginning of his professional career on the old Baltimore *Herald*.

The thing to remember in reading the recollections of a man like Mencken is that he is, by temperament as well as by conviction, both artist and honest man, an almost impossible combination. He is determined, to tell the truth and at the same time make his tale of the moment an artistic whole. Occasionally, the artistic urge gets the better of him and he is guilty of what he calls " stretchers." The book does not suffer thereby.

This *caveat* entered, *Newspaper Days* can be considered for what it is: a remarkable man's delight in his exploits and escapades in the period in which the sap of man runs fastest. It is Baltimoreana, of course. But it is Baltimore as seen through the eyes of a youth who had every day more energy, physical and mental, than most of us can command on our best days. Also, and especially, it is Baltimore uncorseted, as young reporters mostly see it. Here are the police courts, the politics, the saloons; the murderers and their hangings; the prostitutes in their leisure hours and the judges in their cups; the petty rivalries of newspapers; the appalling

ignorance of the principles of their own profession on the part of some of the practitioners of the journalist's art.

All these things are in it and many more. But none is more important than the occasional glimpses the author gives into the workings of his own mind at this impressionable period. For it was precisely at this juncture, when the raucous youth was, by his own account, giving most of his attention and no little of his adoration to men whose claim to fame was that they could drink more beer than other men, that the same young man was establishing his taste for what he calls " beautiful letters " and formulating those esthetic criteria which made him, fifteen years later, the acknowledged dictator of American fiction. The relationship here is so subtle that analysis of it is beyond me. But I suspect it is precisely because Mencken did see the seamy side of American urban life and was entertained by it instead of being shocked by it that he was able to evoke and direct the literature describing it.

If, in the foregoing paragraph, the word *urban* had been italicized, the transition from Mr. Mencken's book to that of Mrs. Symington would seem simple and natural. Mencken always had an appreciation, of a sort, for the country-side, as a number of charming passages in *Happy Days* testified. But the man is essentially urban. His need to see things growing and help them grow can be satisfied within the limits of a Baltimore back yard. His solace is not nature but the company of his fellows. His best moments, as all his writings attest, are those spent in a *bierstube* with a companion on the other side of the table as immune to illusion as himself.

Elsie Symington is younger than Mencken but not enough younger to make much difference in the historical sense. The Baltimore she knew in her youth was much the same Baltimore as that which Mencken knew. But it is clear that the very aspects of the town which gave him his gustiest moments were those which aroused in her the need for escape. Mencken's summers in the country made his return to the city something to look for. Mrs. Symington's youthful winters in the town were bitter interludes between her joyful days in the country. Mencken rushed to meet the noises and confusions of the city and reveled in them. The very necessity of adjusting herself to the constrictive manners and modes of town life brought the more sensitive and delicately adjusted woman to the verge of collapse and past it.

Just as Mencken feels the necessity for explaining his joy in the city, so Mrs. Symington feels the necessity of explaining her need to retreat from it. As honest as he, she is not above a few " stretchers " of her own. Yet she tells as candidly as she can the long story of her wanderings in various parts of the country as the wife of an energetic and successful business man and of the effort she made in each brief stopping place to find some manner of expressing the deep need within her of letting things grow in their own way.

Mencken, the exuberant, found food for both body and soul whatever the world beneath him. But Mrs. Symington, like the woodland plants she cherished, needed a special environment, a special soil, in which to

feel herself at home. Her book is the story of her search for such an environment, and its completion is proof that she found the soil she wanted and bloomed in it.

The almost simultaneous appearance of these two Baltimore books is a tantalizing puzzle to this reviewer. There is no easy explanation for it. A historian might suggest one line of speculation. Baltimore has always had difficulty being as urban and as metropolitan as its size and wealth demand. A great proportion of its well-to-do citizens have always given their first allegiance to the country-side rather than to the town. But one important group, those of German background, have rarely faced this difficulty. Baltimore was but a straggling village when the first Germans came down from York and established a brewery, which is surely a manifestation of urbanity. From that day to this, whatever the civic undertaking, the Germans have always provided more leadership and given more money than their share. Those of English and Scotch stock, on the other hand, have had to be cajoled, more often than not, into supporting the city's delights and partaking of them. Mencken, of course, is only partly German but that part could well be responsible for his delight in gregariousness. Mrs. Symington comes from the other group, those who have never been able to give their whole allegiance to the town. In her case, that kind of charming claustrophobia may have reached unusual heights.

The speculation is a tenuous one but it may have some significance.

HAMILTON OWENS

The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712. Edited by LOUIS B. WRIGHT and MARION TINLING. Richmond, the Dietz Press, 1941. xxviii, 622 pp. $5.00.

From the nature of some of the incidents which he relates, it is not hard to believe that William Byrd of Westover did not want his diary to be made public. For this very reason, however, we learn much of the true character of the man.

The Virginian was both religious and scholarly. Scarcely a day passed without the entry that upon arising he read "a chapter in Hebrew and some Greek." Then follows a statement that he said his prayers. In fact he rarely missed saying them both night and morning. On Sundays he usually attended church. So far as the observance of Christian formalities was concerned Byrd was religious.

He was also business-minded. In his plantation he took a great interest as well as in the arrival and departure of vessels in which he had invested. His losses were heavy when one of his ships foundered in a storm. "The Lord gives and the Lord has taken away—blessed be the name of the Lord," philosophically wrote Byrd.

About his health and diet the Virginian was extremely careful. With monotonous repetition he records what he ate and drank at each meal.

cabals of the Revolutionary era, he cherished victory for the Colonies above everything else. A born leader, he was restive under inaction. Though a martinet in his requirements of discipline from his troops, he was yet ready to share with them their hardships. His warfare with the Pennsylvania authorities and the Continental Congress to secure for them adequate equipment and proper rations was as vigorous as were his conflicts in the field.

When General Gage occupied Boston, Wayne's initial estimate of the policy to be followed by the Mother Country in the subjugation of the Colonies showed astute political and military perception: "England does not dare to fall on all America at once, but on one colony only, hoping that it will not be protected by its sister colonies. 'Divide and Conquor' is the sum of politics. One of the chief members of the British Senate has said that this is meant to enslave America." How comparable to Axis strategy!

Entering the continental army as a colonel, commanding Pennsylvania troops, Anthony Wayne rose during the war to the rank of brigadier general. State insistence upon a military hierarchy, irrespective of merit, and a loosely knit and impotent Continental Congress apparently kept him from the higher rank of major general—a source of great disappointment to him— though, unlike other general officers whose hopes were thwarted, Wayne never sulked. He was ever ready for action, irrespective of the frustration of his cherished desire.

The post-war period found him broken in health and in considerable financial embarrassment. In an endeavor to alleviate the latter, he entered politics, but he was inept as a politician, and his career as such rather dimmed the lustre of his military record. Thus, the reader rejoices in the chance given to him in the closing chapters of his life. Chosen as commander-in-chief of the Army, he took personal charge of the campaign against the Indians in the west. He succeeded where his erstwhile superiors had failed. Complete victory came to him at the Battle of Fallen Timbers and in his consummation of the Treaty of Greeneville with the Indians on August 3, 1795, whereunder the great Northwest Territory became a part of the United States. The light, which flickered with uncertainty in Wayne's mid-career, shone brilliantly at the end.

It may be said unreservedly that the author has made a valuable addition to American history. Seemingly a vast reservoir of source material has been tapped. Perhaps a more complete account of surrounding conditions, political, social and economic, would have been helpful. Yet, Wayne becomes a vivid personality in the mind of the reader—a great patriot and leader,—who made a splendid contribution to the Colonies and to the infant Nation which he so valiantly and so faithfully sought to serve.

EDWARD D. MARTIN.

The Old and Quaint in Virginia. By GEORGIA DICKINSON WARDLAW. Richmond: The Dietz Press, 1939. 328 pp. $3.00.

Neither wars nor rumors of wars can stop collectors from collecting and this book will encourage still others to search in attic and trunk for mementoes from the past. Virginia has not been able to preserve as many of her lares and penates as some of the other states, but whatever she has had hidden away through the years must of necessity be interesting. Mrs. Wardlaw has explored the museums and made friends with collectors throughout the Old Dominion and here and there turned up a bit of evidence in a private parlor. The stories connected with each article are well told and the genealogy testifying to present ownership shows careful work. There is romance in a silhouette or in a pair of dueling pistols and the whole story of Betsey Patterson is told in connection with two chairs made for her wedding. Profusely illustrated, this book makes a good reference work on many subjects. It is a pity that Marylanders do not know their houses and histories, their "old and quaint" as well as do the Virginians.

ROSAMOND RANDALL BEIRNE.

Peter Ainslie, Ambassador of Good Will. By FINIS S. IDLEMAN. Chicago, Willett, Clark & Co., 1941. 184 pp. $2.50.

Peter Ainslie was ever a proponent of tolerance, unity and peace and during his long ministry at the Christian Temple in Baltimore, he was a conspicuous figure in any cause to further civic or social betterment. In this biography Mr. Idleman has written with fairness and understanding, not allowing his evident close friendship to color his canvas too much.

From his Virginia heritage, Mr. Ainslie absorbed and retained a gentle courtesy that prevented his religious zeal from becoming over-aggressive. His father, a faithful follower of Alexander Campbell and the Disciples of Christ, was a minister in that sect and in spite of physical handicaps, the son early prepared to enter the same field. At first he was ardent in conforming to the rigid rules laid down by the Disciples but he later became convinced they were defeating their own ends and set out to widen the avenue leading toward a greater Christian unity. His courageous crusade soon brought him into the international limelight, especially in inter-Church groups and in conferences to promote peace. This passion for unity was the underlying motif of all his writings, varied though they might be in subject matter. Referring to a seeming inconsistency in his thinking, the author explains that this was rather "a constancy in the midst of changing attitudes" and that herein lay his power to coordinate differing points of view.

His many friends, who included Catholics and Protestants, Jews and Negroes, will welcome this volume. It should be of interest too, to others less familiar with his valiant efforts, though what he strove to accomplish may seem ironic in the light of present day events.

MARY G. HOWARD.

William Key Howard, all of Baltimore or Baltimore County. The height of the event was reached when Rhett named his choice of the young ladies present only after thrice making the rounds of the assembled company.

Towson-Wheeler—Thomas Towson, born Sept. 25, 1799, married Jan. 1, 1822, Elizabeth Wheeler, born Mar. 6, 1800. They lived at Fairfield, Lancaster County, Penna., and are buried there at Mount Zion M. E. Church. The early church records have been destroyed. Can anyone supply data on parents and place of birth?

Sheldon K. Towson,
2684 Landon Road, Shaker Heights, Ohio.

Henry Stouffer—My great-grandfather, Henry Stouffer, came to Baltimore from Pennsylvania and had two daughters, Hester B. who married my grandfather, John King, Sr., and Elizabeth, who married Robert Garrett, the founder of the banking firm of Robert Garrett & Sons. Henry Stouffer died in his 74th year, September 24, 1835. His funeral according to the *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser,* September 24, 1835, was held in North Eutaw Street, September 24. Can any one tell where he was buried, and can his grave be located? Henry Stouffer was a man of prominence and, as this paper reported, " filled many important trusts under the corporation " (meaning Baltimore). Can any one give reference to any details of his life, historical records, etc., and to his near relations and their residences?

Josias Stevenson—My great-grandfather, Josias Stevenson (maternal side), executed last will and testament February 4, 1832, and was of the family owning the farm known as " Fellowship " (turned into the Rodgers Forge Golf Course, opened June 22, 1924) about one mile from Towson, this farm being the Stevenson home for some 200 hundred years more or less. Stevenson's daughter, Rachel, married Job Smith, Jr., a prominent merchant and citizen of Baltimore, mentioned in *Baltimore on the Chesapeake* by Hamilton Owens, Esq. He operated a saw mill on Chase's Wharf. Can any one give information regarding forebears of Josias Stevenson and inform me whether any of same were engaged in the Colonial wars; also, as to any record as to any engaged in Revolutionary War? Job Smith had a sister, Louisa, who married into the Pierce family, Baltimore County. Can any one tell me her husband's first name and supply information about members of the Pierce family?

Edward Stevenson King,
5305 Falls Road Terraces, Baltimore.

Purviance—Wish information of heirs of Benjamin, Thomas, Robert R., Elizabeth and Margaret Purviance, children of John and Hester Ann (Roberts) Purviance, who were married in Jefferson Co., Ohio, April 12, 1831. Hester Ann (Roberts) Purviance died Aug. 14, 1853, aged 39. Her children received legacies from their grandfather, Benjamin Roberts, who died in 1871, Jefferson Co. Ohio, aged 96 years, leaving a will dated May 6, 1865. Did John Purviance marry again?

Vernie Dawson Lee (Mrs. Robert E. Lee),
Willmore Hotel, Long Beach, Calif.

Le Compte—Where in Dorchester County is the grave of Anthony Le Compte, Huguenot?

(Miss) Grace Vernon Smith,
Ridgely, Md.

Kline—My grandparents were Peter and Harriett Straeffer Kline, of Frederick, Md. I wish to find the name of *Peter Kline's* father (Peter Kline born 1814).

Mable Kline Johnston,
Water Valley, Texas.

Dr. Dieter Cunz, who contributes the article, "The Maryland Germans in the Civil War," is engaged in writing a history of the Germans in Maryland, and would be grateful to any who would make available to him historical material on this subject. Descendants of German immigrants in Western Maryland or Baltimore may have historical records, letters, diaries, newspapers, Bibles, etc. which are very valuable source material. Diaries from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries will be of particular interest. Anyone who has material of this kind is requested to communicate with Dr. Cunz at the University of Maryland, College Park, Md.

Contributors to this Number

A native of Maine and holder of a doctorate in history from Johns Hopkins, Bernard Mayo is professor of American history at the University of Virginia. He is the author of a recent biography of Henry Clay. ☆ May Garrettson Evans, author of *Music and Edgar Allan Poe, Facts about Music* and co-author with Miss Bessie Evans of *American Indian Dance Steps,* was for many years superintendent of the Preparatory Department of the Peabody Conservatory of Music. ☆ As stated in the last issue, Charles Branch Clark is a Howard Countian now teaching at West

Georgia College. ☆ DIETER CUNZ, student of European constitutional history and biographer of the Swiss reformer, Zwingli, is the holder of a research fellowship and an instructor at the University of Maryland, College Park. ☆ Born in Kentucky, a graduate of Yale, LOCKWOOD BARR is a consultant in public relations in New York. One of his avocations is the lore of early American clockmaking and related crafts.

Rigbie Genealogy—Omitted from this number for lack of space, "The Family of Colonel James Rigbie" by Henry Chandlee Forman, companion paper to the "Narrative" which appeared in the March issue, will be printed in the issue for March, 1942.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

October 13, 1941. The regular meeting was held at 8.15 p. m. with Senator Radcliffe in the chair. A list of donations to the library during the summer months was read.

The following were elected to membership:

Active

Mr. Frederick P. Adkins
Mr. Richard P. Baer
Mr. S. Duncan Black
Mr. J. David Baile
Miss Jane D. Buddecke
Dr. De Witt B. Casler
Hon. Stephen R. Collins
Mrs. Robert Y. Conrad
Mr. James Vincent Kelly
Mr. E. Lee LeCompte
Mr. Austin Jenkins Lilly
Mr. William Labrot
Mr. James I. Murphy
Mr. Price Morre
Mr. Edward L. McIntyre
Dr. Gilbert W. Mead
Mrs. John H. O'Donovan
Mr. Edward B. Passano
Col. Albanus Phillips
Mr. E. Ridgely Simpson
Mr. A. M. Sullivan
Mr. W. H. DeCourcy Tilghman
Mr. J. Nelson Tribby
Mr. James F. Turner

Associate

Mr. Robert F. Bingham
Miss Virginia Buchanan Oakes

The deaths of the following members were reported:

Mrs. W. Calvin Chesnut, on September 30, 1941.
Mrs. Frederick M. Dearborn, on August 1, 1941.
Dr. Julius Friedenwald, on June 8, 1941.
Mr. Boyd Billingslea Graham, on August 12, 1941.
General John Boynton Philip Clayton Hill, on May 23, 1941.
Miss M. Ella Hoopes, on June 23, 1941.
Mr. John Duvall Howard, on August 19, 1941.

Dr. Morris L. Radoff, Archivist of the Hall of Records, described the methods of preservation of the old records employed at the Hall of Records. Mrs. Ruth Krebs exhibited the materials used in the process of repair.

The unanimous thanks of the Society were extended to Dr. Radoff and Mrs. Krebs.

November 10, 1941. The regular meeting was held with President Radcliffe in the chair. A list of recent donations was read by the Secretary.

The following persons, already nominated, were elected:

Active

Mrs. Charles Amesburg
Mrs. Joseph L. Anderson
Dr. Ernest J. Becker
Mr. H. C. Brogden
Dr. Howard M. Bubert
Mrs. Harry Guy Campbell
Miss Helen Camp deCorse
Congressman Thomas D'Alesandro
Mr. John Dickinson
Mr. A. E. Duncan
Miss Grace Carvil Frazer
Mr. Ernest Green
Mrs. Anna Ellis Harper
Mrs. Robert Newton Krebs
Mr. Howard MacCarthy, Jr.
Mr. W. Edwin Moffett
Mr. Williamson Wade Moss, Jr.
Mr. John H. O'Donovan
Rev. I. Marshall Page
Mr. J. Milton Patterson
Mr. William Roger Quynn
Senator Mary E. W. Risteau
Mrs. Paul N. Rylander
Congressman Lansdale Sasscer
Mrs. Sherlock Swann
Mr. Merrill Hull Troupe, Sr.
Mrs. Van Noyes Verplanck
Hon. William C. Walsh
Mr. T. Wallace Warfield
Mr. William Pickney Wetherall
Lt. Col. F. R. Weaver
Mr. J. Purdon Wright

Associate

Mrs. W. D. Barr
Mrs. Merle Leroy Cox
Mr. Vincent Cullen
Miss Laurie Gray
Mr. Edward Cuyler Hammond
Mr. Emil Hurja
Mr. John M. Kopper
Hon. Thomas Riggs
Mr. Sheldon K. Towson

The following deaths were reported among the members:

Mr. Charles M. Wilkinson, on May 29, 1941.
Mr. Charles H. Linville, on October 22, 1941.

The paper of the evening, " A Library of Four Generations," written by Hon. John W. Garrett, was read by his niece, Mrs. Johnson Garrett. A rising vote of thanks was extended to Mr. Garrett and Mrs. Johnson Garrett.

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